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UC-NRLF



B 3 030 253





*Sir Cha. Grave Hudson, of Wantage,
in the County of Leicester, Bar.†*



T H E
R E M E M B R A N C E R .

F O R 1775.

V O L. 1.

T H E
R E M E M B R A N C E R,

O R

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

I M P A R T I A L R E P O S I T O R Y

O F

P U B L I C E V E N T S.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. ALMON, opposite Burlington-House, in
Piccadilly.

M D C C L X X V.

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TO YOU
AMERICAN

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

THE late interesting advices from America, suggested the utility of a Periodical Collection, of the best accounts of every important public transaction. Many events are expected during the Summer, which probably will be the subject of discussion next Winter. These accounts being published in the News-papers, are frequently mislaid after the day of publication; and when afterwards wanted, are, sometimes, very difficult to recover: besides, being mixed with the common occurrences of the day; and published in the large folio size, render that mode of preservation awkward, disagreeable, and almost impossible.

IN brief, the Plan of this Work is, To select from all the Public Prints, the best account of every material Public Event; to print it in Octavo; and at the end of the Volume, to give a Copious Index to the whole.

WHEN an ingenious Pen furnishes the Public with proper Observations on any Public Transaction; such Papers, which are usually denominated *Letters to the Printer*, it is intended to preserve. But perhaps it is not very decent to be lavish of promises: we will not therefore say much. The execution of the work will be its best recommendation. It is humbly offered to Public Consideration. If the design is as agreeable, as it is presumed to be useful, any hints for improvement will be, at all times, most gratefully received.

JUNE 15,
1775.

333370

REFERENCES to the PLAN of BOSTON.

TO THE BUILDINGS.

A Town Hall	E Christ Church	I Old South Meeting
B Old Meeting	F Trinity Church	K Work-house
C King's Chapel	G Faneuil Hall	L Prison.
D Governor's House	H Old North Meeting	

TO THE STREETS, &c.

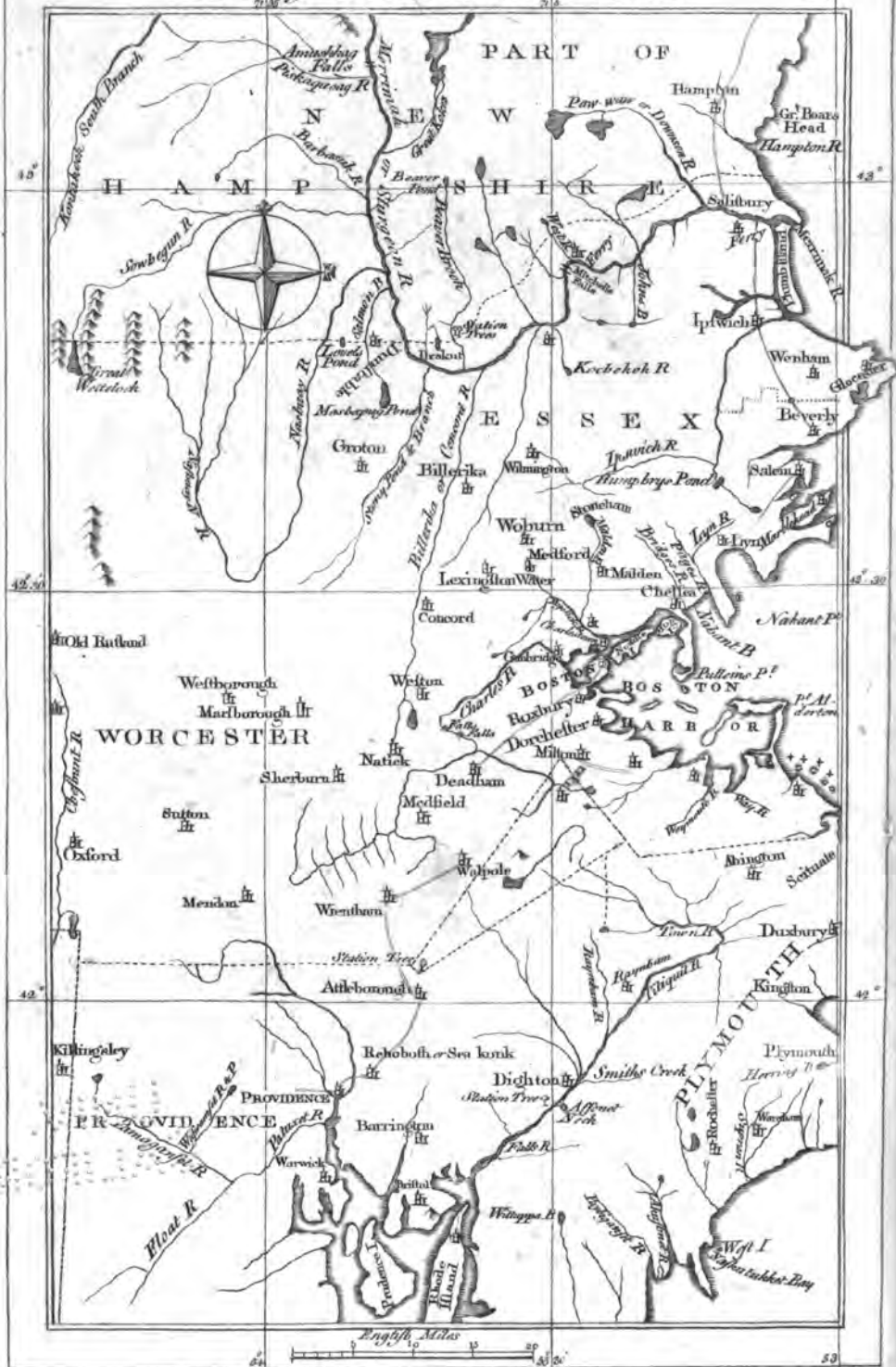
a Dock Square	k Sudbury Street	s Old Wharf
b Town Dock	l School Street	t E. by N. Mill Dam
c Union Street	m Treadmond Street	u u Southacks Street
d Middle Street	n Clough Street	v Staniford Street
e Back Street	o Spring Street	w Lyna Street
f Snow Street	p Gravel Street	x Chambers Street
g Princes Street	q Wiltshire Street	y North Street
h Salem Street	r Long Wharf	Z Short Street.
i Hanover Street		

The TOWN is divided into twelve WARDS, each of which keeps a COMPANY of FOOT, viz.

1 Charter Street	5 Ann Street	9 Cornhill
2 North Street	6 Hanover Street	10 Marlborough
3 Fleet Street	7 Cambridge Street	11 Summer Street
4 Pond Street	8 King Street.	12 Orange Street.

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MAP of 40 Miles round BOSTON.

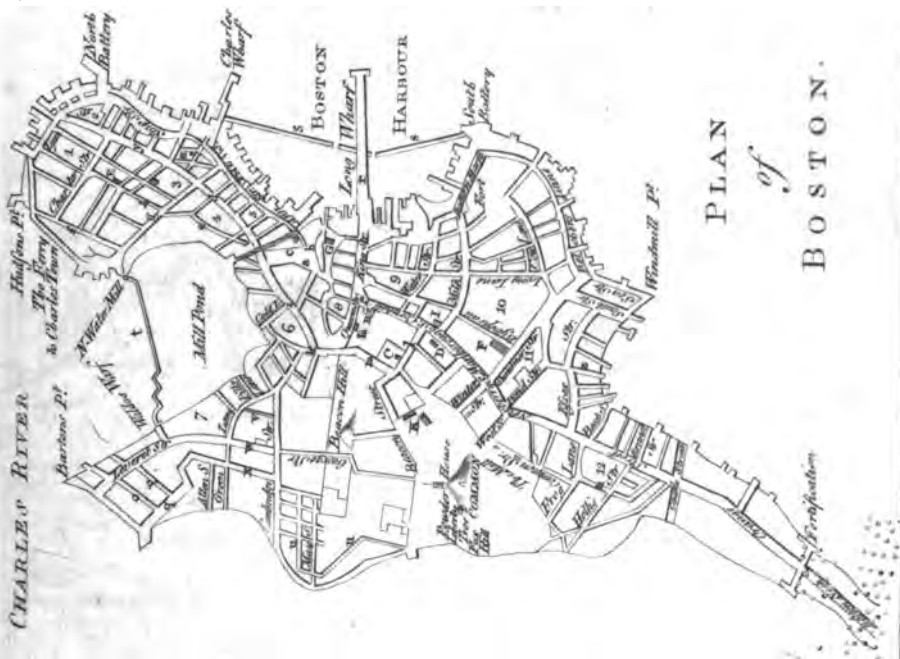


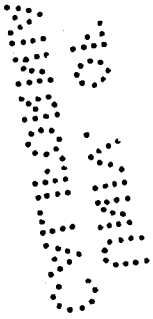
CHART

of BOSTON HARBOUR.



PLAN of BOSTON.





T H E

R E M E M B R A N C E R.

THE following letters from a gentleman in America to a member of the British parliament, may be depended upon as authentic.

"The proclamation forbidding the exportation of gunpowder and fire arms to America, seems intended to take away from the colonies the power of defending themselves by force. I think it my duty to inform you, that the said proclamation will be rendered ineffectual by a manufactory of gunpowder, which has lately been set on foot in this province, the materials of which may be procured in great perfection among ourselves, and at an easier rate than they can be imported from Great Britain. There are moreover gunsmiths enough in this province to make one hundred thousand stand of arms in one year, at 28s. sterling a-piece, if they should be wanted. It may not be amiss to make this intelligence as public as possible, that our rulers may see the impossibility of enforcing the late acts of parliament by arms. Such is the wonderful martial spirit which is enkindled among us, that we begin to think the whole force of Britain could not subdue us. We trust no less to the natural advantages of our country than to our numbers, and military preparations, in the confidence and security of which we boast. The four New-England colonies, together with Virginia and Maryland, are completely armed and disciplined. The province of Pennsylvania will follow their example in a few weeks. Our militia will amount to not less than 60,000 men. Nothing but a total repeal of the acts of parliament of which we complain can prevent a civil war in America. Our opposition has now risen to desperation. It would be as easy to allay a storm in the ocean, by a single word, as to subdue the free spirit of Americans, without a total redress of their grievances. May a spirit of wisdom descend at last upon our

ministry, and rescue the British empire from destruction! We tremble at the thoughts of a separation from Great Britain. All our glory and happiness have been derived from you. But we are in danger of being shipwrecked upon your rocks. To avoid these, we are willing to be tossed, without a compass or guide, for a while upon an ocean of blood. "Wishing you success in your disinterested labours to promote the happiness of this country. I am, Sir, with much esteem for your firmness, your most obedient humble servant."

Philadelphia, Dec. 24, 1774.

"In a letter which I wrote to you a few nights ago, I mentioned that the manufactories of gunpowder and fire arms, which were setting on foot in this country, would defeat the designs of the ministry in forbidding the exportation of these articles from Great Britain. The only design of this letter, is to rectify some mistakes which have been transmitted to England respecting the conduct of Gen. Lee, who is now in America:

"The ministry have been made to believe that the military preparations in the colonies have been recommended and taught entirely by that officer. Nothing can be farther from fact. The Americans were determined to seal their love of liberty with their blood long before they heard of the name of General Lee. The people of Massachusetts Bay were armed and disciplined before General Lee visited them, and the Congress agreed to recommend the study of the military exercises to the colonies, without hearing a word upon that subject from the General. It is a falsehood that the General has offered to head our troops. He has too much knowledge of the world, not to perceive that men, who fight for all they hold dear to them, will prefer men born among them for commanders, to the most experienced foreign officers.

B

officers. Moreover, the colonies are not so wrapped up in General Lee's military accomplishments as to give him the preference to Colonel Putnam and Colonel Washington:—Men whose military talents and achievements have placed them at the head of American heroes. There are several hundred thousand Americans, who would face any danger with these illustrious heroes to lead them. It is but just to Gen. Lee's merit to acknowledge that he has upon all occasions exposed the folly and madness of the present administration, and has shewed the most tender regard to the liberties of this country. But in this he has acted the part of an Englishman. What is England without America? Her liberty and commerce, which are her two capital pillars, are both supported by this country.

"There cannot be a greater error than to suppose that the present commotions in America are owing to the arts of demagogues. Every man thinks and acts for himself in a country where there is an equal distribution of property and knowledge. It is to no purpose to attempt to destroy the opposition to the omnipotence of parliament by taking off our Hancocks, Adams's and Dickinsons. Ten thousand patriots of the same stamp stand ready to fill their places. Would to heaven our rulers would consider these things in time! one more rash and unjust action on your side the water may divide us beyond the possibility of an union.¹¹ For God's sake try to rouse up the ancient spirit of the nation." We love you—we honour you as brethren and fellow-subjects. We have shared in your dangers and glories. Only grant us the liberty you enjoy, and we shall always remain one people. Let the bond of our union be in the crown of Great Britain."

Philadelphia, Dec. 26.

Philadelphia, April 5. The following circular letter from the secretary of state for the colonies has been received by the governors of the continent of America.

"Sir,

Whitehall, Jan. 4, 1775:

"Certain persons styling themselves delegates of his Majesty's colonies in America, having presumed, without his Majesty's authority or consent, to assemble together at Philadelphia, in the months of September and October last; and having thought fit, among other unwarrantable proceedings, to resolve that it will be necessary that another congress should be held in the same place, on the 10th of May next, unless redress for certain pretended grievances be obtained before that time, and to recommend that all the colonies in North-America should chuse deputies to attend such congress; I am commanded by the King to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure, that you do use your utmost endeavours to prevent any such appointment of deputies, within the colony under your government; and that you do exhort all persons to dissent

from such unwarrantable proceeding, which cannot but be highly displeasing to the King.

I am, Sir, &c.

DARTMOUTH."

A Letter from a Gentleman in the Province of Massachusetts, to his Friend in London.

"You have no doubt, long before this time, heard the particulars of the General Congress, and that the court and the country have digested their thoughts upon them, if not adopted their consequent plans of conduct. God grant that the nation and parliament may think favourably of them, and grant the prayer of our petition to the King. Britain and America are made to be friends; and it is the most unnatural, detestable quarrel between them that ever happened in the world. Britons and Americans may write or say what they will, but this quarrel never will and never can be made up, but by restoring us to the state we were in, in 1763. It is as certain as that London or Boston exist, that no other plan or scheme of policy that ever can be invented will keep the two countries together, but that which nature dictated, and which experience found useful for 150 years. It is in vain, it is delirium, it is frenzy to think of dragging three millions of English people out of their liberties, at the distance of 3000 miles. It is still more extravagantly wild for a nation to think of doing it, when itself is sinking down into a bottomless gulph of debt, in order to make the conquered lift her out of it.

"The Congress have drawn a line by the banks of the ocean. They have claimed their own exclusive jurisdiction in all interior concerns, and in all cases of taxation. They have left to Great Britain the exclusive sovereignty of the ocean, and over their trade. They have placed both upon constitutional principles; and if Britons are not content with all we have but our liberty, we say as the corporation of London said to the King in 1770, "We call God and men to witness, that as we do not owe our liberty to those nice and subtle distinctions which pensions and lucrative employments have invented, so neither will we be deprived of it by them; but as it was gained by the stern virtue of our ancestors, by the virtue of their descendants it shall be preserved."

"The Congress consisted of the representatives of twelve colonies. Three millions of free white people were there represented. Many of the members were gentlemen of ample fortunes and eminent abilities. Neither corruption nor intrigue had any share, I believe, in their elections to this service, and in their proceedings you may see the sense, the temper and principles of America, and which she will support and defend, ever by force of arms, if no other means will do.

"The state of this province is a great curiosity:

sity: I wish the pen of some able historian may transmit it to posterity. Four hundred thousand people are in a state of nature, and yet as still and peaceable at present as ever they were when government was in full vigour. We have neither legislators nor magistrates, nor executive officers. We have no officers but military ones. Of these we have a multitude chosen by the people, and exercising them with more authority and spirit than ever any did who had commissions from a Governor.

"The town of Boston is a spectacle worthy of the attention of a deity, suffering amazing distress, yet determined to endure as much as human nature can, rather than betray America and posterity. General Gage's army is sickly, and extremely addicted to desertion. What would they be if things were brought to extremities? Do you think such an army would march through our woods and thickets and country villages to cut the throats of honest people contending for liberty?"

"The neighbouring colonies of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, are arming and training themselves with great spirit, and if they must be driven to the last appeal, devoutly praying for the protection of heaven."

"There is a spirit prevailing here, such as I never saw before. I remember the conquest of Louisbourg in 1745; I remember the spirit here when the Duke d'Anville's squadron was upon this coast, when forty thousand men marched down to Boston, and were mustered and numbered upon the common, compleat in arms, from this province only in three weeks; but I remember nothing like what I have seen these six months past."

January 21, 1775.

Another Letter from a Gentleman in the Province of Massachusetts, to his Friend in London, dated Feb. 10, 1775.

"The account you give of an overbearing influence in the house, and the want of feeling and spirit out of it, is of a very serious and melancholy kind: Americans are very sensible that such accounts are true, and expect to fall a sacrifice to the knavery in the cabinet and the folly out of it, unless preserved by their own virtue, their frugality, or valour, or both."

"Shorter parliaments, a more equitable representation, the abolition of taxes and the payment of the debt, the reduction of placemen and pensioners, the annihilation of bribery and corruption, the reformation of luxury, dissipation and effeminacy, the disbanding the army, are all necessary to restore your country to a free government, and to a safe, honourable, and happy life. But is this practicable, is there a resource in human nature for hope of such a miraculous change? is there one example of it in history or experience?"

a nation is easily corrupted, but not so easily reformed. The present reign may be that of Augustus, but upon my honour I expect twelve Cæsars will succeed it. What is to become of America if they should? ought she not to think in time, and prepare for the worst."

"I have a great curiosity to know how the proceedings of the Congress at Philadelphia are relished in London, at St. James's, and St. Stephens. I think it may be seen from them, that America is not insensible of her danger, nor inattentive to the means of her safety."

"I am also very anxious to know what the friends of liberty think of the hasty dissolution of parliament; for my own part, I have ever thought this the most insidious and artful step of the present reign, it seems to betray more contempt of the people, at the same time that it betrays a dread of some remaining sense and integrity among them, than any thing else which has been done. You will allow, Sir, that the broil with America is a very great national concern. At a time when America was assembled to concert measures relative this great concern, a new parliament is called of a sudden, before the people could hear from America, as if the minister disdained or dreaded that the nation should have opportunity to judge of the state of America, and choose or instruct their representatives accordingly; as if the minister scorned or feared that the people, the electors, should have opportunity to hear and converse together upon facts, before they chose their members."

"The design of the ministry seems to have been likewise to give the friends of liberty the go-by, in England as well as in America; determined to pursue their system, they would not suffer the friends of the constitution to converse or correspond together before the day of election, lest the constituents should bind the candidates to act an honest part. It is not easy to convey to you, Sir, an adequate idea of the state of this province. It is now at last true, that we have no government, legislative, executive, or judicial. The people determined never to submit to the act for destroying their charter, so dearly purchased, preserved and defended by the toil, treasure and blood of their ancestors, are every where devoting themselves to arms. Our Duke of Alva is shut up with his troops, and his forlorn Mandamus Counsellors in Boston.—What the the ministry will do is uncertain,—all the British fleet and army cannot change mens opinions; they cannot make a juror serve, nor a representative. An attempt to cram a form of government down the throats of a people, to impose a constitution upon an united and determined people by force; is not within the omnipotence of an English parliament."

"If they attempt a campaign like that of Kirk, if they send the sword and fire to ravage in this country, they will find in New England an hundred

dred thousand descendants of the puritans in the Charles's and James's days, who have not yet lost entirely the spirit of Englishmen under the English commonwealth.

"Our enemies give out that persons who have distinguished themselves here, in opposition to the power of parliament, will be arrested and sent to some county in England, to be tried for treason; if this should be attempted, it will produce resistance and reprisals, and a flame through all America, such as eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of the minister or his minions to conceive.

"I beg the continuance of your favours, and am, with the warmest wishes for the safety of both countries."

Boston, March 2. His Excellency General Gage, having information that some brass cannon were deposited in or near Salem, he sent an officer to endeavour to discover where they were lodged; at the same time he ordered a transport to receive on board a detachment of the 64th regiment, under the command of Lieut. Col. Leslie, to bring away the above cannon: they landed at Marblehead last Sunday at four o'clock in the afternoon, and marched immediately to Salem; where they were informed by the officer sent forward, that he had been in the place where the cannon were supposed to have been concealed; but found none: but the commanding officer having received intelligence that some trucks were seen going out of Salem that morning, he continued his march the road they were said to have taken; but coming to a draw-bridge over an arm of the sea, he found the people on the opposite side had taken it up to prevent his passage: he desired it might be immediately let down; but they refused; saying it was a private road, and that he had no authority to demand a passage that way: on this he determined to ferry a few men over in a gondola (which then lay on the bank) as soon as it could be got afloat; the people discovering this intention immediately jumped into her, and with axes cut through her bottom; Col. Leslie seeing this, ordered a party to drive them out of her; some of the people however having obstinately refused to quit her, the soldiers were obliged to use force; upon this a clergyman complained of the usage the inhabitants were receiving when Col. Leslie told him, that if the bridge was not immediately let down, they might expect worse treatment; the clergyman then prevailed with the proprietor to let down the bridge, and the troops marched on, leaving a party in possession of the bridge till they returned, which they soon did, it being dark, and hearing nothing more of the trucks they went in search of; they then went back to Marblehead, and embarked on board the transport between eight and nine o'clock that night, and returned next day to Boston.

New York Committee-chamber, March 15, 1775.

The sub-committees appointed by this committee to join with the vestrymen of each ward in this city, in superintending the polls held this day in the said wards, for taking the votes of the free-men and freeholders on the question, "Whether they would chuse deputies for this city and county, to meet such deputies as the counties may elect, and join with them for the sole purpose of appointing, out of their body, Delegates for the next Congress?" and if yea, who such deputies should be;

Reported,

That they had according attended the said polls, and delivered to the committee the several poll lists by them taken under their hands and the hands of the vestrymen of such wards; from which it appears that, eight hundred and twenty-five freeholders and freemen voted for deputies, and elected the eleven under-mentioned persons nominated by this committee; and that one hundred and sixty-three voted against the measures of appointing deputies. The said sub-committees also informed this committee that almost all those who voted against the appointment of deputies, declared they were nevertheless for delegates.

Ordered,

That the said reports and poll lists be lodged with the secretary, and that circular letters be written to all the counties in the colony, informing them of the appointment of deputies for this city and county, and requesting them, with all convenient speed, to elect deputies to meet in provincial convention, at the city of New York, on the 20th day of April next, for the sole purpose of appointing delegates to represent this colony at the next Congress to be held at Philadelphia, the 10th of May next. By order of the committee,

JOHN ALSOP, Deputy-chairman.

The following are the names of the gentlemen nominated by the general committee to meet on the 20th of April, such deputies as the other counties might elect, and join with them, for the sole purpose of appointing, out of their body, delegates for the next General Congress:

Philip Livingston,	Abraham Walton,
John Jay,	Abraham Brasher,
James Duane	Alexander M'Dougall,
John Alsop,	Leonard Lippenard,
Isaac Low,	Maac Roosevelt,
Francis Lewis.	

The election was as follows, viz.

For the deputies.	Against them.
Out Ward 66	
North do. 99	— 36
East do. 125	— 22
South do. 42	— 23
West do. 213	— 23
Dock do. 52	— 32
Montgomery do. 228	— 27

New York, March 16, 1775.

Gentlemen,

The late congress having deemed it expedient, that, in the present critical state of American affairs, another should be held at Philadelphia the 10th day of May next; and the neighbouring colonies having already appointed delegates for that purpose, we beg leave to call your attention to that subject, and to remark, that the honour, as well as the interest of the province, requires that we should be fully and properly represented.

Influenced by these considerations, this city and county conceive it highly necessary that a provincial convention should without delay, be formed of deputies from all the counties, for the sole purpose of appointing, out of their body, delegates for the next congress, and therefore have already chosen their deputies; they prefer this mode to any other, as it tends to unite the counties, and to preserve that harmony between them so essential to the interest of our common cause.

Be pleased to communicate this letter to the inhabitants of your county; and should they concur with us in sentiment, we beg they will consider whether it would not be best to chuse their deputies so soon as that they may be down here by the 20th of April next, which day, we take the liberty of proposing to you as proper for the meeting of the convention.

We forbear urging any arguments to induce your concurrence, being well persuaded you are fully sensible that the happiness of this colony, and the preservation of our rights and liberties, depend on our acceding to the general union, and observing such a line of conduct as may be firm as well as temperate.

By order of the committee,
ISAAC LOW, Chairman.

Portsmouth, April 20, 1775.

Sailed this day for Boston, the Cerberus frigate of 28 guns, Captain J. Chadds, with the Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne—their baggage went on the 5th instant by the Prosperous Armilla, Captain Slater.

Corke, April 28. Sailed this day the transports with the troops to reinforce General Gage at Boston.—The army at Boston will consist of seven regiments of infantry, and one of light horse.

THE editors of this work have received the two following papers, with a request that they may be preserved, with the rest of the papers relative to America.

Extract of a letter to Dr. Franklin, dated November 21, 1769.

Two objects, I humbly apprehend, his Majesty's servants have now in contemplation. 1st. To relieve the colonies from the taxes complained of; which they certainly had no hand in imposing.

2dly. To preserve the honour, the dignity and the supremacy of the British legislature over all his Majesty's dominions.

As I know your singular knowledge of the subject in question, and am as fully convinced of your cordial attachment to his Majesty, and your sincere desire to promote the happiness equally, of all his subjects, I beg you would in your own clear, brief and explicit manner, send me an answer to the following questions: I make this request now, because this matter is of the utmost importance, and must very quickly be agitated. And I do it with the more freedom, as you know me and my motives too well to entertain the most remote suspicion that I will make an improper use of any information you shall hereby convey to me.

1st. Will not a repeal of all the duties (that on tea excepted, which was before paid here on exportation, and of course no new imposition) fully satisfy the colonists? If you answer in the negative,

2d. Your reasons for that opinion?

3d. Do you think the only effectual way of composing the present differences is to put the Americans precisely in the situation they were in before the passing the late stamp act? If that is your opinion,

4th. Your reasons for that opinion?

5th. If this last method is deemed by the legislature, and his Majesty's Ministers, to be repugnant to their duty as guardians of the just rights of the crown and of their fellow subjects, can you suggest any other way of terminating these disputes consistent with the ideas of justice and propriety conceived by the King's subjects on both sides of the Atlantic?

6th. And if this method was actually followed, do you not think it would actually encourage the violent and factious part of the colonists to aim at still farther concessions from the mother country?

7th. If they are relieved in part only, what do you, as a reasonable and dispassionate man, and an equal friend to both sides, imagine will be the probable consequences?

THE ANSWER.

DEAR SIR, *Craven-street, Nov. 29, 1769.*

Being just returned to town from a little excursion, I find yours of the 21st, containing a number of queries that would require a pamphlet to answer them fully. You, however, desire only brief answers, which I shall endeavour to give.

Previous to your queries, you tell me, that "you apprehend his Majesty's servants have now in contemplation, 1st. to relieve the colonists from the taxes complained of; 2d. to preserve the honour, the dignity, and the supremacy of the British legislature over all his Majesty's dominions." I hope your information is good; and that what you suppose to be in contemplation, will be carried into execution, by repealing all the laws that have

have been made for raising a revenue in America by authority of parliament without the consent of the people there. The honour and dignity of the British legislature will not be hurt by such an act of justice and wisdom. The wisest councils are liable to be misled, especially in matters remote from their inspection. It is the persisting in an error, not the correcting it, that lessens the honour of any man or body of men. The supremacy of that legislature, I believe, will be best preserved by making a very sparing use of it; never but for the evident good of the colonies themselves, or for the whole British empire; never for the partial advantage of Britain to their prejudice. By such prudent conduct, I imagine that supremacy may be gradually strengthened, and in time fully established; but otherwise, I apprehend it will be disputed, and lost in the dispute. At present the colonies consent and submit to it, for the regulations of general commerce; but a submission to acts of parliament was no part of their original constitution. Our former Kings governed their colonies as they had governed their dominions in France, without the participation of British Parliaments. The Parliament of England never presumed to interfere in that prerogative till the time of the great rebellion, when they usurped the government of all the King's other dominions, Ireland, Scotland, &c. The colonies that held for the King, they conquered by force of arms, and governed afterwards as conquered countries; but New England having not opposed the Parliament, was considered and treated as a sister kingdom in amity with England, as appears by the Journals, March 10, 1642.

Your first question is,

1st. "Will not a repeal of all the duties (that on tea excepted, which was before paid here on exportation, and of course no new imposition) fully satisfy the colonists?"

Answer. I think not.

2d. "Your reasons for that opinion?"

A. Because it is not the sum paid in that duty on tea that is complained on as a burthen, but the principle of the act expressed in the preamble, viz. that those duties were laid "For the better support of government, and the administration of justice in the colonies." This the colonists think unnecessary, unjust, and dangerous to their most important rights. Unnecessary, because in all the colonies (two or three new ones excepted) government and the administration of justice were, and always had been, well supported without any charge to Britain: Unjust, as it made such colonies liable to pay such charges for others in which they had no concern or interest: dangerous, as such mode of raising money for those purposes tended to render their assemblies useless; for if a revenue could be raised in the colonies for all the purposes of government by act of parliament, without grants from the peo-

ple there, governors, who do not generally love assemblies, would never call them; they would be laid aside; and when nothing should depend on the people's goodwill to government, their rights would be trampled on; they would be treated with contempt. Another reason why I think they would not be satisfied with such a partial repeal, is, that their agreements not to import till the repeal takes place, include the whole, which shews that they object to the whole; and those agreements will continue binding on them, if the whole is not repealed.

3d. "Do you think the only effectual way of composing the present differences, is to put the Americans precisely in the situation they were in before the passing of the late stamp act?"

A. I think so.

4th. "Your reasons for that opinion?"

A. Other methods have been tried. They have been rebuked in angry letters. Their petitions have been refused or rejected by parliament. They have been threatened with the punishments of treason by resolves of both houses. Their assemblies have been dissolved, and troops have been sent among them: But all these ways have only exasperated their minds and widened the breach. Their agreements to use no more British manufactures have been strengthened; and these measures instead of composing differences, and promoting a good correspondence have almost annihilated your commerce with those countries, and greatly endangered the national peace and general welfare.

5th. "If this last method is deemed by the Legislature and his Majesty's ministers to be repugnant to their duty as guardians of the just rights of the crown, and of their fellow-subjects, can you suggest any other way of terminating these disputes, consistent with the ideas of justice and propriety conceived by the King's subjects on both sides the Atlantic?"

A. I do not see how that method can be deemed repugnant to the rights of the crown. If the Americans are put into their former situation, it must be by an act of parliament, in the passing of which by the King, the rights of the crown are exercised, not infringed. It is indifferent to the crown, whether the aids received from America are granted by parliament here, or by the assemblies there, provided the quantum be the same; and it is my opinion that more will be generally granted there voluntarily, than can ever be exacted or collected from thence by authority of parliament. As to the rights of fellow-subjects (I suppose you mean the people of Britain) cannot conceive how those will be infringed by that method. They will still enjoy the right of granting their own money, and may still, if it pleases them, keep up their claim to the right of granting ours; a right they can never exercise properly, for want of a sufficient knowledge

knowledge of us, our circumstances and abilities (to say nothing of the little likelihood there is that we should ever submit to it) therefore a right that can be of no good use to them; and we shall continue to enjoy in fact the right of granting our money, with the opinion now universally prevailing among us, that we are free subjects of the King, and that fellow subjects of one part of his dominions, are not sovereigns over fellow-subjects in any other part. If the subjects on the different sides of the Atlantic have different and opposite ideas of "justice and propriety," no one "method" can possibly be consistent with both. The best will be to let each enjoy their own opinions, without disturbing them when they do not interfere with the common good.

6th. "And if this method were actually followed, do you not think it would encourage the violent and factious part of the Colonists to aim at still farther concessions from the mother country?"

A. I do not think it would. There may be a few among them that deserve the name of factious and violent, as there are in all countries; but these would have little influence, if the great majority of sober reasonable people were satisfied. If any colony should happen to think that some of your regulations of trade are inconvenient to the general interest of the Empire, or prejudicial to them without being beneficial to you, they will state these matters to parliament in petitions as heretofore; but will, I believe, take no violent steps to obtain what they may hope for in time from the wisdom of government here. I know of nothing else they can have in view; the notion that prevails here of their being desirous to set up a kingdom or commonwealth of their own, is to my certain knowledge entirely groundless. I therefore think, that on a total repeal of all duties, laid expressly for the purpose of raising a revenue on the people of America, without their consent, the present uneasiness would subside, the agreements not to import would be dissolved, and the commerce flourish as heretofore: And I am confirmed in this sentiment by all the letters I have received from America, and by the opinions of all the sensible people who have lately come from thence, crown officers excepted. I know indeed that the people of Boston are grievously offended by the quartering of troops among them, as they think contrary to law; and are very angry with the board of commissioners who have calumniated them to government: But as I suppose the withdrawing of the troops may be a consequence of reconciling measures taking place; and that the commission also will be either dissolved if found useless, or filled with more temperate and prudent men, if still deemed useful and necessary, I do not imagine these particulars would prevent a return of the harmony so much to be wished.

7th. "If they are relieved in part only, what do you, as a reasonable and dispassionate man,

and an equal friend to both sides, imagine will be the probable consequence?"

A. I imagine, that repealing the offensive duties in part will answer no end to this country; the commerce will remain obstructed, and the Americans go on with their schemes of frugality, industry, and manufactures, to their own great advantage. How much that may tend to the prejudice of Britain, I cannot say: perhaps not so much as some apprehend, since she may in time find new markets. But I think, if the union of the two countries continues to subsist, it will not hurt the general interest: for whatever wealth Britain loses by the failing of its trade with the colonies, America will gain; and the crown will receive equal aids from its subjects upon the whole, if not greater.

And now I have answered your questions as to what may be, in my opinion, the consequences of this or that supposed measure, I will go a little farther, and tell you what I fear is more likely to come to pass in reality. I apprehend that the ministry, at least the American part of it, being fully persuaded of the right of parliament, think it ought to be enforced, whatever may be the consequences; and at the same time do not believe, there is even now any abatement of the trade between the two countries on account of these disputes; or that if there is, it is small, and cannot long continue. They are assured by the crown officers in America, that manufactures are impossible there, that the discontented are few, and persons of little consequence; that almost all the people of property and importance are satisfied, and disposed to submit quietly to the taxing power of parliament; and that if the revenue acts are continued, and those duties only that are called anti-commercial being repealed, and others perhaps laid in their stead; that power ere long will be patiently submitted to, and the agreements not to import be broken, when they are found to produce no change of measures here. From these and similar misinformations, which seem to be credited, I think it likely that no thorough redress of grievances will be afforded to America this session. This may inflame matters still more in that country; farther rash measures there may create more resentment here, that may produce not merely ill-advised dissolutions of their assemblies as last year, but attempt to dissolve their constitutions; more troops may be sent over, which will create more uneasiness; to justify the measures of government, your writers will revile the Americans in your newspapers, as they have already begun to do; treating them as miscreants, rogues, dastards, rebels, &c. to alienate the minds of the people here from them, and which will tend farther to diminish their affections to this country. Possibly too, some of their warm patriots may be distracted enough to expose themselves by some mad action to be sent for

for hither; and government here be indiscreet enough to hang them, on the act of Henry VIII. Mutual provocations will thus go on to compleat the separation; and instead of that cordial affection that once and so long existed, and that harmony so suitable to the happiness, strength, safety, and welfare of both countries; an implacable malice, mutual hatred, such as we now see subsisting between the Spaniards and Portuguese, the Genoese and Corsicans, from the same original misconduct in the superior governments, will take place: the sameness of nation, the similarity of religion, manners, and language, not in the least preventing in our case, more than it did in theirs.

B. FRANKLIN.

From the VIRGINIA GAZETTE.

Williamsburgh, April 1.

The whole proceedings of the convention of delegates at the town of Richmond, in the county of Henrico:

At a meeting of delegates for the counties and corporations in the colony of Virginia, at the town of Richmond, in the county of Henrico, on Monday the 20th of March, 1775:

The honourable Peyton Randolph, Esq. was unanimously elected President of this convention, and Mr. John Tazewell Clerk thereof.

The President then recommended it to the convention to proceed in the deliberation and discussion of the several important matters which should come before them, with that prudence, decency and order, which had distinguished their conduct on all former occasions; and laid before the convention the proceedings of the continental congress, together with a letter from Benjamin Franklin, William Bolla, and Arthur Lee, Esqrs. advising, that the petition to his Majesty had been presented, and graciously received.

Ordered, That the consideration of the proceedings of the continental congress be postponed till to-morrow.

Resolved, That the Rev. Mr. Selden be desired to read prayers to this convention every morning at nine o'clock.

Resolved, That this convention will observe in their debates the same rules and orders as are established in the House of Burgesses in this colony.

Adjourned till to-morrow ten o'clock.

Tuesday, March 21, 1775.

A letter from the inhabitants of that part of Augusta county, which lies to the westward of the Allegany Mountain, desiring that John Nevill and John Hervie, Esqrs. may be admitted into this convention, as their delegates, being read, upon a motion,

Resolved, That the said John Nevill and John Harvie be admitted as delegates for the county of Augusta.

The convention then took into their consideration the proceedings of the continental congress, agreeable to the order of yesterday; but not having time to go through the same, postponed the further consideration thereof till to-morrow.

Adjourned till to-morrow ten o'clock.

Wednesday, March 22, 1775.

The convention then, pursuant to the order of yesterday, resumed the consideration of the proceedings of the continental congress, and after the maturest deliberation, came to the following resolutions:

Resolved unanimously, That this convention doth entirely and cordially approve the proceedings and resolutions of the American continental congress, and that they consider this whole continent as under the highest obligations to that very respectable body, for the wisdom of their counsels, and their unremitted endeavours to maintain and preserve inviolate the just rights and liberties of his Majesties dutiful and loyal subjects in America.

Resolved unanimously, That the warmest thanks of this convention, and all the inhabitants of this colony whom they represent, are particularly due, and that this just tribute of applause be presented to the honourable Peyton Randolph, Esq. Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, jun. Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison and Edmund Pendleton, Esqrs. the worthy delegates deputed by a former convention to represent this colony in general congress for their cheerful undertaking, and faithful discharge of the very important trust reposed in them.

Adjourned till to-morrow ten o'clock.

Thursday, March 23, 1775.

A copy of the petition and memorial of the Assembly of Jamaica to the King's most excellent Majesty was laid before the convention, and being read, and maturely considered:

Resolved, That the unfeigned thanks and most grateful acknowledgments of this convention be presented to that very respectable assembly, for the exceeding generous and affectionate part they have so nobly taken in the unhappy contest between Great Britain and her colonies, and for their truly patriotic endeavours to fix the just claims of the colonists upon the most permanent constitutional principles.

That the assembly be assured, that it is the most ardent wish of this colony (and we are persuaded of the whole continent of North America) to see a speedy return of those Halcyon days, when we lived a free and happy people.

Resolved, That the President be desired to transmit these resolutions to the Speaker of the Jamaica Assembly by the earliest opportunity.

Resolved, That a well regulated militia, composed of gentlemen and yeomen, is the natural strength and only security of a free government; that such a militia in this colony would for ever

render

render it unnecessary for the mother country to keep among us, for the purpose of our defence, any standing army of mercenary forces, always subversive of the quiet, and dangerous to the liberties of the people, and would obviate the pretext of taxing us for their support.

That the establishment of such a militia is at this time peculiarly necessary by the state of our laws for the protection and defence of the country, some of which are already expired, and others will shortly do so; and that the known remissness of government in calling us together in legislative capacity renders it too insecure, in this time of danger and distress, to rely, that opportunity will be given of renewing them in General Assembly, or making any provision to secure our inestimable rights and liberties from those further violations with which they are threatened.

Resolved, therefore, That this colony be immediately put into a posture of defence; and that Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Robert Carter Nicholas, Benjamin Harrison, Lemuel Riddick, George Washington, Adam Stevens, Andrew Lewis, William Christian, Edmund Pendleton, Thomas Jefferson, and Isaac Zane, Esqrs. be a committee to prepare a plan for the embodying, arming, and disciplining such a number of men as may be sufficient for that purpose.

Adjourned till to-morrow ten o'clock.

Friday, March 24, 1775.

The committee appointed for that purpose reported a plan for embodying, arming and disciplining the militia of this colony, the consideration whereof is postponed till to-morrow.

Certain paragraphs in the public papers, said to be votes of the house of representatives of New York, being read:

The convention taking into their consideration that the said province of New York did, by their delegates in General Congress, solemnly accede to the compact of association there formed for the preservation of American rights: that a defection from such their compact would be a perfidy too atrocious to be charged on a sister colony, but on the most authentic information, and also doubting whether, from some radical defect in the constitution of that government, the sense of their house of representatives, on questions of this nature, should be considered as the sense of the people in general, came to the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it be an instruction to the committee of correspondence for this colony, that they procure authentic information from the committee of correspondence in the province of New York, or otherwise, whether their house of representatives, by any vote or votes whatsoever, have deserted the union with the other American colonies formed in general congress for the preservation of their just rights; whether the other

colonies are to consider such vote or votes as declaring truly the sense of the people of their province in general, and as forming a rule for their future conduct; and if they are not to be so considered, that then they inform us by their names, and other sufficient descriptions of the individuals who may have concurred in such vote or votes, and that the said committee by such their information before the next convention or assembly.

Resolved unanimously, That the committees of the several counties and corporations in this colony do exert themselves in procuring and continuing contributions for supplying the necessities and alleviating the distresses of our brave and worthy fellow subjects of Boston, now suffering in the common cause of American freedom, in such a manner, and so long as their occasions may require.

Resolved unanimously, in compliance with the recommendation of the late continental congress, that delegates ought to be appointed to represent this colony at the approaching congress to be held in the city of Philadelphia the 10th day of May next.

Resolved, That the delegates from this colony, do consist of seven members, and that they be chosen by ballot.

Adjourned till to-morrow ten o'clock,

Saturday, March 25, 1775.

Resolved, As the opinion of this convention, that on account of the unhappy disputes between Great Britain and the colonies, and the unsettled state of this country, the lawyers, suitors, and witnesses, ought not to attend the prosecution or defence of civil suits at the next general court: and it is recommended to the several courts of justice not to proceed to the hearing or determination of suits on their dockets, except attachments; nor to give judgment but in the case of sheriffs or other collectors of money or tobacco received by them, in other cases where such judgment shall be voluntarily confessed, or upon such amicable proceedings as may become necessary for the settlement, division, or distribution of estates: and during the suspension of the administration of justice, it is earnestly recommended to the people to observe a peaceable and orderly behaviour; to all creditors to be as indulgent to their debtors as may be; and to all debtors to pay as far as they are able; and where differences may arise which cannot be adjudged between the parties, that they refer the decision thereof to judicious neighbours, and abide by their determination.

The convention then took into their consideration, according to the order of yesterday, the plan for embodying, arming, and disciplining the militia; which being read and amended, was unanimously agreed to as follows:

The committee propose that it be strongly recommended to the colony diligently to put in execution the militia law passed in the year 1738,

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entitled

entitled, "An act for the better regulating of the militia, which has become in force by the expiration of all subsequent militia laws."

The committee are further of opinion, that as from the expiration of the above-mentioned latter laws, and various other causes, the legal necessary disciplining the militia has been much neglected, and a proper provision of arms and ammunition has not been made, to the evident danger of the community in case of invasion or insurrection; that it be recommended to the inhabitants of the several counties of this colony, that they form one or more volunteer companies of infantry and troops of horse in each county, and to be in constant training and readiness to act on any emergency.

That it be recommended, particularly to the counties of Brunswick, Dinwiddie, Chesterfield, Henrico, Hanover, Spotsylvania, King George, and Stafford, and to all counties below these, that out of such their volunteers they form each of them one or more troops of horse; and to all the counties above these, it is recommended that they pay a more particular attention to the forming a good infantry.

That each company of infantry consist of sixty-eight rank and file, to be commanded by one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, four serjeants, and four corporals; and that they have a drummer, and be furnished with a drum and colours: that every man be provided with a good rifle, if to be had, or otherwise with a common firelock, bayonet, and cartouch box, and also with a tomahawk, one pound of gunpowder, and four pounds of ball at least fitted to the bore of his gun; that he be clothed in a hunting shirt by way of uniform; and that all endeavour as soon as possible, to become acquainted with the military exercise for infantry appointed to be used by his Majesty in the year 1764.

That each troop of horse consist of thirty, exclusive of officers; that every horseman be provided with a good horse, bridle, saddle, with pistols and holsters, a carbine, or other short firelock, with a bucket, a cutting sword, or tomahawk, one pound of gunpowder, and four pounds of ball at the least, and use the utmost diligence in training and accustoming his horse to stand the discharge of fire arms, and in making himself acquainted with the military exercise for cavalry.

That, in order to make a further and more ample provision of ammunition, it be recommended to the committees of the several counties, that they collect from their constituents, in such manner as shall be most agreeable to them, so much money as will be sufficient to purchase half a pound of gunpowder, one pound of lead, necessary flints and cartridge paper for every tithable person in their country; that they immediately take effectual measures for the procuring

such gunpowder, lead, flints, and cartridge paper, and dispose thereof, when procured, in such place or places of safety as they may think best: and it is earnestly recommended to each individual to pay such proportion of the money necessary for these purposes as by the respective committees shall be judged requisite.

That as it may happen that some counties, from their situation, may not be apprised of the most certain and speedy method of procuring the articles before-mentioned, one general committee should be appointed, whose business it should be to procure for such counties as may make application to them, such articles and so much thereof as the monies wherewith they shall furnish the said committee will purchase, after deducting the charges of transportation, and other necessary expenses.

Resolved, That Robert Carter Nicholas, Thomas Nelson, and Thomas Whiting, Esqrs. or any two of them, be a committee for the purpose afore-mentioned.

Resolved unanimously, That the most cordial thanks of the people of this colony are a tribute justly due to our worthy Governor, Lord Dunmore, for his truly noble, wise, and spirited conduct on the late expedition against our Indian enemy; a conduct which at once evinces his Excellency's attention to the true interests of this colony, and a zeal in the executive department, which no dangers can divert, or difficulties hinder, from achieving the most important services to the people who have the happiness to live under his administration.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this convention be presented to the gentlemen officers and soldiers who lately so nobly defended this colony from the savage enemy on our frontiers, and by their bravery, not only procured success to our arms, but must have convinced the enemy it will be their true interest to preserve the peace on the terms stipulated by his Excellency Lord Dunmore. That we sincerely condole with the relations and of those brave men who so nobly fell in battle on that mournful event, and assure all who have rendered such important services to this colony, that, so soon as opportunity permits, we will most cheerfully do every thing on our part to make them ample satisfaction.

Resolved, That Robert Carter Nicholas, Richard Bland, James Mercer, Edmund Pendleton, Archibald Cary, Charles Carter of Stafford, Benjamin Harrison, Richard Henry Lee, Josias Clapton, George Washington, Patrick Henry, James Holt, and Thomas Newton, Esqrs. be a committee to prepare a plan for the encouragement of arts and manufactures in this colony.

The convention then proceeded to the election of delegates by ballot, to represent this colony in general congress, to be held at the city of Philadelphia on the 10th day of May next, when

the Hon. Peyton Randolph, Esq. George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Edmund Pendleton, Benjamin Harrison, and Richard Bland, Esqrs. were chosen for that purpose.

Resolved, That Robert Carter Nicholas, Esq. be desired to lay before this convention, on Monday next, an account of the money received from the several counties and corporations in this colony, for the use of the delegates sent to represent this colony in general congress.

Adjourned till Monday ten o'clock.

Monday, March 27, 1775.

The committee appointed to prepare a plan for the encouragement of arts and manufactures, reported the following resolutions, which being severally read, were unanimously agreed to.

Whereas it hath been judged necessary, for the preservation of the just rights and liberties of America, firmly to associate against importation; and as the freedom, happiness and prosperity of a state greatly depend on providing within itself a supply of articles necessary for subsistence, cloathing and defence; and whereas it is judged essential, at this critical juncture, to form a proper plan for employing the different inhabitants of this colony, providing for the poor, and restraining vagrants and other disorderly persons who are nuisances to every society, a regard for our country, as well as common prudence, call upon us to encourage agriculture, manufactures, œconomy, and the utmost industry; therefore this convention doth resolve as follows:

Resolved unanimously, That it be earnestly recommended to the different magistrates, vestries, and churchwardens, throughout this colony, that they pay a proper attention and strict regard to the several acts of assembly made for the restraint of vagrants, and the better employing and maintaining the poor.

Resolved unanimously, That from and after the first day of May next, no person or persons whatever ought to use, in his or their families, unless in case of necessity, and on no account sell to butchers, or kill for market, any sheep under four years old; and where there is a necessity for using any mutton in his, her, or their families, it is recommended to kill such only as are least profitable to be kept.

Resolved unanimously, That the setting up and promoting woollen, cotton, and linen manufactures, ought to be encouraged in as many different branches as possible, especially coating, flannel, blankets, rugs, or coverlids, hosiery, and coarse cloaths, both broad and narrow.

Resolved unanimously, That all persons, having proper lands for the purpose, ought to cultivate and raise a quantity of flax, hemp, and cotton, sufficient not only for the use of his or her own family, but also to spare to others on moderate terms.

Resolved unanimously, As salt is a daily and

indispensable necessary of life, and the making of it amongst ourselves must be deemed a valuable acquisition, it is therefore recommended that the utmost endeavours be used to establish salt works and that proper encouragement be given to Mr. James Tait, who hath made proposals, and offered a scheme to the public for so desirable a purpose.

Resolved unanimously, That saltpetre and sulphur, being articles of great and necessary use, the making, collecting, and refining them to the utmost extent, be recommended, the convention being of opinion that it may be done to great advantage.

Resolved unanimously, That the making of gunpowder be recommended.

Resolved unanimously, That the manufacturing of iron into nails and wire, and other necessary articles, be recommended.

Resolved unanimously, That the making of steel ought to be largely encouraged, as there will be a great demand for this article.

Resolved unanimously, That the making of different kinds of paper ought to be encouraged; and as the success of this branch depends on a supply of old linen and woollen rags, the inhabitants of this colony are desired, in their respective families, to preserve these articles.

Resolved unanimously, That whereas wool combs, cotton and wool cards, hemp and flax heckles, have been for some time made to advantage in some of the neighbouring colonies, and are necessary for carrying on linen and woollen manufactures, the establishing such manufactures be recommended.

Resolved unanimously, That the erecting fulling mills, and mills for breaking, swingling and softening hemp and flax, and also that the making grindstones be recommended.

Resolved unanimously, That the brewing malt liquors in this colony would tend to render the consumption of foreign liquors less necessary, it is therefore recommended that proper attention be given to the cultivation of hops and barley.

Resolved unanimously, That it be recommended to all the inhabitants of this colony that they use, as the convention engageth to do, our own manufactures, and those of other colonies, in preference to all others.

Resolved unanimously, That for the more speedily and effectually carrying these resolutions into execution, it be earnestly recommended that societies be formed in different parts of this colony; and it is the opinion of this convention, that proper premiums ought to be offered in the several countries and corporations to such persons as shall excel in the several branches of manufactures; and it is recommended to the several committees of the different counties and corporations to promote and encourage the same to the utmost of their power.

The members of the convention then, in order to encourage Mr. James Tait, who is about to erect salt-works, undertook, for their respective counties, to pay the sum of ten pounds to Robert Carter Nicholas, Esq; for the use of the said James Tait, on or before the tenth day of May next.

His Excellency the Governor having, by proclamation bearing date the 21st day of March in the present year, declared that his Majesty hath given orders, that all vacant lands within this colony shall be put up in lots at public sale, and that the highest bidder for such lots shall be the purchaser thereof, and shall hold the same subject to a reservation of one halfpenny sterling per acre by way of annual quit-rent, and of all mines of gold, silver, and precious stones, which terms are an innovation on the established usage of granting lands within the colony.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to enquire whether his Majesty may of right, advance the terms of granting lands in this colony, and make report thereof to the next general assembly, or convention; and that in the mean time it be recommended to all persons whatever to forbear purchasing or accepting grants of lands on the conditions before-mentioned; and that Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Thomas Jefferson, Robert Nicholas Carter, and Edmund Pendleton, Esqrs. be appointed of the said committee.

Resolved, That the delegates from the several counties in this colony, as also from the city of Williamsburg and Borough of Norfolk, do, without delay, apply to their respective counties and corporations for fifteen pounds current money, and transmit the same, so soon as collected, to Robert Carter Nicholas, Esq; for the use of the deputies sent from this colony to the general congress.

On a motion made,

Resolved, That Thomas Jefferson, Esq; be appointed a deputy to represent this colony in general congress, in the room of the Hon. Peyton Randolph, Esq; in case of the non-attendance of the said Peyton Randolph, Esq;

Resolved, That the said deputies, or any four of them, be a sufficient number to represent this colony in general congress.

Resolved, That the thanks of this convention be presented to the Rev. Mr. Selden, for performing divine service, and for his seasonable and excellent sermon yesterday.

Resolved, That the thanks of this convention are justly due to the town of Richmond, and the neighbourhood, for their polite reception and entertainment of the delegates.

Mr. Alexander Purdie having offered to print the proceedings of this convention, for the use of the members thereof, it is ordered that the clerk deliver him a copy of the said proceedings for that purpose.

Resolved, That this convention doth consider

the delegation of its members as now at an end; and that it be recommended to the people of this colony, to choose delegates to represent them in convention for one year, as soon as they conveniently can.

PEYTON RANDOLPH, President.

A copy,

JOHN TAZEWELL, clerk of the convention.

From the NEW YORK GAZETTE, March, 27.

Thursday last the following Remonstrance was presented to his Excellency.

May it please your Excellency,

We the select men of the town of Billerica beg leave to remonstrate to you your excellency, that on the 8th of this instant March, one Thomas Ditson, an inhabitant of the town of Billerica, was tarred and feathered, and very much abused by a party of his Majesty's 47th regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Nesbet. As guardians for the said town, and from a regard to the liberties and properties of its inhabitants, we cannot but resent this procedure. Your Excellency must be sensible that this act is an high infraction on that personal security which every Englishman is entitled to, and without which his boasted constitution is but a name.

It is sufficiently unhappy for us that we find troops quartered among us for the purpose of enforcing obedience to acts of parliament of Great Britain in the highest sense iniquitous, cruel and unjust. It is still more unhappy, if these troops, instead of preserving the character which British troops once had, should pour in additional insult, and be guilty of the most brutal outrages. We hope your Excellency will take some proper steps for accommodating this affair; for we assure you we cannot, consistent with our duty, pass this matter over. We have been told by your Excellency, that you never meant to disturb the intercourse between the town and country. Confiding in this, we have passed and repassed in our usual manner. We therefore hope your Excellency will make it evident to your conduct, that you are determined the intercourse shall be preserved, and we be not buoyed up with promises, which in the end we unhappily find not to be depended upon. Lieutenant Colonel Nesbit is an officer under your Excellency's command; of you therefore we demand satisfaction for the insult committed by him. We think it is in your power. We beg your Excellency that the breach now so wide between Great Britain and this province may not by such brutality of his Majesty's troops still be encreased. We assure you, Sir, it always has been, and still is, our sentiment and prayer, that harmony may be restored, and that we may not be drove to the last distress of nations.

But may it please your Excellency, we must tell you we are determined, if the innocent inhabitants of our country towns (for we must think this

this man innocent in this affair) must be interrupted by soldiers, in their lawful intercourse with the town of Boston, and treated with the most brutish ferocity, we shall hereafter use a different style from that of petition and complaint.

If the grand bulwarks of our constitution are thus violently torn away, and the powers on earth prove unfriendly to the cause of virtue, liberty and humanity, we are still happy. We can appeal to him who judgeth righteously, and to him we cheerfully leave the event.

Boston, March 27.

In Provincial Congress, Concord, March 24, 1775.

WHEREAS it is indispensibly necessary for the safety of a free people, and the preservation of their liberties, that they at all times keep themselves in a state of actual defence, against every invasion or depredation, and this colony being still threatened by a powerful army posted in its capital, with a professed design of executing certain acts of the British parliament, calculated to destroy our invaluable rights and liberties, and the government of this colony as by charter and law established therein.

Therefore Resolved, That the measures that have heretofore been recommended by this and the former provincial congress for the purpose of putting this colony into a complete state of defence be still more vigorously pursued by the several towns, as well as individual inhabitants; and that any relaxation would be attended with the utmost danger to the liberties of this colony, and of all America; especially as by the latest advices from Great-Britain we have undoubted reasons for jealousy, that our implacable enemies are unremitting in their endeavours by fraud and artifice, as well as by open force, to subjugate this people; which is an additional motive to the inhabitants of this colony to persevere in the line of conduct recommended by the congress; and be ready to oppose with firmness and resolution, at the utmost hazard, every attempt for that purpose.

Signed by Order of the Provincial Congress,
JOHN HANCOCK, President.

A true extract from the minutes.

The following is said to be an exact Copy of a Letter from Colonel Lee, when at Boston, to Lord Percy.

My Lord,

WERE your Lordship only a common Colonel of a regiment, I certainly should not have given myself the trouble of writing, nor you the trouble of reading this letter; but as you hold so high a rank, and will one day hold a still higher, I conceive it will not be improper to address you, and in some measure to apologize for my seeming want of respect. As I have not waited on the General (for reasons which he cannot, I think, disapprove) I was not certain

whether you might in your military capacity consider my visit as proper. But, as you are not merely a soldier, but as a citizen of the first class and importance from your illustrious family and fashion, your vast property, and being defined by birth to be a counsellor of the nation, I think some explanation of my conduct not only proper, but necessary, and I flatter myself, that sometime or other, your Lordship will not simply approve my conduct, but become a friend to the same cause. My Lord, I will venture to say that it is the cause of Great-Britain as well as of America; it is the cause of mankind. Were the principal of taxing America without their consent admitted, Great-Britain would that instant be ruined; the pecuniary influence of the crown, and the army of placemen and pensioners would be so increased, that all opposition to the most iniquitous measures of the most iniquitous ministers would be forever borne down.

Your Lordship, I am sure, must be sensible that this pecuniary influence is already enormously too great, and that a very wicked use is made of it. On these principles every good Englishman (abstracted from any particular regard for America) must oppose her being taxed by the parliament of Great Britain, or more properly by the First Lord of the Treasury; for, in fact, the Parliament and Treasury have, of late years, been one and the same thing. But, my Lord, I have besides a particular regard for America: I was long among them, and I know them to be the most loyal, affectionate, zealous subjects of the whole empire. General Gage himself must acknowledge the truth of what I advance. He was witness, through the course of the last war, of their zeal, their ardour, their enthusiasm for whatever concerned the welfare, the interest, and the honour of the mother country. When I see, therefore, the extreme of calamities attempted to be brought down upon such a people by the intrigues of such a couple of scoundrels as Bernard and Hutchinson; when I see a minister violent and tyrannical, like North, mowing down whole communities, merely to indulge his hereditary hatred of liberty, and those who are attached to her, I think it the duty of every honest man, and friend to humanity, to exert his utmost to defeat the diabolical purpose. That these people have been totally misrepresented at home; that they have been most unjustly and cruelly treated, your Lordship will, I make no doubt, be sooner or later convinced. But as, from your present situation, and many circumstances, you will not probably fall into the way of truth so soon as I could wish, I beg leave to recommend to your perusal a sort of pamphlet lately sent from England; it is entitled, "A True State of the Proceedings in the Parliament of Great Britain, and in the Province of Massachusetts Bay." Mr. ——— will furnish your Lordship with it, if you will make use

use of my name. It is a fair and candid relation of the whole process from beginning to end. When your Lordship has read it, you will be struck with compassion and horror, and I have great hopes will become not a less warm (but more powerful) friend to this much injured country than myself. I take the liberty of recommending this method to your Lordship, as it is impossible you should gather any thing but misinformation from the men who, I find, surround head quarters. The Sewels and Paxtons are not only interested to misrepresent and calumniate, but to exterminate their country; there is no medium; their country must perish, or they meet the desert of impious parricides. It was the misfortune of General Gage from the beginning to fall into such hands as these. Had he not been deluded by men of this stamp, we should never have seen him acting in a capacity so incompatible with the excellence of his natural disposition. I must now, my Lord, entreat, that as fools and knaves will, from misunderstanding and malice, probably disfigure my conduct, you will not suffer them to make any wrong impressions, that you will be persuaded that I act not from any pique and disappointment (which I conclude will be insinuated) but from principle. I think, my Lord, an English soldier owes a very great degree of reverence to the King as first magistrate, and third branch of the legislature, called to this mighty station by the voice of the people; but I think he owes still a greater degree of reverence to the rights and liberties of his country. I think his country is every part of the empire; that in whatever part of the empire a flagitious minister manifestly invades those rights and liberties, whether in Great Britain, Ireland, or America, every Englishman (soldier or not soldier) ought to consider their cause as his own: and that the rights and liberties of this country are invaded, every man must see who has eyes, and is not determined to keep them shut. These, my Lord, are my principles; from these, I swear by all that is sacred and tremendous, I purely and solely act; and these I hope will rather serve than prejudice me in your Lordship's opinion. I flatter myself still farther: I flatter myself that you, my Lord, before it is long will adopt them; that you will at least, in your letters to your father (whom I have always been taught to esteem as an honest man, and friend to humanity), endeavour to undeceive the people at home. If the delusion is too strong, I can venture to affirm that you will feel some consolation amidst the calamities ready to fall upon your country, in the reflection that you had attempted to avert them. I shall now finish, my Lord, entreating, that if any thing appears impertinent, either in the matter or length of this letter, you will attribute it to an intemperate zeal in an honest cause, and that you will be assured I should not have addressed it to a

man, of whom I entertained an unfavourable opinion.

To the PRINTER.

AS the British and Protestant inhabitants of the province of Quebec, have been often represented by the patrons of the late Quebec Act as a turbulent handful of new settlers in that province, who wished to oppress and persecute the great body of the French or Canadian inhabitants of it, and, as a means of doing so, are desirous of having an assembly established in the province that should be chosen only from among themselves, I beg you would communicate to the public the following paragraph of their last petition to the King for an house of assembly; in which they assure his Majesty of their readiness to accept of a house of assembly of such form and constitution as his Majesty in his royal wisdom shall think fit to establish.

"Your Majesty's petitioners being fully convinced, from their residence in the province, and their experience in the affairs of it, that a general assembly would very much contribute to encourage and promote industry, agriculture and commerce, and (as they hope) to create harmony and good understanding between your Majesty's new and old subjects, most humbly supplicate your Majesty to take the premises into your royal consideration, and direct your Majesty's governor, or commander in chief, to call a general assembly, in such a manner, and of such constitution and form, as to your Majesty in your royal wisdom shall seem best adapted to secure its peace, welfare and good government.

"And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c."

Dated Montreal, Jan. 10, 1774.

These words were intended to obviate any objection that might be made to the establishment of a house of assembly in the province of Quebec, from the seeming hardship of excluding from it the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the province, who were so much more numerous than the Protestants. It is true, indeed, that the British and Protestant inhabitants of that province had formerly entertained hopes of being governed by an assembly, consisting of Protestant members only, as the people of Maryland have ever been, notwithstanding the majority of them have always been, and still are, Roman Catholics. And their reasons for entertaining this hope had been by no means trifling; for, in the first place, they imagined that the wisdom and general policy of the British government would never commit the public authority of the province to the hands of persons who refused to abjure the foreign jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, let their numbers be what they would; and especially when those persons had been lately in arms against the crown, and under the allegiance of the French King, who

may

may be considered as the natural rival and enemy of the crown of these kingdoms. And, in the second place, they observed that his Majesty, in both his commissions of governor in chief of the province to General Murray and General Carleton, had given directions that the several members, both of the council and assembly of the province, should, before they were permitted to sit and vote in those capacities, take the oath of abjuration of the Pope's authority, (which is commonly called the oath of supremacy) and the declaration against transubstantiation, as well as the oath of allegiance, and the oath against the Pretender's title to the crown.

Upon these grounds they had conceived the supremacy of the crown to be a matter of such fundamental importance in the British government, that the oath enjoined for its security ought never to be dispensed with, and never would have been dispensed with in any of the dominions of the crown, with respect to persons who were to be invested with public authority; yet they had expected that the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the province would have been permitted to vote at the election of members of the assembly, though not to be elected into it themselves; and this they knew would give them a great influence in the assembly, by means of the members they should so elect. For as the Protestants in the province are no less than three thousand, and many, or most of them, are active, clever people, much more capable of doing the duty of assembly-men than the French or Roman Catholic inhabitants of the province, it would be easy for the electors, out of so great a number of qualified persons, to choose such members as would be agreeable to them and attentive to their wishes and interests. But when the British and Protestant inhabitants of the province came to hear that this great fundamental principle of government, the acknowledgement of the supremacy of the crown, had been dispensed with in the Island of Granada, and Roman Catholics had been admitted into the assembly there, and were given to understand that, if an assembly should be called in the province of Quebec, the Roman Catholics would there also be treated with the like indulgence; they resolved to acquiesce in a measure which they could not have advised; and as they had no personal aversion to their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, nor any desire of excluding them from the assembly but upon those general grounds of policy which had formerly been adhered to by the British government, but which it had been thought expedient of late to depart from, they resolved, with the modesty becoming loyal and obedient subjects; to declare beforehand their readiness to acquiesce in the new system, and to accept, without complaining, of such an assembly as his Majesty in his royal wisdom should think fit to establish in the province. They accordingly drew up

a petition to his Majesty in January 1774 to grant them an assembly, in which, after setting forth the grounds upon which they thought they had reason to expect one, they concluded with the paragraph above recited, which expressed their disposition to acquiesce in, and accept with cheerfulness an assembly of such form and constitution as his Majesty in his royal wisdom should think fit to grant them.

This petition was signed by 148 persons, and was delivered to Lord Dartmouth in March 1774, two months before the late Quebec bill was brought into parliament. And about the same time, that is, about February or March 1774, a certain French petition was presented to his Majesty, which was signed by only sixty-five persons, some of whom were under age, and one of them, young Mr. St. Ours, a boy of only thirteen years of age; yet this petition has been considered as expressing the wishes of the whole body of the Canadian inhabitants of the province, and has been made the ground-work of the late extraordinary act of parliament.

I have thought it the more necessary to insert the foregoing paragraph of the petition of the British and Protestant settlers in the province, because I find it has been asserted in a public vindication of the late Quebec act, that they were desirous of oppressing their Canadian fellow-subjects, and as a means of accomplishing their purpose, had petitioned for an assembly consisting of Protestants only. The Author of a plausible tract published last summer, and intitled, 'The Justice and Policy of the late Act of Parliament for Quebec Asserted and Proved,' has, amongst other very great mistakes upon this subject, the following passage in p. 37. "And these persons (speaking of the British and protestant inhabitants of the province) finding there were no means by which they could oppress the new subjects, or seize upon the powers of government, but by obtaining a Protestant assembly to be called, of which they only could be members, have laboured that point by repeated petitions to his Majesty and representations to the Governor." And, as a proof of the truth of this assertion, he gives his readers, in his appendix, a copy of a petition from the British inhabitants of the Province, in which they represent to his Majesty, "that there is now a sufficient number of his Majesty's protestant subjects residing in, and possessed of real property in the province, and who are otherwise qualified to be members of the general assembly, and then conclude, by desiring him to give direction to his Governor, to call a general assembly in the said province, to meet at the city of Quebec, in such manner as is used in those provinces, in America which are under his Majesty's immediate government." Now this is a part of a petition from the British inhabitants of this province, which was presented some years

ago; I have been told in the year 1770; but is no part of the last petition for an assembly, which was presented in March, 1774, two months before the bringing in of the late Quebec bill into parliament, and therefore it ought not to have been alledged by the author of that pamphlet in justification of that act. But that author has thought fit to be entirely silent, both in the body of his pamphlet, and in his appendix, as to that last petition of the said inhabitants which was delivered in March, 1774. He best knows his reasons for this silence: But it is fit, in justice to the said British inhabitants, that the public should be set right upon this subject.

As to the disposition to oppress and persecute the Canadians, which this writer imputes to the British inhabitants of the province, I will venture to say that there is not the least ground for such a charge. They have always wished to live in the utmost harmony with his Majesty's new subjects in the province, and to see them partake with themselves in the liberty and security which the laws of England, till the late act, afforded them in common; and they would have been happy to see them gradually abandon the tenets of the Romish religion, and that adherence to a foreign jurisdiction, which had been till lately supposed to be a just ground for excluding the persons who hold them from power (though not from liberty and security) in Canada as well as England, and thereby become capable of partaking with themselves in the exercise of the government of the country. And we have now seen, by the paragraph above recited from their petition, that, when they were informed of the change in the general policy of the British government, with respect to the exclusion of Roman catholics from places of trust and power, they submitted their own sentiments to those of their superiors, and declared their willingness to acquiesce in the establishment of a general assembly, into which the Roman catholics should be admitted.

PHILAETHES.

History of the Dispute with America; from its Origin in 1754, to the present Time.

From the BOSTON GAZETTE.

To the Inhabitants of the Colony of Massachusetts's-Bay.

I have intimated my intention, of pursuing the stories through all their dark intrigues, and wicked machinations; and to shew the rise, and progress of their schemes for enslaving this country. The honour of inventing and contriving these measures, is not their due. They have been but servile copiers of the designs of Andros, Randolph, Dudley, and other champions of their cause towards the close of the last century. These latter worthies accomplished but little; and their plans had

been buried with them, for a long course of years, until in the administration of the late Governor Shirley, they were revived, by the persons who are now principally concerned in carrying them into execution. Shirley was an enterprising man; and having mounted, no matter by what means, to the chair of this province, he saw, in a young growing country, vast prospects opening before his eyes, and he conceived great designs of aggrandizing himself, his family and his friends. Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Oliver, the two famous letter-writers, were his principal ministers. Russell, Paxton, Ruggles, and a few others, were subordinate instruments.—Among other schemes, one was to raise a revenue in America by authority of parliament.

In order to effect their purpose it was necessary to concert measures with the other colonies. Dr. Franklin, who was known to be an active, and very able man, and to have great influence, in the province of Pennsylvania, was in Boston in the year 1754, and Mr. Shirley communicated to him the profound secret, the great design of taxing the colonies by act of parliament. This sagacious gentleman, and distinguished patriot, to his lasting honour, sent the governor an answer in writing with the following remarks upon his scheme. Remarks which would have discouraged any honest man from the pursuit. The remarks are these.

“That the people always bear the burthen best, when they have, or think they have, some share in the direction.

“That when public measures are generally distasteful to the people, the wheels of government must move more heavily.

“That excluding the people of America from all share in the choice of a grand council for their own defence, and taxing them in parliament, where they have no representative, would probably give extreme dissatisfaction.

“That there was no reason to doubt the willingness of the colonists to contribute for their own defence.

“That the people themselves, whose all was at stake, could better judge of the force necessary for their defence, and of the means for raising money for the purpose, than a British parliament at so great a distance.

“That natives of America, would be as likely to consult wisely and faithfully for the safety of their native country, as the governors sent from Britain, whose object is generally to make fortunes, and then return home, and who might therefore be expected to carry on the war against France, rather in a way, by which themselves were likely to be gainers, than for the greatest advantage of the cause.

“That compelling the colonies to pay money for their own defence, without their consent, would shew a suspicion of their loyalty, or of their regard for their country, or of their common

mon sense, and would be treating them as conquered enemies, and not as free Britons, who hold it for their undoubted right not to be taxed but by their own consent, given through their representatives.

"That parliamentary taxes, once laid on, are often continued, after the necessity for laying them on ceases; but that if the colonists were trusted to tax themselves, they would remove the burden from the people as soon as it should become unnecessary for them to bear it any longer.

"That if parliament is to tax the colonies, their assemblies of representatives may be dismissed as useless.

"That taxing the colonies in parliament for their own defence against the French, is not more just, than it would be to oblige the cinque ports, and other coasts of Britain, to maintain a force against France, and to tax them for this purpose, without allowing them representatives in parliament.

"That the colonists have always been indirectly taxed by the mother country (besides paying the taxes necessarily laid on by their own assemblies) in as much as they are obliged to purchase the manufactures of Britain, charged with innumerable heavy taxes; some of which manufactures they could make, and others could purchase cheaper at other markets.

"That the colonists are besides taxed by the mother country, by being obliged to carry great part of their produce to Britain, and accept a lower price than they might have at other markets. The difference is a tax paid to Britain.

"That the whole wealth of the colonists centers at last in the mother country, which enables her to pay her taxes.

"That the colonies have, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, extended the dominions, and encreased the commerce and riches of the mother country, that therefore the colonists do not deserve to be deprived of the native right of Britons, the right of being taxed only by representatives chosen by themselves.

"That an adequate representation in parliament would probably be acceptable to the colonists, and would best unite the views and interests of the whole empire."

The last of these propositions seems not to have been well considered, because an adequate representation in parliament is totally impracticable: but others have exhausted the subject.

Whether the ministry at home or the junto here, were discouraged by these masterly remarks, or by any other cause, the project of taxing the colonies was laid aside, Mr. Shirely was removed from this government, and Mr. Pownall was placed in his stead.

Mr. Pownall was a friend to liberty and to our constitution, and seems to have had an aversion

to all plots against either, and consequently to have given his confidence to other persons than Hutchinson and Oliver, who, stung with envy against Mr. Pratt and others who had the lead in affairs, set themselves, by propagating slanders against the governor among the people, and especially among the clergy, to raise discontents, and make him uneasy in his seat. Pownall, averse to wrangling, solicited to be recalled, and after some time Mr. Bernard was removed from New Jersey to the chair of this province.—

Bernard was the man for the purpose of the junto—educated in the highest principles of monarchy, skilled enough in law and policy to do mischief, avaricious, and needy at the same time, having a numerous family to provide for,—he was an instrument suitable in every respect excepting one, for this junto to employ. The exception I mean was blunt frankness, very opposite to that cautious cunning, that deep dissimulation to which they had by long practice disciplined themselves. However, they did not despair of teaching him this necessary artful quality by degrees; and the event shewed they were not wholly unsuccessful in their endeavours to do it.

While the war lasted, these simple provinces were of too much importance in the conduct of it to be disgusted by any open attempt against their liberties. The junto, therefore, contented themselves with preparing their ground, by extending their connections and correspondencies in England, and by conciliating the friendship of the crown officers occasionally here, and insinuating their designs as necessary to be undertaken in some future favourable opportunity, for the good of the empire, as well as of the colonies.

The designs of Providence are inscrutable.—It affords to bad men conjunctures favourable for their designs, as well as to good.—The conclusion of the peace was the most critical opportunity for our junto that could have presented.—A peace founded on the destruction of that system of policy, the most glorious for the nation that ever was formed, and which was never equalled in the conduct of the English government, except in the interregnum, and perhaps in the reign of Elizabeth; which system, however, by its being abruptly broken off, and its chief conductor discarded before it was completed, proved unfortunate to the nation, by leaving it sinking in a bottomless gulph of debt, oppressed and borne down with taxes.

At this lucky time, when the British financier was driven out of his wits for ways and means to supply the demands upon him, Bernard is employed by the junto, to suggest to him the project of taxing the colonies by act of parliament.

I do not advance this without evidence. I appeal to a publication made by Sir Francis Bernard himself, the last year, of his own select letters or

the trade and government of America, and the principles of laws and policy applied to the American colonies.

In the year 1764, Mr. Bernard transmitted home to different noblemen and gentlemen, four copies of his principles of law and polity, with a preface, which proves incontestibly, that the project of new regulating the American colonies were not first suggested to him by the ministry, but by him to them.—The words of this preface are these:—“The present expectation that a new regulation of the American governments will soon take place, probably arises more from the opinion the public has of the abilities of the present ministry, than from any thing that has transpired from the cabinet: it cannot be supposed that their penetration can overlook the necessity of such a regulation, nor their public spirit fail to carry it into execution. But it may be a question, whether the present is a proper time for this work, more urgent business may stand before it; some preparatory steps may be required to precede it; but these will only serve to postpone. As we may expect that this reformation, like all others, will be opposed by powerful prejudices, it may not be amiss to reason with them at leisure, and endeavour to take off their force before they become opposed to government.”

Upon these words, it is impossible not to observe, first, That the ministry had never signified to him any intention of new regulating the colonies; and therefore that it was he who officiously put them upon the pursuit of this Will with a Whisp, which has led them into so much mire. Second, The flattery with which he insinuates these projects into the minds of the ministry, as matters of absolute necessity, which their great penetration could not fail to discover, nor their great regard to the public omit. Third, The importunity with which he urges a speedy accomplishment of his pretended reformation of the governments. And, fourth, His consciousness that these schemes would be opposed, although he affects to expect from powerful prejudices only, that opposition which all America says has been dictated by sound reason, true policy, and eternal justice. The last thing I shall take notice of is, the false insinuation that such new regulations were then generally expected. This is so absolutely false, that excepting Bernard himself, and his junto, scarcely any body on this side the water had any suspicion of it;—inasmuch, that if Bernard had made public at that time his preface and principles, as he sent them to the ministry, it is much to be doubted, whether he could have lived in this country—certain it is, he would have had no friends in this province out of the junto.

The intention of the junto, was, to procure a revenue to be raised in America by act of parliament. Nothing was further from their designs and wishes, than the drawing or sending this re-

venue into the Exchequer in England to be spent there in discharging the national debt, and lessening the burdens of the people there.—They chose to have the fingering of the money themselves.—Their design was, that the money should be applied, first in a large salary to the Governor. This would gratify Bernard, and render him and all other governors, not only independent of the people, but still more absolutely a slave to the will of the minister. They intended likewise a salary for the Lieut. Governor. This would appease Mr. Hutchinson. In the next place, they intended a salary to the judges of common law, as well as admiralty. And thus the whole government, executive and judicial, was to be rendered wholly independent of the people, (and their representatives rendered useless, insignificant and even burthenfome) and absolutely dependent upon, and under the direction of the will of the minister of state.—They intended further to new model the whole continent of North America, make an entire new division of it into distinct, tho' more extensive and less numerous colonies, to sweep away all the charters upon the continent, with the destroying besom of an act of parliament, and reduce all the governments to the plan of the royal governments, with a nobility in each colony, not hereditary indeed, at first, but for life.—They did indeed flatter the ministry and people in England, with distant hopes of a revenue from America, at some future period, to be appropriated to national uses there. But this was not to happen in their minds for some time. The governments must be new modelled, new regulated, reformed first, and then the governments here would be able and willing to carry into execution any acts of parliament or measures of the ministry, for fleecing the people here to pay debts, or support pensioners, on the American establishment, or bribe electors, or members of parliament, or any other purpose that a virtuous ministry could desire.

But as ill-luck would have it, the British financier, was as selfish as themselves, and instead of raising money for them, chose to raise it for himself.—He chose to get the revenue into the Exchequer, because he had hungry cormorants enough about him in England, whose cawings were more troublesome to his ears, than the croaking of the ravens in America. And he thought if America could afford any revenue at all, and he could get it by authority of Parliament, he might have it himself, to give to his friends, as well as raise it for the junto here, to spend themselves, or give to theirs.

I will proceed no further without producing my evidence.—Indeed to a man who was acquainted with this junto, and had any opportunity to watch their motions, observe their language, and remark their countenances, for these last twelve years, no other evidence is necessary;

it was plain to such persons, what this juncto was about. But we have evidence enough now under their own hands of the whole of what was said of them by their opposers, through this whole period.

Governor Bernard, in his letter July 11, 1764, says, "that a general reformation of the American governments would become not only a desirable but a necessary measure.—What his idea was, of a general reformation of the American governments, is to be learnt from his principles of law and polity, which he sent to the ministry in 1764.—I shall select a few of them in his own words:

His 19th proposition is, "The rule that a British subject shall not be bound by laws, or liable to taxes, but what he has consented to by his representatives, must be confined to the inhabitants of Great Britain only, and is not strictly true even there.—30. The parliament of Great Britain, as well from its rights of sovereignty, as from occasional exigences, has a right to make laws for, and impose taxes upon its subjects in its external dominions, although they are not represented in such parliament. But 31. Taxes imposed upon the external dominions, ought to be applied to the use of the people from whom they are raised. 32. The parliament of Great Britain has a right and duty to take care to provide for the defence of the American colonies, especially as such colonies are unable to defend themselves. 33. The parliament of Great Britain has a right and a duty to take care that provision be made for a sufficient support of the American governments. Because 34. The support of the government is one of the principal conditions upon which a colony is allowed the power of legislation. Also because 35. Some of the American colonies have shewn themselves deficient in the support of their several governments, both as to sufficiency and independency."

His 75th proposition is, "Every American government is capable of having its constitution altered for the better. 76. The grants of the powers of governments to American colonies by charters, cannot be understood to be intended for other than their infant or growing states.—77. They cannot be intended for their mature state, that is, for perpetuity, because they are in many things unconstitutional and contrary to the very nature of a British government. Therefore 78. They must be considered as designed only as temporary means for settling and bringing forward the peopling the colonies, which being effected, the cause of the peculiarity of their constitution ceases. 79. If the charters can be pleaded against the authority of Parliament, they amount to a alienation of the dominions of Great Britain, and are in effect acts of dismembering the British Empire, and will operate as

such if care is not taken to prevent it. 83. The notion which has heretofore prevailed, that the dividing America into many governments and different modes of government, will be the means to prevent their uniting to revolt is ill founded, since if the governments were ever so much consolidated, it will be necessary to have so many distinct states as to make a union to revolt impracticable. Whereas 84. The splitting America into many small governments weakens the governing power, and strengthens that of the people, and thereby makes revolting more probable and more practicable. 85. To prevent revolts in future times (for there is no room to fear them in the present) the most effectual means would be to make the governments large and respectable, and balance the powers of them. 86. There is no government in America at present, whose powers are properly balanced; there not being in any of them a real and distinct third legislative power mediating between the King and the people, which is the peculiar excellence of the British constitution. 87. The want of such a third legislative power adds weight to the popular, and lightens the royal scale, so as to destroy the balance between the royal and popular powers. 88. Although America is not now (and probably will not be for many years to come) ripe enough for an hereditary nobility, yet it is now capable of a nobility for life. 89. A nobility appointed by the King for life, and made independent, would probably give strength and stability to the American governments, as effectually as an hereditary nobility does to that of Great Britain. 90. The reformation of the American governments should not be controuled by the present boundaries of the colonies; as they were mostly settled upon partial, occasional, and accidental considerations, without any regard to a whole. 91. To settle the American governments to the greatest possible advantage, it will be necessary to reduce the number of them; in some places to unite and consolidate, in others to separate and transfer; and in general to divide by natural boundaries instead of imaginary lines. 92. If there should be but one form of government established for all the North American provinces, it would greatly facilitate the reformation of them; since if the mode of government was every where the same, people would be more indifferent under what division they were ranged. 93. No objections ought to arise to the alteration of the boundaries of provinces from proprietors on account of their property, only since there is no occasion that it should in the least affect the boundaries of properties. 94. The present distinction of one government being more free or more popular than another, tend to embarrass and to weaken the whole; and should not be allowed to subsist among people subject to one King and one law, and all equally fit for one form of government. 95. The American

rican colonies, in general, are, at this time, arrived at that state which qualifies them to receive the most perfect form of government, which their situation and relation to Great-Britain, make them capable of. 96. The people of North-America, at this time, expect a revival and reformation of the American governments, and are better disposed to submit to it, than ever they were, or perhaps ever will be again. 97. This is therefore the proper, and critical time to reform the American governments upon a general, constitutional, firm, and durable plan; and if it is not done now, it will probably every day grow more difficult, till at last it becomes impracticable."

Now let me ask you—if the parliament of Great Britain, had all the natural foundations of authority, wisdom, goodness, justice, power, in as great perfection as they ever existed in any body of men since Adam's fall: and if the English nation was the most virtuous, pure and free that ever was, would not such an unlimited subjection of three millions of people to that parliament, at three thousand miles distance be real slavery? There are but two sorts of men in the world, freemen and slaves.—The very definition of a freeman, is one who is bound by no law to which he has not consented.—Americans would have no way of giving or withholding their consent to the acts of this parliament, therefore they would not be freemen.—But, when luxury, effeminacy and venality are arrived at such a shocking pitch in England, when both electors and elected, are become one mass of corruption, when the nation is oppressed to death with debts and taxes, owing to their own extravagance, and want of wisdom, what would be your condition under such an absolute subjection to parliament? You would not only be slaves—but the most abject sort of slaves to the worst sort of masters!

Ministerial writers conscious that the people of this continent have the utmost abhorrence of treason and rebellion, labour to avail themselves of the magic in these words.—But their artifice is vain.—The people are not to be intimidated by hard words, from a necessary defence of their liberties:—Their attachment to their constitution so dearly purchased by their own and their ancestors blood and treasure, their aversion to the late innovations, their horror of arbitrary power and the Romish religion, are much deeper rooted than their dread of rude sounds and unmannerly language. They do not want the advice of an honest lawyer, if such an one could be found, nor will they be deceived by a dishonest one. They know what offence it is to assemble armed, and forceably obstruct the course of justice.—They have been many years considering and enquiring, they have been instructed by ministerial writers and their friends, in the nature of treason, and the consequences of their own principles and actions. They know upon what hinge the whole dispute turns.

That the fundamentals of the government over them, are disputed, that the minister pretends and had the influence to obtain the voice of the last parliament in his favour, that parliament is the only supreme, sovereign, absolute and uncontrollable legislative over all the colonies, that therefore the minister and all his advocates will call resistance to acts of parliament, by the names of treason and rebellion. But at the same time they know, that in their own opinions; and in the opinions of all the colonies, parliament has no authority over them, excepting to regulate their trade, and this not by any principle of common law, but merely by the consent of the colonies, founded on the obvious necessity of a case, which was never in contemplation of that law, nor provided for by it, that therefore they have as good a right to charge that minister with treason and rebellion. For if the parliament has not a legal authority to overturn their constitution, and subject them to such acts as are lately passed, every man, who accepts of any commission and takes any steps to carry those acts into execution, is guilty of overt acts of treason and rebellion against his majesty, as much as if he should take arms against his troops, or attempt his sacred life. They know that the resistance against the stamp act, which was made through all America, was in the opinion of the minister high treason, and that Brigadier Ruggles, and good Mr. Ogden, pretended at the Congress at New-York, to be of the same mind, and have been held in utter contempt by the whole continent ever since; because in their own opinion, that resistance was a noble stand against tyranny, and the only opposition to it, which could have been effectual. That if the American resistance to the act for destroying your charter, and to the resolves for arresting persons here and sending them to England for trial, is treason, the lords and commons and the whole nation were traitors at the revolution.

They know that all America is united in sentiment, and in the plan of opposition to the claims of administration and parliament. The junta in Boston, with their little flocks of adherents in the country, are not worth taking into the account; and the army and navy, though these are divided among themselves, are no part of America; in order to judge of this union, they began at the commencement of the dispute, and run through the whole course of it.—At the time of the stamp act, every colony expressed its sentiments by resolves of their assemblies, and every one agreed that parliament had no right to tax the colonies. The house of representatives of the Massachusetts-Bay, then consisted of many persons, who have since figured as friends to government; yet every member of that house concurred most cheerfully in the resolves then passed. The Congress which met that year at New-York, expressed the same opinion in their resolves, after the patent, paper and tea

tea act was passed. The several assemblies expressed the same sentiments, and when your colony wrote the famous circular letter, notwithstanding all the mandates and threats, and cajolings of the minister and the several governors, and all the crown officers through the continent, the assemblies with one voice echoed their entire approbation of that letter, and their applause to your colony for sending it.—In the year 1768, when a non-importation was suggested and planned by a few gentlemen at a private club, in one of our large towns, as soon as it was proposed to the public, did it not spread through the whole continent?—Was it not regarded, like the laws of the Medes and Persians in all the colonies.—When the paint and paper act was repealed, the southern colonies agreed to depart from the association in all things, but the duties articles, but they have kept strictly to their agreement against importing them, so that no tea has been imported into any of them from Great-Britain to this day.—In the year 1770, when a number of persons were slaughtered in King-street, Boston, such was the brotherly sympathy of all the colonies, such their resentment against an hostile administration; that the innocent blood then spilt, has never been forgotten, nor the murderous minister and governors, who brought the troops here, forgiven, by any part of the continent, and never will be.—When a certain masterly statesman, invented a committee of correspondence in Boston, did not every colony, nay every county, city, hundred and town upon the whole continent, adopt the measure. I had almost said, as if it had been a revelation from above, as the happiest means of cementing the union and acting in concert? What proofs of union have been given since the last March! look over the resolves of the several colonies, and you will see that one understanding governs, one heart animates the whole body. Assemblies, conventions, congresses, towns, cities, and private clubs and circles, have been actuated by one great, wise, active and noble spirit, one masterly soul, animating one vigorous body.

The congress at Philadelphia, have expressed the same sentiments with the people of New-England, approved of the opposition to the late innovations, unanimously advised us to persevere in it, and assured us that if force is attempted to carry these measures against us, all America ought to support us. Maryland and the lower counties on Delaware, have already, to shew to all the world their approbation of the measures of New-England, and their determination to join in them, with a generosity, a wisdom and magnanimity, which ought to make the Tories consider, taken the power of the militia into the hands of the people, without the governor, or minister, and established it, by their own authority, for the defence of the Massachusetts,

as well as of themselves. Other colonies are only waiting to see if the necessity of it will become more obvious. Virginia, and the Carolinas, are preparing for military defence, and have been for some time. When we consider the variety of climates, soils, religions, civil governments, commercial interests, &c. which were represented at the congress, and the various occupations, educations, and characters of the gentlemen who composed it, the harmony and unanimity which prevailed in it, can scarcely be paralleled in any assembly that ever met. When we consider, that at the revolution, such mighty questions, as whether the Throne was vacant or not, and whether the Prince of Orange should be king or not, were determined in the convention parliament by small majorities of two or three, and four or five only; the great majorities, the almost unanimity with which all great questions have been decided in your house of representatives, and other assemblies, and especially in the continental congress, cannot be considered in any other light than as the happiest omens indeed, as providential dispensations in our favour, as well as the clearest demonstrations of the cordial, firm, radical and indissoluble union of the colonies.

The grand aphorism of the policy of the whigs has been to unite the people of America, and divide those of Great-Britain: The reverse of this has been the maxim of the Tories, viz. to unite the people of Great-Britain and divide those of America: All the movements, marches and counter-marches of both parties, on both sides of the Atlantic, may be reduced to one or the other of these rules.—I have shewn that the people of America are united more perfectly than the most sanguine whig could ever have hoped, or than the most timid Tory could have feared. Let us now examine whether the people of Great-Britain are equally united against us. For if the contending countries were equally united, the prospect of success in the quarrel would depend upon the comparative wisdom, firmness, strength and other advantages of each other. And if such a comparison was made, it would not appear to a demonstration that Great-Britain could so easily subdue and conquer.—It is not so easy a thing for the most powerful state to conquer a country a thousand leagues off.—How many years time, how many millions of money did it take, with five and thirty thousand men to conquer the poor province of Canada? And after all the battles and victories, it never would have submitted without a capitulation, which secured to them their religion and properties.

But we know that the people of Great Britain are not united against us.—We distinguish between the ministry, the house of commons, the officers of the army, navy, excise, customs, &c. who are dependent on the ministry, and tempti-

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if not obliged, to echo their voices; and the body of the people. We are assured by thousands of letters from persons of good intelligence, that the body of the people are friends to America, and wish us success in our struggles against the claims of parliament and administration. We know that millions in England and Scotland, will think it unrighteous, impolitic, and ruinous to make war upon us. We know that London and Bristol, the two greatest commercial cities in the empire, have declared themselves in the most decisive manner, in favour of our cause. So explicitly, that the former has bound her members under their hands to assist us, and the latter has chosen two known friends of America, one attached to us by principle, birth, and the most ardent affection; the other an able advocate for us on several great occasions. We know that many of the most virtuous and independent of the nobility and gentry are for us, and among them the best bishop that adorns the bench, as great a judge as the nation can boast, and the greatest statesman it ever saw. We know that the nation is loaded with debts and taxes by the folly and iniquity of its ministers, and that without the trade of America, it can neither long support its fleet and army, nor pay the interest of its debt.

But we are told that the nation is now united against us, that they hold they have a right to tax us, and legislate for us, as firmly as we deny it. That we are a part of the British empire, that every state must have an uncontrollable power co-extensive with the empire, that there is little probability of saving ourselves by ingenious distinctions between external and internal taxes. If we are not a part of the state, and subject to the supreme authority of parliament, Great Britain will make us so; that if this opportunity of reclaiming the colonies is lost, they will be dismembered from the empire; and although they may continue their allegiance to the King, they will own none to the imperial crown.

To all this I answer, That the nation is not so united—that they do not so universally hold they have such a right, and my reasons I have given before. That the terms “British empire” are not the language of the common law, but the language of news papers and political pamphlets. That the dominions of the King of Great Britain has no uncontrollable power co-extensive with them—I would ask by what law the parliament has authority over America? By the law of God in the Old and New Testament it has none.—By the law of nature and nations it has none.—By the common law of England it has none. For the common law, and the authority of parliament founded on it, never extended beyond the four seas.—By statute law it has none, for no statute was made before the settlement of the colonies for this purpose; and the declaratory act made in 1766, was made without our consent, by a par-

liament which had no authority beyond the four seas. What religious, moral, or political obligation then are we under, to submit to parliament as a supreme legislative? None at all.—When it is said, that if we are not subject to the supreme authority of parliament, Great Britain will make us so, all other laws and obligations are given up, and recourse is had to the *ratio ultima* of Lewis XIVth, and the *suprema lex* of the King of Sardinia, to the law of brickbats and cannon balls, which can be answered only by brickbats and balls.

This language, “the imperial crown of Great Britain,” is not the stile of the common law but of court sycophants. It was introduced in allusion to the Roman empire, and intended to insinuate, that the prerogative of the imperial crown of England, was like that of the Roman Emperor, after the maxim was established, *quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem*, and so far from including the two houses of parliament in the idea of this imperial crown, it was intended to insinuate that the crown was absolute, and had no need of Lords or Commons to make or dispenise with laws.—Yet even these court sycophants when driven to an explanation, never dared to put any other sense upon the words imperial crown, than this, that the crown of England was independent of France, Spain, and all other Kings and states in the world.—

When ministerial writers say, that the King's dominions must have an uncontrollable power, co-extensive with them. I ask whether they have such a power or not? and utterly deny that they have by any law but that of Lewis the XIVth, and the King of Sardinia.—If they have not, and it is necessary that they should have, it then follows that there is a defect in what he calls the British empire,—and how shall this defect be supplied?—It cannot be supplied consistently with reason, justice, policy, morality, or humanity, without the consent of the colonies, and some new plan of connection. But if Great Britain will set all these at defiance, and resort to the *ratio ultima*, all Europe will pronounce her a tyrant, and America never will submit to her, be the danger of disobedience as great as it will.

But there is no need of any other power than that of regulating trade, and this the colonies ever have been, and will be ready and willing to concede to her.—But she will never obtain from America any further concession while she exists.

We are then asked, “for what she protected and defended the colonies against the maritime power of Europe, from their first settlement to this day?” I answer, for her own interest, because all the profits of our trade centered in her lap.—But it ought to be remembered, that her name, not her purse, nor her fleets and armies, ever protected us, until the last war, and then

the minister who conducted that war informs us, that the annual millions from America enabled her to do it.—

We are then asked, for what she purchased New-York of the Dutch? I answer, she never did.—The Dutch never owned it, were never more than trespassers and intruders there, and were finally expelled by conquest.—It was ceded, it is true, by the treaty of Breda, and it is said in some authors, that some other territory in India was ceded to the Dutch in lieu of it. But this was the transaction of the King, not of parliament, and therefore makes nothing to the argument.—But admitting, for argument sake, what is not a supposable case, that the nation should be so sunk in sloth, luxury and corruption, as to suffer their minister to persevere in his mad blunders, and send fire and sword against us, how shall we defend ourselves? The colonies south of Pennsylvania have no men to spare, we are told.—But we know better.—We know that all those colonies have a back country, which is inhabited by an hardy, robust people, many of whom are emigrants from New-England, and habituated, like multitudes of New-Englandmen, to carry their fuzees or rifles upon one shoulder to defend themselves against the Indians, while they carried their axes, scythes and hoes upon the other to till the ground.—Did not those colonies furnish men the last war?—Did not Virginia furnish men, one regiment particularly equal to any regular regiment in the service.—But “have you arms and ammunition?” I answer, we have; but if we had not, we could make a sufficient quantity of both.—What should hinder? We have many manufacturers of fire arms now, whose arms are as good as any in the world. Powder has been made here, and may be again, and so may salt-petre. What should hinder? We have all the materials in great abundance, and the process is very simple. But if we neither had them, nor could make them, we could import them.—But “the British navy.”—Ay there’s the rub.—But let us consider.—How many ships are taken to blockade Boston harbour?—How many ships can Britain spare to carry on this humane and political war, the object of which is a pepper corn? Let her send all the ships she has round her island.—What if her ill-natured neighbours France and Spain should strike a blow in their absence?—In order to judge what they could all do, when they arrived here, we should consider what they are all able to do round the island of Great Britain.—We know that the utmost vigilance and exertions of them, added to all the terms of sanguinary laws are not sufficient to prevent continual smuggling into their own island.—Are there not fifty bays, harbours, creeks and inlets, upon the whole coast of North America, while there is one round the island of Great Britain. Is it to be supposed then, that the whole British navy could prevent

the importation of arms and ammunition into America?

But what will you do for discipline and subordination? I answer, we will have them in as great perfection as the regular troops.—If the provincials were not brought in the last war to a proper discipline, what was the reason? Because regular generals would not let them fight, which they ardently wished, but employed them in cutting roads.—If they had been allowed to fight, they would have brought the war to a conclusion too soon.—The provincials did submit to martial law, and to the mutiny and desertion act the last war, and such an act may be made here by a legislature, which they will obey with much more alacrity than an act of parliament.

The militia are commanded through the province, not by men who procured their commissions from a governor as a reward for making themselves pimps to his tools, and by discovering a hatred of the people, but by gentlemen, whose estates, abilities and benevolence, have rendered them the delight of the soldiers, and there is an esteem and respect for them visible through the province, which has not been used in the militia.—Nor is there that unsteadiness that is charged upon them.—In some places, where companies have been split into two or three, it has only served, by exciting an emulation between the companies, to encrease the martial spirit and skill.

In a land war, this continent can defend itself against all the world.—We have men enough, and those men have as good natural understanding, and as much natural courage as any other men.—If they were wholly ignorant now, they might learn the art of war. But at sea we are defenceless. A navy might burn our sea port towns.—What then? Three hundred and fifty thousand land-holders will not give up their rights, and the constitution by which they hold them, to save fifty thousand inhabitants of maritime towns.—Will the minister be nearer his market, after he has burnt a beautiful town, and murdered 30,000 innocent people? So far from it, that one such event would occasion the loss of all the colonies to Great Britain for ever.—It is not so clear that our trade, fishery and navigation, could be taken from us.—Some persons, who understand this subject, are of a different opinion.—They think that our trade would be encreased. But I will not enlarge upon this subject, because I wish the trade of this continent may be confined to Great Britain, at least as much of it as it can do her any good to restrain.

The Canadians and savages are brought in.—Although we are sensible that the Quebec act has laid a foundation for a fabric which may be formidable, if not ruinous to the colonies in future times, yet we know that these times are yet at a distance, at present we hold the power of the Canadian

nadians as nothing.—But we know their dispositions are not unfriendly to us.—The savages will be more likely to be our friends than our enemies: but if they should not, we know well enough how to defend ourselves against them.

Is the three-pence upon tea our only grievance?—Are we not in this province deprived of the privilege of paying our governors, judges, &c.—Are not trials by jury taken from us! Are we not to be sent to England for trial! Is not a military government put over us? Is not our constitution demolished to the foundation? Have not the ministry shewn by the Quebec bill, that we have no security against them for our religion any more than our property, if we once submit to the unlimited claims of parliament!—This is so gross an attempt to impose on the most ignorant of the people, that it is a shame to answer it.

Obsta principiis.—Nip the shoots of arbitrary power in the bud, is the only maxim which can ever preserve the liberties of any people. When the people give way, their deceivers, betrayers, and destroyers press upon them so fast that there is no resisting afterwards.—The nature of the encroachment upon American constitution is such, as to grow every day more and more encroaching. Like a cancer, it eats faster and faster every hour.—The revenue creates pensioners, and the pensioners urge for more revenue.—The people grow less steady spirited and virtuous, and the seekers more numerous and more corrupt, and every day increases the circles of their dependants and expectants, until virtue, integrity, public spirit, simplicity, frugality, become the objects of ridicule and scorn, and vanity, luxury, folly, selfishness, meanness, and downright venality, swallow up the whole society.

The present calamity seems to be nothing more nor less, than reviving the plans of Mr. Bernard and the junto.—Surely this party are, and have been rather unpopular.—The popular party did not write Bernard's letters, who so long ago pressed for the demolition of all the charters upon the continent, and a parliamentary taxation to support government, and the administration of justice in America.—The popular party did not write Oliver's letters, who enforces Bernard's plans, nor Hutchinson's, who pleads with all his eloquence and pathos for parliamentary penalties, ministerial vengeance, and an abridgement of English liberties.

There is not in human nature a more wonderful phenomenon, nor in the whole theory of it a more intricate speculation, than the shiftings, turnings, windings, and evasions of a guilty conscience.

The still ridiculous attempts of the tories, to throw off the blame of our calamities from themselves to the whigs, remind me of the story in the old testament.—When Joseph's brethren had

fold him to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver, in order to conceal their own avarice, malice and envy, they dip the coat of many colours in the blood of a kid, and say that an evil beast had rent him in pieces and devoured him.

However, what the sons of Israel intended for ruin to Joseph, proved the salvation of the family; and I hope and believe that the whigs, will have the magnanimity, like him, to suppress their resentment, and the felicity of saving their ungrateful brothers.

There was never any pretence of raising a revenue in America before the close of the war, and when the claim was first set up, it gave an alarm, like a warlike expedition against us. True it is that some duties had been laid before by parliament, under pretence of regulating our trade, and by a collusion and combination, between the West-India planters and the North-American governors, some years before duties had been laid upon molasses, &c. under the same pretence, but in reality merely to advance the value of the estates of the planters in the West-India islands, and to put some plunder, under the name of thirds of seizures into the pockets of the governors.—But these duties though more had been collected in this province than in any other in proportion, were never regularly collected in any of the colonies. So that the idea of an American revenue for one purpose or another had never, at this time, been formed in American minds. But the ministerial writers say, "She, Great Britain, thought it as reasonable that the colonies should bear a part of the national burthen, as that they should share in the national benefit."

Upon this subject Americans have a great deal to say.—The national debt before the last war, was near an hundred millions. Surely America had no share in running into that debt. Where is the reason then, that she should pay it?—But a small part of the sixty millions spent in the last war was for her benefit. Did not she bear her full share of the burden of the last war in America? Did not this province pay twelve shillings in the pound in taxes for the support of it: and send a sixth or seventh part of her sons into actual service? and at the conclusion of the war, was she not left half a million sterling in debt? Did not all the rest of New-England exert itself in proportion? What is the reason that the Massachusetts has paid its debt, and the British minister in fourteen years of peace has paid so little of his?—Much of it might have been paid in this time, had not such extravagance and speculation prevailed as ought to be an eternal warning to America, never to trust such a minister with her money. What is the reason that the great and necessary virtues of simplicity, frugality and oeconomy, cannot live in England, Scotland and Ireland, as well as America?

[To be continued.]

S A L E M, April 25.

LAST Wednesday, the 19th of April, the Troops of his Britannick Majesty commenced Hostilities upon the People of this Province, attended with Circumstances of Cruelty not less brutal than what our venerable Ancestors received from the vilest Savages of the Wilderness. The Particulars relative to this interesting Event, by which we are involved in all the Horrors of a civil War, we have endeavoured to collect as well as the present confused State of Affairs will admit.

On Tuesday Evening a Detachment from the Army, consisting, it is said, of 8 or 900 Men, commanded by Lieut. Col. Smith, embarked at the Bottom of the Common in Boston, on board a Number of Boats, and landed at Phips's Farm, a little Way up Charles River, from whence they proceeded with Silence and Expedition, on their Way to Concord, about 18 Miles from Boston. The People were soon alarmed, and began to assemble, in several Towns, before Day-Light, in Order to watch the Motion of the Troops. At Lexington, 6 Miles below Concord, a Company of Militia, of about 100 Men, mustered near the Meeting House; the Troops came in Sight of them just before Sun-rise; and running within a few Rods of them, the Commanding Officer accosted the Militia in Words to this Effect:—"Disperse you Rebels—Damn you, throw down your Arms and disperse:" Upon which the Troops huzza'd, and immediately one or two Officers discharged their Pistols, which were instantaneously followed by the Firing of 4 or 5 of the Soldiers, and then there seemed to be a general Discharge from the whole Body: Eight of our Men were killed, and nine wounded. In a few Minutes after this Action the Enemy renewed their March for Concord; at which Place they destroyed several Carriages, Carriage Wheels, and about 20 Barrels of Flour, all belonging to the Province. Here about 150 Men going towards a Bridge, of which the Enemy were in Possession, the latter fired, and killed 2 of our Men, who then returned the Fire, and obliged the Enemy to retreat back to Lexing-

ton, where they met Lord Percy, with a large Reinforcement, with two Pieces of Cannon. The Enemy now having a Body of about 1800 Men, made a Halt, picked up many of their Dead, and took Care of their Wounded. At Menotomy, a few of our Men attacked a Party of twelve of the Enemy, (carrying Stores and Provisions to the Troops) killed one of them, wounded several, made the Rest Prisoners, and took Possession of all their Arms, Stores, Provisions, &c. without any Loss on our Side.—The Enemy having halted one or two Hours at Lexington, found it necessary to make a second Retreat, carrying with them many of their Dead and Wounded, who they put into Chaises and on Horses that they found standing in the Road. They continued their Retreat from Lexington to Charlestown with great Precipitation; and notwithstanding their Field Pieces, our People continued the Pursuit, firing at them till they got to Charlestown Neck, (which they reached a little after Sunset) over which the Enemy passed, proceeded up Bunker's Hill, and soon afterwards went into the Town, under the Protection of the Somerset Man of War of 64 Guns.

In Lexington the Enemy set Fire to Deacon Joseph Loring's House and Barn, Mrs. Mulliken's House and Shop, and Mr. Joshua Bond's House and Shop, which were all consumed. They also set Fire to several other Houses, but our People extinguished the Flames. They pillaged almost every House they passed by, breaking and destroying Doors, Windows, Glasses, &c. and carrying off Cloathing and other valuable Effects. It appeared to be their Design to burn and destroy all before them; and nothing but our vigorous Pursuit prevented their infernal Purposes from being put in Execution. But the savage Barbarity exercised upon the Bodies of our unfortunate Brethren who fell, is almost incredible: Not content with shooting down the unarmed, aged and infirm, they disregarded the Cries of the wounded, killing them without Mercy, and mangling their Bodies in the most shocking Manner.

We have the Pleasure to say, that notwithstanding

standing the highest Provocations given by the Enemy, not one instance of cruelty that we have heard of, was committed by our victorious Militia; but, listening to the merciful Dictates of the Christian Religion, they "breathed higher Sentiments of Humanity.

The Conspiration of the People of Charles Town, when our Enemies were entering the Town, is inexpressible; the Troops however behaved tolerably civil, and the People have since nearly all left the town.

The following is the List of the Provincials who were killed and wounded.

KILLED: Messrs. Robert Munroe, * Jonas Parker, * Samuel Hadley, * Jonathan Harrington, * Galeb Harrington, * Isaac Muzzy, * John Brown, John Raymond, Nathaniel Wyman, and Jedidiah Munroe, of Lexington.—Messrs. Jason Russell, Jabez Wyman, and Jason Winship, of Menotomy.—Deacon Haynes, and Mr. — Reed, of Sudbury.—Capt. James Miles of Concord.—Capt. Jonathan Willson, of Bedford.—Capt. Davis, Mr. — Hersmer, and Mr. James Howard of Acton.—* Mr. Azael Porter, and Mr. Daniel Thompson, of Woborn.—Mr. James Miller, and Capt. William Barber's son, aged fourteen, of Charles Town.—Isaac Gardner, Esq; of Brookline.—Mr. John Hicks of Cambridge.—Mr. Henry Putnam, of Medford.—Messrs. Abednego Ramsdell, Daniel Townsend, William Flint, and Thomas Hadley, of Lynn.—Messrs. Henry Jacobs, Samuel Cook, Ebenezer Goldthwait, George Southwick, Benjamin Doland, jun. Josham Webb, and Perley Putnam, of Danvers.—Mr. Benjamin Peirce, of Salem.

WOUNDED. Messrs. John Robbins, John Tidd, Solomon Pierce, Thomas Winship, Nathaniel Farmer, Joseph Comee, Ebenezer Munroe, Francis Brown, and Prince Easterbrooks (a Negro-Man) of Lexington.—Mr. — Hemmenway, of Framingham.—Mr. John Lane, of Bedford.—Mr. George Reed, and Mr. Jacob Bacon, of Woborn.—Mr. William Polly, of Medford.—Mr. Joshua Felt, and Mr. Timothy Munroe, of Lynn.—Mr. Nathan Putnam, and Mr. Dennis Wallis, of Danvers.—Mr. Nathaniel Cleaves, of Beverly.

MISSING. Mr. Samuel Frost, and Mr. Seth Russell, of Montomy.

Those distinguished with this Mark [*] were killed by the first Fire of the Enemy.

We have seen an Account of the Loss of the Enemy, said to have come from an Officer of one of the Men of War; by which it appears that 63 of the Regulars, and 49 Marines were killed, and 103 of both wounded: In all 215. Lieut. Gould of the 4th regiment, who is wounded, and Lieut. Potter of the Marines, and about twelve Soldiers, are Prisoners.

Mr. James Howard and one of the Regulars discharged their Pieces at the same Instant, and each killed the other.

Our late Brethren of Danvers, who fell fighting for their Country, were interred with great Solemnity and Respect on Friday last.

IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS.

Watertown, April 26th 1775.

To the INHABITANTS of GREAT BRITAIN.

Friends and Fellow Subjects,

HOSTILITIES ate at length commenced in this colony, by the troops under command of General Gage; and it being of the greatest importance that an early, true, and authentic account of this inhuman proceeding should be known to you, the Congress of this colony have transmitted the same; and for want of a session of the Hon. Continental Congress, think it proper to address you on this alarming occasion.

By the clearest depositions, relative to this transaction, it will appear, *that* on the night preceding the 19th of April instant, a body of the King's troops, under command of Col. Smith, were secretly landed at Cambridge, with an apparent design to take or destroy the military and other stores provided for the defence of this colony, and deposited at Concord; *that* some inhabitants of the colony, on the night aforesaid, whilst travelling peaceably on the road between Boston and Concord, were seized and greatly abused by armed men, who appeared to be officers of General Gage's army; *that* the town of Lexington by these means was alarmed, and a company of the inhabitants mustered on the occasion; *that* the regular troops on their way to Concord marched into the said town of Lexington, and the said company on their approach began to disperse; *that* notwithstanding this the Regulars rushed on with great violence, and *first* began hostilities by firing on the said Lexington company, whereby they killed eight and wounded several others; *that* the Regulars continued their fire until those of the said company, who were neither killed nor wounded, had made their escape;

* There were 100 Provincials and 900 Regulars.

escape; that Col. Smith with the detachment then marched to Concord, where a number of Provincials were again fired on by the troops, two of them killed and several wounded before any of the Provincials fired on them; and that these hostile measures of the troops produced an engagement that lasted thro' the day, in which many of the Provincials, and more of the regular troops were killed and wounded.

To give a particular account of the ravages of the troops, as they retreated from Concord to Charles Town, would be very difficult, if not impracticable; let it suffice to say, that a great number would disgrace the annals of the most uncivilized nations.

These, brethren, are marks of ministerial vengeance against this colony, for refusing, with her sister colonies, a submission to slavery; but they have not yet detached us from our Royal Sovereign; we profess to be his loyal and dutiful subjects; and so hardly dealt with as we have been, are still ready, with our lives and fortunes, to defend his person, family, crown and dignity; nevertheless, to the persecution and tyranny of his cruel Ministry, we will not tamely submit; appealing to Heaven for the justice of our cause, "we determine to die or be free."

We cannot think that the honour, wisdom, and valour of Britons will suffer them to be longer inactive spectators of measures, in which they themselves are so deeply interested; measures pursued in opposition to the solemn protests of many noble Lords, and expressed sense of conspicuous Commons, whose knowledge and virtue have long characterized them as some of the greatest men in the nation; measures executing contrary to the interest, petitions, and resolves of many large, respectable counties, cities, and boroughs in Great Britain; measures highly incompatible with justice, but still pursued with a specious pretence of easing the nation of its burthens; measures which, if successful, must end in the ruin and slavery of Britain, as well as the persecuted American colonies.

We sincerely hope that the Great Sovereign of the Universe, who hath so often appeared for the English nation, will support you in every rational and manly exertion with these colonies for saving it from ruin, and that in a constitutional connection with our mother country, we shall soon be altogether a free and happy people.

Signed by order,

JOS. WARREN, President.

AUTHENTIC COPIES.

Lexington, April 23, 1775.

WE, John Hoar, John Whithed, Abraham

Gearfield, Benjamin Munroe, Isaac Park, William Hosmer, John Adams, Gregory Stone, all of Lincoln, in the county of Middlesex, Massachusetts Bay, all of lawful age, do testify and say, that on Wednesday last we were assembled at Concord, in the morning of said day, in consequence of information received, that a brigade of regular troops were on their march to the said town of Concord, who had killed six men at the town of Lexington; about an hour afterward we saw them approaching, to the number as we apprehended of about twelve hundred; on which we retreated to a hill about eighty rods back; and the said troops then took possession of the hill where we were first posted. Presently after this we saw the troops moving towards the north bridge, about one mile from the said Concord Meeting-House. We then immediately went before them, and passed the bridge, just before a party of them, to the number of about two hundred, arrived. They there left about one half of their two hundred at the bridge, and proceeded with the rest towards Col. Barrett's, about two miles from the said bridge. We then, seeing several fires in the town, thought the houses in Concord were in danger, and marched towards the said bridge; and the troops who were stationed there, observing our approach, marched back over the bridge, and then took up some of the plank. We then hastened our march towards the bridge; and when we had got near the bridge, they fired on our men first, three guns one after the other; they also fired a considerable number more; and then, and not before, (having orders from our commanding officers not to fire till we were fired upon) we fired upon the regulars, and they retreated. On their retreat through this town, Lexington, to Charlestown, they ravaged and distressed private property, and burnt three houses, one barn, and one shop.

JOHN HOAR,
JOHN WHITHED,
ABRAHAM GEARFIELD,
BENJ. MUNROE,
ISAAC PARKS,
WM. HOSMER,
JOHN ADAMS,
GREGORY STONE.

Middlesex, ss. April the 23d, 1775.

The within named John Hoar, John Whithed, Abraham Gearfield, Benjamin Munroe, Isaac Parks, William Hosmer, John Adams, Gregory Stone, appeared and made solemn oath to the truth of the within deposition, before us

WILLIAM REED,
JOHN CUMING,
JONAT. HASTINGS,
DUNCAN INGRAHAM,

} Justices of
the Peace.

Præ

Province of Massachusetts Bay, Charlestown, ff.

I, Nathaniel Gorham, Notary and Tabellion Public, duly admitted and sworn, do certify, that William Reed, John Cuming, Jonathan Hastings, and Duncan Ingraham, Esqrs. are four of his Majesty's Justices, and that full faith is to be given to their transactions as such; in witness whereof I have hereunto affixed my name and seal, this twenty-sixth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and seventy five.

NATHANIEL GORHAM, Not. Pub.

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

WE, Nathaniel Mulliken, Philip Ruffel, Moses Harrington, jun. Thomas and Daniel Harrington, William Grimes, William Tidd, Isaac Hastings, Jonas Stone, jun. James Wyman, Thaddeus Harrington, John Chandler, Joshua Reed, jun. Joseph Symonds, Phinehas Smith, John Chandler, jun. Reuben Lock, Joel Viles, Nathan Reed, Samuel Tidd, Benjamin Lock, Thomas Winship, Simeon Snow, John Smith, Moses Harrington the third, Joshua Reed, Ebenezer Parker, John Harrington, Enoch Wellington, John Hofmer, Isaac Green, Phinehas Starn, Isaac Durant, and Thomas Hadley, jun. all of lawful age, and inhabitants of Lexington, in the county of Middlesex, and colony of Massachusetts Bay in New-England, do testify and declare, that on the 19th of April instant, about one or two o'clock in the morning, being informed that several officers of the regulars had the evening before been riding up and down the road, and had detained and insulted the inhabitants passing the same; and also understanding that a body of regulars were marching from Boston towards Concord, with intent, (as it was supposed) to take the stores belonging to the colony in that town, we were alarmed, and having met at the place of our company's parade, were dismissed by our Captain, John Parker, for the present, with orders to be ready to attend at the beat of the drum. We further testify and declare, that about five o'clock in the morning, hearing our drum beat, we proceeded towards the parade, and soon found that a large body of troops were marching towards us. Some of our company were coming up to the parade, and others had reached it, at which time the company began to disperse. Whilst our backs were turned on the troops, we were fired on by them, and a number of our men were instantly killed and wounded. Not a gun was fired by any person in our company, to our knowledge, on the regulars, before they fired on us, and they continued firing until we all had made our escape.

Nath. Mulliken
Philip Ruffell,
Moses Harrington, jun.
Tho. Harrington
Daniel Harrington
William Grimes
William Tidd
Isaac Hastings
Jonas Stone, jun.
James Wyman
Thaddeus Harrington
John Chandler
Joshua Reed, jun.
Joseph Simonds
Phinehas Smith
John Chandler, jun.
Reuben Lock

Joel Viles
Nathan Reed
Samuel Tidd
Benjamin Lock
Thomas Winship
Simeon Snow
John Smith
Mof. Harrington the 3d
Joshua Reed
Ebenezer Parker
John Harrington
Enoch Wellington
John Hofmer
Isaac Green
Phinehas Starns
Isaac Durant
Thomas Hadley, jun.

Middlesex, ff. April 25, 1775.

Nathaniel Mulliken, Philip Ruffel, Moses Harrington, jun. Thomas Harrington, Daniel Harrington, William Grimes, William Tidd, Isaac Hastings, Jonas Stone, jun. James Wyman, Thaddeus Harrington, John Chandler, Joshua Reed, junior, Joseph Simonds, Phinehas Smith, John Chandler, jun. Reuben Lock, Joel Viles, Nathan Reed, Samuel Tidd, Benjamin Lock, Thomas Winship, Simeon Snow, John Smith, Moses Harrington the 3d, Joshua Reed, Ebenezer Parker, John Harrington, Enoch Wellington, John Hofmer, Isaac Green, Phinehas Starns, Isaac Durant, and Thomas Hadley, jun. above-named, being duly cautioned to testify the whole truth, made solemn oath to the above deposition, by them subscribed,

Coram { WM. REED,
 { JOSIAH JOHNSON, } Jus. of Peace.
 { WM. STICKNEY. }

Province of Massachusetts Bay, Charlestown, ff.

I Nathaniel Gorham, Notary and Tabellion Public, duly admitted and sworn, hereby certify to all whom it doth or may concern, that Wm. Reed, Josiah Johnson, and Wm. Stickney, Esqrs. are three of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the county of Middlesex, and that full faith and credit is to be given to their transaction as such; in witness whereof I have hereunto affixed my hand and seal, this twenty-sixth of April, anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five.

NATHANIEL GORHAM, Not. Pub.

Lexington, 25th April, 1775.

SIMON WINSHIP, of Lexington, in the County of Middlesex and Province of Massachusetts Bay, New England, being of lawful age, testifieth and faith, that on the nineteenth of April

April instant, about four o'clock in the morning, as he was passing the public road, in said Lexington, peaceably and unarmed, about two miles and an half distant from the Meeting-House, in said Lexington, he was met by a body of the King's regular troops; and, being stopped by some officers of said troops, was commanded to dismount. Upon asking why he must dismount, he was obliged by force to quit his horse, and ordered to march in the midst of the body; and being examined whether he had been warning the *Minute-Men*, he answered, No—but had been out, and was then returning to his father's. Said Winship further testifies, that he marched with said troops until he came within about half a quarter of a mile of said Meeting-House, when an officer commanded the troops to *halt*, and then to *prime and load*.—This being done, the said troops marched on till they came within a few rods of Captain Parker's Company, who were partly collected on the place of parade, when said Winship observed an officer, at the head of said troops, flourishing his sword, and with a loud voice, giving the word—*Fire!—Fire!* which was instantly followed by a discharge of arms from said regular troops: And said Winship is positive, and in the most solemn manner declares, that there was no discharge of arms, on either side, till the word *Fire* was given by said officer as above.

SIMON WINSHIP.

Middlesex, ss. April 25th, 1775.

Simon Winship above-named appeared, and after due caution to testify the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, made solemn oath to the truth of the above deposition by him subscribed.

WILLIAM REED, } Justices of
JOSIAH JOHNSON, } the Peace.

Province of Massachusetts Bay, Charles-Town, ss.

I, NATHANIEL GORHAM, Notary and Tabellion Public, by lawful authority duly admitted and sworn, hereby certify all whom it doth or may concern, that William Reed and Josiah Johnson, Esqrs. are two of his Majesty's Justices for the county of Middlesex, and that full faith and credit is to be given to their transactions as such. In witness whereof I have hereunto affixed my name and seal this twenty-sixth day of April, Anno Dom. One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-five.

NATHANIEL GORHAM,
Notary Public.

Lexington, April 23, 1775.

I, JAMES BARRETT, of Concord, Colonel of a regiment of militia in the county of Middle-

sex, do testify and say, that on Wednesday morning last, about day-break, I was informed of the approach of a number of the regular troops to the town of Concord, where were some magazines belonging to this province, and where there were assembled some of the militia of this and the neighbouring towns, when I ordered them to march to the North Bridge (so called) which they had passed, and were taking up. I ordered said militia to march to said Bridge, and pass the same, but not to fire on the King's troops unless they were first fired upon. We advanced near said Bridge, when the said troops fired upon our militia, and killed two men dead on the spot, and wounded several others, which was the first firing of guns in the town of Concord. My detachment then returned the fire, which killed and wounded several of the said King's troops.

JAMES BARRETT,

Middlesex, ss. April 23d, 1775.

The above-named James Barrett personally appeared, and after due caution to testify the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, made solemn oath to the truth of the above deposition by him subscribed before us,

WILLIAM REED, } Justices of
JONA. HASTINGS, } the Peace.
DUNCAN INGRAHAM, }

Province of Massachusetts Bay, Charles-Town, ss.

I, NATHANIEL GORHAM, Notary and Tabellion Public, duly admitted and sworn, do certify all whom it doth or may concern, that William Reed, Jonathan Hastings, and Duncan Ingraham, Esqrs. are three of his Majesty's Justices for the county of Middlesex, and that full faith and credit is to be given to their transactions as such. In witness whereof I have hereunto affixed my name and seal this twenty-sixth of April, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-five,

NATHANIEL GORHAM,
Notary Public.

I, EDWARD THOROTON GOULD, of his Majesty's own regiment of foot, being of lawful age, do testify and declare, that on the evening of the 18th inst. under the orders of General Gage, I embarked with the light infantry and grenadiers of the line, commanded by Colonel Smith, and landed on the marshes of Cambridge, from whence we proceeded to Lexington. On our arrival at that place we saw a body of provincial troops armed, to the number of about sixty or seventy men. On our approach they dispersed, and soon after firing began; but which party fired first I cannot exactly say, as our troops rushed on shouting and huzza'ing previous to the firing.

fring, which was continued by our troops so long as any of the Provincials were to be seen. From thence we marched to Concord. On a hill near the entrance of the town, we saw another body of Provincials assembled. The light infantry companies were ordered up the hill to disperse them. On our approach they retreated towards Concord. The grenadiers continued the road under the hill towards the town. Six companies of light infantry were ordered down to take possession of the bridge, which the Provincials retreated over. The company I commanded was one. Three companies of the above detachment went forwards about two miles. In the mean time the provincial troops returned, to the number of about three or four hundred. We drew up on the Concord side of the bridge. The Provincials came down upon us, upon which we engaged and gave the first fire. This was the first engagement after the one at Lexington: A continued firing from both parties lasted through the whole day. I myself was wounded at the attack of the bridge, and am now treated with the greatest humanity, and taken all possible care of by the provincials at Medford.

EDWARD THOROTON GOULD,

Lieutenant of the King's own regiment.

Medford, April 25, 1775.

Province of the Massachusetts Bay, Middlesex County, April 25, 1775.

LIEUTENANT Edward Thornton Gould abovesaid, personally made oath to the truth of the foregoing declaration by him subscribed and wrote with his own hand.

Before us,

THAD. MASON,
JOSIAH JOHNSON,
SIMON TUFTS,

Justices of the Peace for the county aforesaid.
Quorum unus.

The preceding advices were brought by Captain Darby in a Schooner to the Isle of Wight. The verbal account he gave of the state of Boston, was to the following purport.

The town of Boston is surrounded by two and twenty thousand Provincial troops; all determined men; commanded by the officers Ward, Pribble, Heath, Prescott, and Thomas; who act as Generals, and are provided with forty-seven pieces of cannon. The right wing, great part of which is encamped, extends from Cambridge to Roxbury; the left wing from Cambridge to Mystic. The head quarters are at Cambridge. From Roxbury to Mystic is 30 miles. There are centinels posted all the way, to preserve the communication. There is another body of Provincials, stationed as a corps of reserve, in cantonments,

between Cambridge and Worcester. They are Connecticut men, to the number of six thousand, under the command of Colonel Putnam; who is at Cambridge, with the other officers. They have stopped all provisions going into Boston, in order to oblige General Gage to turn out the inhabitants. The communication with the country having continued entirely cut off seven days, the inhabitants begged of General Gage to permit the women and children quit the town. He refused. However it is presumed, he will be obliged to comply with their request, unless he can support them; which he certainly cannot. They are in a situation that, truly deserves pity. If General Gage's orders are in the spirit of the restraining bills, they have but this alternative, to perish by famine or the sword. Surely no Ministers on earth were ever so obstinately cruel, and diabolically wicked, as those of George the Third. J——n, the Prime-mover of all these measures, without whose concurrence nothing dare be attempted in the official departments, is now wreaking Lord Bute's revenge. Lord Bute will never forgive this country for driving him from his public station, as Minister. J——n is his journeyman; and by J——n he still governs. If the inhabitants can be got out of Boston, either by supplication, or compulsion, the Provincials will attack General Gage in the town. Nothing but a fear of a massacre of the inhabitants, has hitherto prevented their forcing it. The next news will be, that the matter is decided; and probably that the town is burned.

The Provincials, who attacked General Gage's convoy of Provisions, were headed and commanded by the Rev. Mr. Payson, a dissenting clergyman. A man who has hitherto been extremely moderate; but those who were formerly moderate, are now become as warm, and as much exasperated, as the most violent and inveterate. The Salem news-paper, which contained the account of the skirmish at Concord, gave to the Colonies a copy of the restraining bill. This bill will, if possible, make them more outrageous.

Secretary of State's Office, Whitehall, May 30. A report having been spread, and an account having been printed and published, of a skirmish between some of the people in the province of Massachusetts Bay and a detachment of his Majesty's troops, it is proper to inform the publick, that no advices have as yet been received in the American department of any such event.

There is reason to believe, that there are dispatches from General Gage on board the Sukey, Capt. Brown, which, though she failed four days before the vessel that brought the printed accounts is not yet arrived,

From

From a New-York paper April 24, and confirmed by many private letters.

Wednesday, April 19, near ten o'clock, Watertown.

To all friends of American liberty let it be known,

THAT this morning before day-break, a brigade of about 1000 or 1200 men landed at Phips's Farm at Cambridge, and marched to Lexington, where they found a company of our colony militia in arms, upon which they fired without any provocation and killed six men, and wounded four others. By express from Boston we find another brigade are upon their march, supposed to be about 1000. The bearer, Israel Bessell, is charged to alarm the country quite to Connecticut; and all persons are desired to furnish him with fresh horses as they may be needed. I have spoke with several who have seen the dead and wounded.

T. PALMER,

One of the committee.

A true copy. Attest,

N. BALDWIN, Town Clerk.

Fairfield, April 22, eight o'clock.

Since the above we have received the following express:

Thursday April 20, three o'clock, P. M.

I am this moment informed by express from Woodstock, taken from his own mouth, that arrived there at two o'clock this afternoon, that the contest between the first brigade that marched to Concord was still continuing this morning at Lexington, to which place the said brigade had retired; that another brigade, said to be the second mentioned in the letter this morning, had landed with a quantity of artillery at the place where the first did. The Provincials were determined to prevent the two brigades from joining, if possible, and remained in great need of succour. The Regulars when in Concord burnt the Court-house, took two pieces of cannon, and began to take up Concord Bridge, on which Capt. ———, who with many on both sides were soon killed, then made an attack on the King's troops, on which they retreated to Lexington.

I am, your's, &c.

EBENEZER WILLIAMS.

To Col. Obad. Johnson, Canterbury.

P. S. Mr. McFarland, of Campfield, merchant, has just returned from Boston by way of Providence, who conversed with an express from Lexington, who further informs, that about 4000 of our troops had surrounded the first brigade, who were on a hill in Lexington; that the action continued, and about 50 Provincials were killed, and about 150 regulars, as near as they could judge. It will be expedient for every man to go

who is willing and fit. The above is a true copy as received by express from Newhaven, and attested by the Committee of Correspondence from town to town.

Test. JON. STURGES,
AND. ROWLAND,
SILLECK SILLIMAN,;
THAD. BURR,
JOB BARTRAM.

Province of Massachusetts Bay, Charles-Town, ff.

I, NATHANIEL GORHAM, Notary and Tabellion Public, by lawful authority duly admitted and sworn, hereby certify all whom it doth or may concern, that Thadeus Mason, Josiah Johnson, and Simon Tufts, Esqrs. are three of his Majesty's Justices (Quorum unum) for the county of Middlesex, and that full faith and credit is and ought to be given to their transactions as such both in Court and out; in witness whereof I have hereunto affixed my name and seal this twenty-sixth day of April, anno Domini One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-five.

NATHANIEL GORHAM,
Notary Public.

Lexington, April 23, 1775.

WE Bradbury Robinson, Samuel Spring, Thaddeus Bancroft, all of Concord, and James Adams, of Lincoln, all in the county of Middlesex, all of lawful age, do testify and say, that on Wednesday morning last, near ten o'clock, we saw near one hundred Regular Troops, being in the town of Concord, at the North Bridge in the said town (so called) and having passed the same, they were taking up the said bridge, when about three hundred of our Militia were advancing towards the said bridge, in order to pass the said bridge, when without saying any thing to us, they discharged a number of guns on us, which killed two men dead on the spot, and wounded several others, when we returned the fire on them, which killed two of them, and wounded several, which was the beginning of hostilities in the town of Concord.

(Signed)

BRADBURY ROBINSON,
SAMUEL SPRING,
THADDEUS BANCROFT,
JAMES ADAMS.

Middlesex, ff. April the 23d, 1775.

The above named Messieurs Bradbury Robinson, Samuel Spring, Thaddeus Bancroft, and Thomas Adams, made solemn oath to the truth of the above deposition, by them subscribed before us,

W. REED,
W. STICKNEY, } Jus. of Peace.
JON. HASTINGS.

Pro.

Province of Massachusetts Bay, Charlestown, ff.
 I Nathaniel Gorham, Notary and Tabellion Public, duly admitted and sworn, hereby certify to all whom it doth or may concern, that Wm. Read, Wm. Stickney, and Jonathan Hastings, Esqrs. are three of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the county of Middlesex, and that full faith and credit is, and ought to be given, to their transactions.

As such, in witness whereof I have hereunto affixed my name and seal, this 26th day of April, 1775.

NATHANIEL GORHAM, Not. Pub.

Lincoln, April 23, 1775.

I John Bateman, belonging to the fifty second regiment, commanded by Colonel Jones, on Wednesday morning, on the 19th day of April instant, was in the party marching for Concord, being at Lexington in the county of Middlesex, being nigh the Meeting-house in said Lexington, there was a small party of men gathered together in that place, when our said troops marched by; and I testify and declare, that I heard the word of command given to the troops to fire, and some of the said troops did fire, and I saw one of the said small party lie dead on the ground, nigh the said Meeting-house; and I testify, that I never heard any of the inhabitants so much as fire one gun on the said troops.

(Signed)

JOHN BATEMAN.

Middlesex, ff. April 23, 1775.

The above-named John Bateman voluntarily, being previously cautioned to relate nothing but the truth, made solemn oath to the above deposition. By him subscribed before us,

JOHN CUMING, } Jus. of Peace.
 DUN. INGRAHAM. }

Province of Massachusetts Bay, Charlestown, ff.

I, Nathaniel Gorham, Notary and Tabellion Public, duly admitted and sworn, do certify, that

These advices arrived in London on the 29th of May 1775. The Sukey, Capt. Brown, mentioned in page 38 (at the bottom of the second column) to have dispatches from General Gage, did not arrive till the 9th of June 1775. On the 10th of June the following was published in the London Gazette.

Whitehall, June 10. Lieutenant Nunn of the Navy, arrived this morning at Lord Dartmouth's office, and has brought letters from General Gage, Lord Percy and Lieutenant Colonel Smith, containing the following particulars of what passed on the 19th of April last between a detachment of the King's troops in the province of Massachusetts Bay, and several parties of rebel Provincials, viz.

General Gage having received intelligence of

John Cuming, and Duncan Ingraham, Esqrs. are two of his Majesty's Justices for the county of Middlesex; and that full faith and credit is to be given to their transactions.

As such, in witness whereof I have hereunto affixed my name and seal, this 26th of April, 1775.

NATHANIEL GORHAM, Not. Pub.

Concord, April 23, 1775.

I James Marr, of lawful age, testify and say; that in the evening of the 18th instant, I received orders from George Hutchinson, Adjutant of the fourth regiment of regular troops stationed at Boston, to prepare and march to Concord, where I was ordered by an officer, with about one hundred men, to guard a certain bridge there; while attending that service, a number of people came along, in order, as I suppose, to cross the said bridge, at which time a number of the regular troops first fired upon them.

(Signed)

JAMES MARR.

Middlesex, ff. April, 23, 1775.

The above named James Marr appeared, and after due caution to testify the truth, and nothing but the truth, made solemn oath to the truth of the above deposition by him voluntarily subscribed.

Before us,

DUN. INGRAHAM, } Jus. of Peace.
 JONAS DIX. }

Province of Massachusetts Bay, Charlestown, ff.

I Nathaniel Gorham, Notary and Tabellion Public, duly admitted and sworn, do certify, that Duncan Ingraham and Jonas Dix, Esqrs. are two of his Majesty's Justices for the county of Middlesex, and that full faith and credit is to be given to their transactions.

As such, in witness whereof I have hereunto affixed my name and seal, this 25th of April, 1775.

NATHANIEL GORHAM, Not. Pub.

a large quantity of military stores being collected at Concord, for the avowed purpose of supplying a body of troops to act in opposition to his Majesty's government, detached, on the 18th of April at night, the grenadiers of his army and the light infantry, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Smith, of the 10th regiment, and Major Piccairne of the marines, with orders to destroy the said stores; and the next morning eight companies of the 4th, the same number of the 23d, and

49th

44th, and some marines, marched under the command of Lord Percy to support the other detachment.

Lieutenant Colonel Smith finding, after he had advanced some miles on his march, that the country had been alarmed by the firing of guns and ringing of bells, dispatched six companies of light infantry, in order to secure two bridges on different roads beyond Concord, who upon their arrival at Lexington, found a body of the country people drawn up under arms on a green close to the road; and upon the King's troops marching up to them, in order to enquire the reason of their being so assembled, they went off in great confusion, and several guns were fired upon the King's troops from behind a stone wall, and also from the Meeting-house and other houses, by which one man was wounded, and Major Pitcairne's horse shot in two places. In consequence of this attack by the rebels, the troops returned the fire, and killed several of them; after which the detachment marched on to Concord, without anything further happening, where they effected the purpose for which they were sent, having knocked off the trunnions of three pieces of iron ordnance, burnt some new gun carriages, and a great number of carriage wheels, and thrown into the river a considerable quantity of flour, gunpowder, musket balls, and other articles. Whilst this service was performing, great numbers of the rebels assembled in many parts, and a considerable body of them attacked the light infantry posted at one of the bridges, on which an action ensued, and some few were killed and wounded.

On the return of the troops from Concord, they were very much annoyed, and had several men killed and wounded, by the rebels firing from behind walls, ditches, trees, and other ambuscades; but the brigade under the command of Lord Percy having joined them at Lexington, with two pieces of cannon, the rebels were for a while dispersed: but as soon as the troops resumed their march, they began again to fire upon them from behind stone walls and houses, and kept up in that manner a scattering fire during the whole of their march of 15 miles, by which means several were killed and wounded; and such was the cruelty and barbarity of the rebels, that they scalped and cut off the ears of some of the wounded men, who fell into their hands.

It is not known what number of the rebels were killed and wounded; but, it is supposed, that their loss was very considerable.

General Gage says, that too much praise cannot be given to Lord Percy, for his remarkable activity during the whole day, and that Lieut. Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairne did every thing that men could do, as did all the officers in ge-

neral; and that the men behaved with their usual intrepidity.

Return of the commission, non-commission officers, drummers, rank and file, killed and wounded, prisoners and missing, on the 19th of April, 1775.

4th, or King's own regiment. Lieutenant Knight, killed. Lieutenant Gould, wounded and prisoner. Three Serjeants, one drummer, wounded. Seven rank and file killed, 21 wounded, eight missing.

5th regiment. Lieutenant Thomas Baker, Lieutenant William Cox, Lieutenant Thomas Hawthaw, wounded. Five rank and file killed, 15 wounded, one missing.

10th regiment. Lieutenant Colonel Francis Smith, Captain Lawrence Parsons, Lieutenant Wald. Kelly, Ensign Jeremiah Lester, wounded. One rank and file killed, 13 wounded, one missing.

18th regiment. One rank and file killed, four wounded, and one missing.

23d regiment. Lieutenant Colonel Bery Bernard wounded. Four rank and file killed, 26 wounded, six missing.

38th regiment. Lieutenant William Sutherland wounded. One Serjeant wounded. Four rank and file killed, eleven wounded.

43d regiment. Lieutenant Hull wounded and prisoner. Four rank and file killed, five wounded, two missing.

47th regiment. Lieutenant Donald M'Cloud, Ensign Henry Baldwin, wounded. One Serjeant wounded. Five rank and file killed, 21 wounded.

52d regiment. One Serjeant missing. Three rank and file killed, two wounded.

59th regiment. Three rank and file killed, three wounded.

Marines, Capt. Souther, second Lieutenant M'Donald, wounded. Second Lieutenant Isaac Potter missing. One Serjeant killed, two wounded, one missing. One drummer killed. 25 rank and file killed, 36 wounded, five missing.

T O T A L.

One Lieutenant killed. Two Lieutenant Colonels wounded. Two Captains wounded. Nine Lieutenants wounded. One Lieutenant missing. Two Ensigns wounded. One Serjeant killed, seven wounded, two missing. One Drummer killed, one wounded, 62 rank and file killed, 157 wounded, 24 missing.

N. B. Lieutenant Isaac Potter reported to be wounded and taken prisoner. Signed,
THOMAS GAGE.

Government received three letters by the Sukey, Capt. Brown, of the action at Concord, viz.

viz. One from General Gage, another from Lord Percy, and the third from Colonel Smith.

General Gage, in his letter, does not call the Americans *Rebels*; nor does Col. Smith. But Lord Percy does. The Ministers have adopted Lord Percy's term. Lord Percy is very forward in paying his Court. He will doubtless have a red ribbon for this Butean complaisance. But how can Lord Dartmouth give his sanction to that mutilated publication of the letters in the Gazette? If he is chief in his own department, he should not have permitted any publication of the papers to his office but the genuine one. Can he reconcile to his conscience this *falsification*? There is no hypocrite so great as a religious hypocrite. Why not publish the letters themselves, just as they came? There is no part of them that is improper for the public eye. The people of the country were informed of General Gage's intention to send out a detachment; and they had removed the principal part of their stores from Concord to another place. They have information of all his manœuvres; he has none of theirs. As the troops went to Concord, they saw the houses in the towns, villages, and on the road, all empty; the whole country seemed deserted and abandoned. As they came back, they found all the same houses full of armed men; who kept an incessant fire upon their flanks, all the way. The troops were quite exhausted with the fatigue of so long a march; they had neither strength nor spirits left, when they came to Charlestown. The Somerset saved them from being cut off. The battle at Concord Bridge was a fair fight; and the Regulars had the worst of it. Lord Percy, with his detachment, did not set out from Boston till nine in the morning, and did not join the first detachment till two o'clock in the afternoon. They came very opportunely to their relief, for Colonel Smith's men had expended all their ammunition.

If the Regulars were not defeated, how came they to leave the bridge, and so many of them to be made prisoners? None of the Americans are prisoners. The Americans call the Regulars *Lord Bute's troops*; and their own, *the King's troops*. The Americans do not want to change the Sovereign, as the Scotch did in 1745. Yet the Scotch are now called *loyal subjects*; and the friends of good George the Second are called *Rebels*.

A ship arrived at Bristol on the 29th of May in thirty days from Hampton in Virginia. She brings advices, that the people of Virginia had heard of the whole affair at Boston; that twenty four thousand Provincial troops lay before it; that General Gage had been requested to let those

come out who were inclined, which he had refused; that it was thought the Provincial troops would speedily begin to cannonade the town; and that upon receiving these advices in Virginia, General Washington immediately set out to join the army before Boston.

Another ship is arrived at Bristol from New-York. She brings advices, that when the people of New York were informed of the skirmish at Concord, they rose in a body, went to the Town-house where the arms of the troops were deposited, and directly seized them. In the harbour there were two ships laden with stores for General Gage, which they seized and unloaded. The Provincial troops of New York immediately began their march for Boston.

General Gage's present force consists of the 27th, 35th, and 64th regiments of foot; the reinforcements sent, are the 40th, 45th, 49th, and 63d regiments of foot, and General Preston's light horse. Ministers say, his force when complete cannot be less than 10,000 men, and therefore that he can be in no danger. But suppose the Provincials force Boston Neck before the reinforcements arrive? The Court say, they cannot. Americans in town say, it is very probable.

General Gage's troops are very sickly, inasmuch that all the hospitals in Boston are full of them. Their sickness is said to be owing to their drinking very freely of new rum, with which they have been supplied by the inhabitants.

The reason that so many more of the King's troops were wounded than killed in the late action in New England, is, the Americans use a small shot called *buck shot*, which is much smaller than the soldier's bullets.

General Haldiman, and not Lord Percy, is second in command at Boston.

All the inhabitants along the coast of New England have quitted their habitations, fearing that the ships would soon destroy them, and are gone up the country. This is a dreadful alternative, and what no good Englishman can think of without horror.

If the Provincials force Boston, it is said to be their fixed intention to burn the town. They consider it untenable to themselves, and are resolved, that it shall not be used as a fortress by this country against them. Men must be in earnest, and quite determined, when they burn their own houses and property. It is the strongest mark of desperation that can be given.

General Gage viewing the American army with his telescope, saw General Putnam in it, which surprized him; and he contrived to get a message delivered to him, that he wanted to speak

to him. Putnam, without any hesitation, waited upon him. General Gage shewed him his fortifications, and advised him to lay down his arms. General Putnam replied, he could force his fortifications in half an hour, and advised General Gage to go on board the ships with his troops.

Anecdote of General Putnam. During the late war, when General Amherst was marching across the country to Canada, the army coming to one of the Lakes, which they were obliged to pass, found the French had an armed vessel of twelve guns upon it. He was in great distress; his boats were no match for her; and she alone was capable of sinking his whole army in that situation. While he was pondering what should be done, Putnam comes to him, and says, *General, that ship must be taken.* Aye, says Amherst, I would give the world she was taken. I'll take her, says Putnam. Amherst smiled, and asked how? Give me some wedges, a beetle, (a large wood hammer, or maul, used for driving wedges) and a few men of my own choice. Amherst could not conceive how an armed vessel was to be taken by four or five men, a beetle, and wedges. However he granted Putnam's request. When night came, Putnam, with his materials and men, went in a boat under the vessel's stern, and in an instant drove in the wedges behind the rudder, in the little cavity between the rudder and ship; and left her. In the morning, the sails were seen fluttering about; she was adrift in the middle of the Lake; and being presently blown ashore, was easily taken.

The Rev. Mr. Payson, of Chelsea, near Boston, a gentleman of the mildest manners, soundest learning, and most amiable character, who has ever been so warm on the side of government, that parson Treadwell, and others, on the side of the people, have repeatedly refused to let him preach in their pulpits; being at Lexington, and with his own eyes, seeing that the King's troops had fired first and committed murder—and, being himself a witness of other of their barbarities, could not endure the sight without taking vengeance; he therefore put himself at the head of a party, and with his musket, led them on to the attack—engaged, and killed, or wounded, and took prisoners, the whole party mentioned in one of the accounts, as going up with provisions and ammunition for the main body. What will government say to this desertion of one among many of their warmest friends:—It seems as if the cause was such, that no honest man could appear in it?

The groundless and inhuman reflection cast upon I. Gardiner, Esq; one of his Majesty's Judges of the Peace, who is said to have been

killed fighting against his Sovereign, and is held up as a specimen of New England Magistrates, ought, in justice to the deceased, as well as to truth, to be set right; This unfortunate Gentleman was not in arms, but returning to his family from a long journey, and lodged at Lexington the night preceding the action; early in the morning of which fatal day he set out for home, and on the road, being unarmed, he was barbarously shot, in cold blood by a Scotch grenadier of the King's own regiment, though he begged for mercy, and declared solemnly he had taken no part in that day's disturbance. He has left a widow and large family of young children, who, it is hoped, his most gracious Majesty will provide for.

It is said, that some private letters from New-York, brought by the Harriot packet, dated May 4, give an account, that the inhabitants there, having received an express from Salem of the engagement between the Regulars and the Provincials, immediately took to their arms, and seized upon the garrison and fortifications of that town, the arms and ammunition belonging to the King's troops, and that most of the soldiers were made prisoners. The account further adds, that the whole Province is in arms, to give all the assistance in their power to their distressed brethren at Boston; and that in every part of America the inhabitants were fully determined to defend their rights and liberties, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes.

Another account mentions the New-Yorkers rising and taking the government into their own hands, that the few troops that were there, they forced on board the King's ships, and the other part taken prisoners. The arsenal is now in possession of the leaders of this insurrection, and they have appointed a Provincial Committee, who are to take the reins of government directly, who are afterwards to be directed by the grand American Congress when they have sat.

Mr. Watts, and Col. Morris, Members of the Council at New York, are arrived with accounts to the Ministry of the most alarming nature. It is certain, the people have taken the government there into their own hands; and dismissed every person who held any commission from the Crown, civil or military. It is said, General Gage's lady and children are at New York.

To the PEOPLE of ENGLAND.

I AM a plain Man, and you must therefore expect to hear plain Truths. Silence would now be a Crime.

You have but two Choices left, and if you have not

not Wisdom to chuse wisely, or Virtue to act as Wisdom dictates, you will deserve to sink under the Evils which this very Moment hang suspended, ready to crush you by their Fall.

Continue these Tory Ministers at your Helm, and after having been accustomed for ten Years to the News of unnatural Carnage, you will have the Satisfaction of seeing the whole Continent of America totally wrested from you—or—what is equally hurtful, their Affections entirely estranged. Your Commerce of course must decay—and your Enemies will have Cause to rejoice in your Destruction.

Or, if you prefer your own Welfare to the Emoluments and Gratification of your Tory Ministers, drive them from their Offices, and prevail on Lord CHATHAM to take the Reins of Government. He will offer the Americans the Terms proposed by their Congress; namely, to be governed *as in the late Reigns*—and the Americans *must* gladly accept these Terms from Whig Ministers, or else all England, *to a Man*, will zealously be their Enemies. This Pen has often fought their Battles, because I think them injured by the common Enemy of our Liberties—but let them refuse to be governed by a *Whig* Administration, according to *Whig* Principles, and I will be their most violent Opposer. I think they ought not to trust *Tory* Ministers, tho' they should offer ever such fair Terms—because *they are not to be trusted*. Enemies to Freedom, they *must* be Enemies to America—but if *Whigs* govern, America may depend on *their* Favour, for they have fought our Battle, and our Hearts are with them. It may truly be said, that if this Nation is saved from Ruin, it will be by American Virtue—for I fear there is none left in England. The Sun of Liberty is setting *here*—but Englishmen may yet be warmed by its Rays from America, since they have Courage to bleed for Freedom.

The Gazette styles them Rebels—the Ministry honoured them with that Appellation *long before they drew the Sword*. I say “*honoured* them,” because I think it an HONOUR to be termed Rebels by such Men.

Is it Rebellion to defend Freedom? If your Juries were attacked, if Magna Charta in any Shape was to be daringly violated, would you not *yourselves* draw the Sword? Could YOU *then* be properly styled Rebels? Certainly you could not.

Can you hesitate in the Choice of the only Al-

ternatives left you by Heaven? Can you read the Accounts from America without Horror? Are you not shocked when your Imagination presents to your View, Englishmen shedding English Blood? Do you wish for the Continuance of such unnatural, horrid Carnage? If the Idea of this detestable Civil War, does not excite the most generous Feelings for your brave Countrymen (now driven almost to Madness by the obstinate Perseverance of Tories) you have lost the Humanity, you have degenerated from the Virtue of your Ancestors.

Are the Ministry to be gratified longer with the Ability of involving you *still deeper* in this ruinous Contention? Will you allow them to prosecute this bloody, unnatural War, any longer? They talk of embodying the Militia, in order to be able to send more *Mercenaries* to America—ought they not rather to lose their Heads, for having sent those which are already there? Has not enough of English Blood been shed? Must more be spilled? Are they to add a fresh List of Murders to the black Account? If the Idea of such repeated Massacres does not awaken your Feelings, England ought to be deserted by the few Whigs, whose Hearts glow with Indignation—they should fly to America, where Liberty is idolized, and Tyranny detested.

Have not Ministry, by every Measure *hitherto* adopted, made what *was* bad, *still worse*? Did the Bills of Spring 1774, or those of Spring 1775, answer any good Purpose? Did they not add Fuel to the Flame?

If then you have found Ministers so very unequal to the Task they have undertaken, can you be so very weak as to trust any longer to their Management? You would not surely wish to become *habituated* to the Recitals of Battles, in which English Blood *must* be shed by *Englishmen*. You have now heard of above 200 of your Soldiers killed and wounded. The Gazette informs us, that the Loss of the Provincials was much greater; in all lost to England above 500 Men!

And as a *Salvo*, General Gage informs us, that “the Men behaved with their usual Intrepidity.” If so, I have been mistaken in my Opinion of English Soldiers. If they can be brought to fight *with Ardour* against their Countrymen, who are standing forward in the *most glorious* of all Causes, that of their Country, they should never be known, henceforwards, by any other Name than “*Mercenaries*.”

*Continuation of the Disputes with America; from its
Origin in 1754, to the present Time.*

WE have much more to say still. Great-Britain has confined all our trade to herself.—We are willing she should, as far as it can be for the good of the Empire. But we say that we ought to be allowed as credit, in the account of public burdens and expences, so much paid in taxes, as we are obliged to sell our commodities to her cheaper than we could get for them at foreign markets. This difference is really a tax upon us, for the good of the empire.—We are obliged to take from Great-Britain, commodities that we could purchase cheaper elsewhere. This difference is a tax upon us for the good of the empire. We submit to this cheerfully, but insist that we ought to have credit for it, in the account of the expences of the empire, because it is really a tax upon us.—Another thing. I will venture a bold assertion. The three million Americans, by the tax aforesaid upon what they are obliged to export to Great-Britain only, what they are obliged to import from Great-Britain only, and the quantities of British manufactures which in these climates they are obliged to consume more than the like number of people in any part of the three kingdoms, ultimately pay more of the taxes and duties than are apparently paid in Great-Britain, than any three million subjects in the three kingdoms.—All this may be computed and reduced to stubborn figures, by the minister, if he pleases. We cannot do it. We have not the accounts, records, &c.—Now let this account be fairly stated, and I will engage for America, upon any penalty, that she will pay the overplus, if any, in her own constitutional way, provided it is to be applied for national purposes, as paying off the national debt, maintaining the fleet, &c. not to the support of a standing army in time of peace, placemen and pensioners, &c.

Besides, every farthing of expence which has been incurred on pretence of protecting, defending and securing America since the last war, has been worse than thrown away, it has been applied to do mischief.—Keeping an army in America has been nothing but a public nuisance.

Furthermore, we see that all the public money that is raised here, and have reason to believe all that will or can be raised, will be applied not for public purposes, national or provincial, but merely to corrupt the sons of America and create a faction to destroy its interest and happiness.

The authority of parliament was never generally acknowledged in America.—More than a century since, the Massachusetts and Virginia, both protested against even the act of navigation and refused obedience, for this very reason, because they were not represented in parliament, and were therefore not bound—and afterwards confirmed it by their own provincial

authority. And from that time to this, the general sense of the colonies has been, that the authority of parliament was confined to the regulation of trade, and did not extend to taxation or internal legislation.

But it has been said, acts of parliament for regulating our internal polity were familiar.—This I deny. So far otherwise—that the latter's act was never regarded—the act to destroy the Lank Bank Scheme raised a greater ferment in this province, than the stamp-act did, which was appeased only by passing provincial laws directly in opposition to it.—The act against slitting mills, and tilt-hammers, never was executed here.—As to the postage, it was so useful a regulation, so few persons paid it, and they found such a benefit by it, that little opposition was made to it; yet every man who thought about it, called it an usurpation.—Duties for regulating trade we paid, because we thought it just and necessary that they should regulate the trade which their power protected.—As for duties for a revenue, none were ever laid by parliament for that purpose until 1764, when, and ever since, its authority to do it has been constantly denied.

There is ambiguity in the word subordination. The whigs acknowledge a subordination to the king, in as strict and strong a sense as the tories. The whigs acknowledge a voluntary subordination to parliament, as far as the regulation of trade.—What degree of subordination then do the tories acknowledge an absolute dependence upon parliament, as their supreme legislative, in all cases whatsoever, in their internal polity as well as taxation? this would be too gross, for there is nobody here who will expose his understanding so much as explicitly to adopt such a sentiment.

"The whigs were sensible that there was no oppression that could be seen or felt." The tories have so often said and wrote this to one another, that I sometimes suspect they believe it to be true. But it is quite otherwise. The castle of the province was taken out of their hands and garrisoned by regular soldiers; this they could see, and they thought it indicated an hostile intention and disposition towards them.—They continually paid their money to collectors of duties, this they could both see and feel.—An host of placemen, whose whole business it was to collect a revenue, were continually rolling before them in their chariots.—These they saw.—Their governor was no longer paid by themselves according to their charter, but out of the new revenue, in order to render their assemblies useless and indeed contemptible.—The judges salaries were threatened every day to be paid in the same unconstitutional manner.—The dullest eye-sight could not but see to what all this tended, viz. to prepare the way for greater innovations and oppressions. They knew a minister would never spend his money in this way,

way, if he had not some end to answer by it. Another thing they both saw and felt. Every man of every character, who by voting, writing, speaking, or otherwise, had favoured the stamp act, the tea act, and every other measure of a minister or governor, who they knew was aiming at the destruction of their form of government, and introducing parliamentary taxation, was uniformly, in some department or other promoted to some place of honour and profit for ten years together; and on the other hand, every man who favoured the people in their opposition to those innovations, was depressed, degraded and persecuted as far as it was in the power of the government to do it.

This they considered as a systematical means of encouraging every man of abilities to espouse the cause of parliamentary taxation, and the plan of destroying their charter privileges, and to discourage all from exerting themselves, in opposition to them. This they thought a plan to enslave them, for they uniformly think that the destruction of their charter, making the council and judges wholly dependant on the crown, and the people subject to the unlimited power of parliament as their supreme legislative, is slavery. They were told that the ministry and their governors together had formed a design to enslave them, and that when once this was done, they had the highest reason to expect window taxes, hearth taxes, land taxes and all others. And that these were only paving the way for reducing the country to lordships.—Were the people mistaken in these suspicions? Is it not now certain that Governor Bernard in 1769 had formed a design of this sort? read his principles of polity—and that Lieutenant Governor Oliver as late as 1768 or 9 enforced the same plan? read his letters.

It is true that the people of this country in general, and of this province in special, have an hereditary apprehension of, and aversion to lordships temporal and spiritual. Their ancestors fled to this wilderness to avoid them.—They suffered sufficiently under them in England. And there are few of the present generation who have not been warned of the danger of them by their fathers or grandfathers, and enjoined to oppose them.

It is curious to observe the conduct of the tories towards the clergy. If a clergyman preaches against the principles of the revolution, and tells the people that upon pain of damnation they must submit to an established government of whatever character, the tories cry him up as an excellent man, and a wonderful preacher, invite him to their tables, procure him missions from the society, and chaplainships to the navy, and flatter him with the hopes of lawn sleeves. But if a clergyman preaches christianity, and tells the magistrates that they were not distinguished from their brethren for their private emolument, but

for the good of the people, that the people are bound in conscience to obey a good government, but are not bound to submit to one that aims at destroying all the ends of government—Oh sedition! treason!

The clergy in all ages and countries, and in this in particular, are disposed enough to be on the side of government, as long as it is tolerable: If they have not been generally in the late administrations on that side, it is a demonstration that the late administration has been universally odious.

The clergy of this province are a virtuous, sensible and learned set of men.

It is the duty of the clergy to accommodate their discourses to the times, to preach against such sins as are most prevalent, and recommended such virtues as are most wanted. For example, if exorbitant ambition, and venality are predominant, ought they not to warn their hearers against these vices?—If public spirit is much wanted, should they not inculcate this great virtue? If the rights and duties of christian magistrates and subjects are disputed, should they not explain them, shew their nature, ends, limitations and restrictions?

Let me put a supposition.—Justice is a great christian as well as moral duty and virtue, which the clergy ought to inculcate and explain.—Suppose a great man of a parish should for seven years together receive 600*l.* sterling a year, for discharging the duties of an important office, but during the whole time should never do one act, or take one step about it.—Would not this be great injustice to the public?—And ought not the parson of that parish to cry aloud and spare not, and shew such a bold transgressor his sins?—Shew that justice was due to the public as well as to an individual, and that cheating the public of four thousand four hundred pounds sterling, is at least as great a sin as taking a chicken from a private hen-roost, or perhaps a watch from a fob!—

We are told, “It is an universal truth, that he that would excite a rebellion, is at heart as great a tyrant as ever wielded the iron rod of oppression.” Be it so: we are not exciting a rebellion.—Opposition, nay open, avowed resistance by arms, against usurpation and lawless violence, is not rebellion by the law of God, or the land.—Hampden, Russell, Sydney, Somers, Holt, Tillotson, Burnet, Hoadley, &c. were not tyrants nor rebels, although some of them were in arms, and the others undoubtedly excited resistance against the tories. Remember the frank Veteran acknowledges, that “the word *rebel* is a convertible term.”

As a charge against the assembly of Massachusetts, it has been said, that one set of members, in committee, had always prepared the resolves, &c. This is not true; but if it was, what would it prove? Only that this set of men was thought by the house the fittest for the purpose. Can it
ever

ever be otherwise? Will any popular assembly chuse its worst members for the best services? Will an assembly of patriots chuse courtiers to prepare votes against the court? No resolves against the claims of parliament or administration, or the measures of the governor (excepting those against the stamp act, and perhaps the answers to Governor Hutchinson's speeches upon the supremacy of parliament) ever passed through the house, without meeting an obstacle. The governor had, to the last hour of the house's existence, always some seekers and expectants in the house, who never failed to oppose, and offer the best arguments they could, and were always patiently heard. That the lips of the dissentients were sealed up: that they sat in silence, and beheld with regret, measures they dared not oppose, are groundless suggestions, and gross reflections upon the honour or courage of those members.—The debates of this house were public, and every man who has attended the gallery knows there never was more freedom of debate in any assembly.

The treatment this province has received respecting the agency, since Mr. Hutchinson's administration commenced, is a flagrant example of injustice. There is no law which requires the province to maintain any agent in England, much less is there any reason which necessarily requires, that the three branches should join in the appointment. In ordinary times, indeed, when a harmony prevails among the branches, it is well enough to have an agent constituted by all: but in times when the foundations of the constitution are disputed, and certainly attacked by one branch or the other, to pretend that the house ought to join the governor in the choice, is a palpable absurdity. It is equivalent to saying that the people shall have no agent at all: that all communication between them and their sovereign shall be cut off; and that there shall be no channel through which complaints and petitions may be conveyed to the royal ear; because a governor will not concur in an agent, whose sentiments are not like his; nor will an agent of the governor's appointment be likely to urge accusations against him with any diligence or zeal, if the people have occasion to complain against him.

Every private citizen, much more every representative body, have an undoubted right to petition the King; to convey such petitions by any agent, and to pay him for his service. Mr. Bernard, to do him justice, had so much regard to these principles, as to consent to the payment of the people's agents while he staid. But Mr. Hutchinson was scarcely seated in the chair as Lieut. Governor, before we had intelligence from England, that Lord Hillsborough told Dr. Franklin, he had a letter from Governor Hutchinson, soliciting an instruction against consenting to the salary of the agent. Such an instruction was accordingly

soon sent, and no agent for the board or house has received a farthing for services since that time, although Dr. Franklin and Mr. Bollan have taken much pains, and one of them expended considerable sums of money.—There is a meanness in this play that would disgrace a gambler.—A manifest fear that the truth should be known to the sovereign or the people.—Many persons have thought, that the province ought to have dismissed all agents from that time as useless and nugatory, this behaviour amounting to a declaration, that we had no chance or hopes of justice from such a minister.

But this province, at least as meritorious as any, has been long accustomed to indignities and injustice, and to bear both with unparalleled patience: others have pursued the same method before and since, but we have never heard that their agents are unpaid. They would scarcely have borne it with so much resignation.

Nero murdered Seneca, that he might pull up virtue by the roots; and the same maxim governs the scribblers and speechifiers on the side of the minister. It is sufficient to discover, that if any man has abilities and integrity, a love of virtue and liberty, he must be run down at all events. Witness Pitt, Franklin, and too many others.

From the date of our charter, to the time of the stamp act, and indeed since that time (notwithstanding the misrepresentations of our charter-constitution, as too popular and republican) the council of this province have been generally on the side of the governor and the prerogative. For the truth of this, I appeal to our whole history and experience. The art and power of governors, and especially the negative, have been a stronger motive on the one hand, than the annual election of the two houses on the other.—In disputes between the governor and the house, the council have generally adhered to the former, and in many cases have complied with his humour, when scarcely any council by mandamus upon this continent would have done it.

But in the time of the stamp act, it was found productive of many mischiefs and dangers, to have officers of the crown, who were dependant on the ministry, and judges of the superior court, whose offices were thought incompatible with a voice in the legislature, members of council.

In May 1765, Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson, Secretary Oliver, and Mr. Belcher, were officers of the crown, the judges of the superior court, and some other gentlemen who held commissions under the governor, were members of council. Mr. Hutchinson was chief justice and a judge of probate for the first county, as well as Lieutenant Governor and a counsellor, too many officers for the greatest and best man in the world to hold, too much business for any man to do; besides, that these offices were frequently clashing and interfering with each other.—Two other justices

tices of the superior court were counsellors, and nearly and closely connected with him by family alliances.—One other justice was judge of Admiralty during pleasure.—Such a jumble of offices never got together before in any English government. 'It was found, in short, that the famous triumvirate, Bernard, Hutchinson, and Oliver, the ever memorable, secret, confidential letter-writers, had by degrees, and before the people were aware of it, erected a tyranny in the province. Bernard had all the executive, and a negative in the legislative; Hutchinson and Oliver had elevated to the board such a collection of crown officers, and their own relations, as to have too much influence there: and they had three of a family on the superior bench, which is the supreme tribunal in all causes civil and criminal, vested with all the powers of the King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, which gave them power over every act of this court.—This junto, therefore, had the legislative and executive in their controul, and more natural influence over the judicial, than is ever to be trusted in any set of men in the world. The public accordingly found all these springs and wheels in the constitution set in motion to promote submission to the stamp act, and to discountenance resistance to it; and they thought they had a violent presumption, that they would for ever be employed to encourage a compliance with all ministerial measures, and parliamentary claims, of whatever character they might be.

The designs of the junto, however, were concealed as carefully as possible. Most persons were jealous; few were certain.—When the assembly met in May 1766, after the stamp act was repealed, the whigs flattered themselves with hopes of peace and liberty for the future.—Mr. Otis, whose abilities and integrity, whose great exertions, and most exemplary sacrifices of his private interest to the public service, had intitled him to all the promotion which the people could bestow, was chosen speaker of the house. Bernard negated the choice.—It can scarcely be conceived by a stranger, what an alarm this manœuvre gave to the public.—It was thought equivalent to a declaration, that although the people had been so successful as to obtain a repeal of the stamp act, yet they must not hope to be quiet long, for parliament, by the declaratory act, had asserted its supreme authority, and new taxations and regulations should be made; and every man who should dare to oppose such projects, let his powers or virtues, his family or fortune be what they would, should be surely cut off from all hopes of advancement. The electors thought it high time to be upon their guard.—All the foregoing reasons and motives prevailed with the electors; and the crown officers, and justices of the superior court, were left out of council in the new choice.—Those who were elected in their places were all

negated by Bernard, which was considered as a fresh proof, that the junto still persevered in their designs of obtaining a revenue.

"The governor," says ministerial writers, "could do little or nothing without the council by the charter."—"If he called upon a military officer to raise the militia, he was answered, they were there already," &c.—The council by the charter had nothing to do with the militia. The governor alone had all authority over them. The council, therefore, are not to blame for their conduct.—If the militia refused obedience to the captain general, or his subordinate officers, when commanded to assist in carrying into execution the stamp act, or in dispersing those who were opposing it, does not this prove the universal sense and resolution of the people not to submit to it? Did not a regular army do more to James the Second? If those over whom the governor had the most absolute authority and decisive influence, refused obedience, does not this shew how deeply rooted in all mens minds were the abhorrence of that power which was usurping over them?—"If he called upon the council for their assistance, they must first enquire into the cause." An unpardonable crime, no doubt! But is it the duty of a middle branch of legislature, to do as the first shall command them implicitly, or to judge for themselves? Is it the duty of a privy council, to understand the subject before they give advice, or only to lend their names to any edict, in order to make it less unpopular? It would be a shame to answer such observations as these, if it was not for their wickedness.—Our council, all along, however, did as much as any council could have done. Was the Mandamus council at New-York able to do more, to influence the people to a submission to the stamp act? Was the chair, the board, the septennial house, with the assistance of General Gage and his troops, able to do more in that city, than our branches did in this province? Not one iota. Nor could Bernard, his council, and house, if they had been unanimous, have induced submission. The people would have spurned them all, for they are not to be wheedled out of their liberties by their own representatives, any more than by strangers. "If he wrote to government at home to strengthen his hands, some officious person procured and sent back his letters" At last it seems to be acknowledged, that the governor did write for a military force, to strengthen government.—For what? To enable it to enforce stamp acts, tea acts, and other internal regulations, the authority of which the people were determined never to acknowledge.

But what a pity it was that these worthy gentlemen could not be allowed, from the dearest affection to their native country, to which they had every possible attachment, to go on in profound confidential secrecy, procuring troops to cut our

throats,

throats, acts of parliament to drain our purses, destroy our charters and assemblies, getting estates and dignities for themselves and their own families, and all the while most devoutly professing to be friends to our charter, enemies to parliamentary taxation, and to all persons, without being detected? How happy! if they could have annihilated all our charters, and yet have been beloved, nay deified by the people, as friends and advocates for their charters? What masterly politicians! to have made themselves nobles for life, and yet have been thought very sorry that the two houses were deprived of the privilege of chusing the council? How sagacious, to get large pensions for themselves, and yet be thought to mourn, that pensions and venality were introduced into the country? How sweet and pleasant! to have been the most popular men in the community, for being staunch and zealous dissenters, true-blue Calvinists, and able advocates for public virtue and popular government, after they had introduced an American Episcopate, universal corruption among the leading men, and deprived the people of all share in their supreme legislative council?—I mention an Episcopate; for altho' I do not know that Governors Hutchinson and Oliver ever directly solicited for Bishops, yet they must have seen, that these would have one effect very soon of establishing the unlimited authority of parliament!

I agree, that it was not the persons of Bernard, Hutchinson, or Oliver, that made them obnoxious, but their principles and practices. And I will agree, that if Chatham, Camden, and St. Asaph, (I beg pardon for introducing these revered names into such company, and for making a supposition which is absurd) had been here, and prosecuted such schemes, they would have met with contempt and execration from this people. But when it is said, "That had the intimations in those letters been attended to, we had now been as happy a people as good government could make us," it is too gross to make us angry. We can do nothing but smile.—Have not these intimations been attended to? Have not fleets and armies been sent here, whenever they requested? Have not governors, lieutenant governors, secretaries, judges, attorney generals, and solicitor generals salaries been paid out of the revenues as they solicited? Have not taxes been laid and continued? Have not English liberties been abridged as Hutchinson desired? Have not "penalties of another kind" been inflicted, as he desired? Has not our charter been destroyed, and the council put into the King's hands, as Bernard requested?—In short, almost all the wild pranks of this desperate triumvirate have been attended to and adopted, and we are now as miserable as tyranny can make us.

That ———— was amiable and exemplary in some respects, and very unamiable and unex-

emplary in others, is a certain truth: otherwise he never would have retained so much popularity on the one hand, nor made so pernicious a use of it on the other. His behaviour, in several important departments, was with ability and integrity, in cases which did not affect his political system, but he bent all his offices to that. Had he continued steadfast to those principles in religion and government, which in his former life he professed, and which alone had procured him the confidence of the people and all his importance, he would have lived and died respected and beloved, and have done honour to his native country; but by renouncing these principles, and that conduct which had made him and all his ancestors respectable, his character is now considered by all America, and the best part of the three kingdoms, notwithstanding the countenance he receives from the ministry, as a reproach to the province that gave him birth, as a man who by all his actions aimed at making himself great, at the expence of the liberties of his native country.—This gentleman was open to flattery in so remarkable a degree, that any man who would flatter him was sure of his friendship, and every one who would not, was sure of his enmity.—He was credulous in a ridiculous degree, of every thing that favoured his own plans, and equally incredulous of every thing which made against them. His natural abilities, which have been greatly exaggerated by persons whom he had advanced to power, were far from being of the first rate. His industry was prodigious.—His knowledge lay chiefly in the laws, and politics, and history of this province, in which he had a long experience. Yet with all his advantages, he never was master of the true character of his native country, not even of New England and the Massachusetts Bay.—Through the whole troublesome period since the last war, he manifestly mistook the temper, principles, and opinions of this people. He had resolved upon a system, and never could or would see the impracticability of it.

It is very true that all his abilities, virtues, interests, and connections, were sufficient; but for what? To prevail on the people to acquiesce in the mighty claim of parliamentary authority. The constitution was not gone.—The suggestion that it was, is a vile slander. It had as much vigour as ever, and even the governor had as much power as ever, excepting in cases which affected that claim.—"The spirit," say the ministerial writers, "was truly republican." It was not so in any one case whatever, any further than the spirit of the British constitution is republican.—Even in the grand fundamental dispute, the people arranged themselves under their house of representatives and council, with as much order as ever, and conducted their opposition as much by the constitution as ever. It is true, their constitution was employed against the measures of the

the junto, which created their enmity to it.—However, I have not such an horror of a republican spirit, which is a spirit of true virtue, and honest independence, I do not mean on the King, but on men in power. This spirit is so far from being incompatible with the British constitution, that it is the greatest glory of it, and the nation has always been most prosperous when it has most prevailed, and been most encouraged by the crown. I wish it increased in every part of the world, especially in America; and I think the measures the Tories are now pursuing, will increase it to a degree that will insure us in the end redress of grievances, and an happy reconciliation with great Britain.

“Governor Hutchinson,” we are told, “strove to convince us, by the principles of government, our charters and acknowledgments, that our claims were inconsistent with the subordination due to Great Britain.”

Suffer me to introduce here a little history. In 1764, when the system of taxing and new modelling the colonies was first apprehended, lieutenant governor Hutchinson’s friends struggled in several successive sessions of the general court, to get him chosen agent for the province at the court of Great Britain. At this time he declared freely, “That he was of the same sentiment with the people, that parliament had no right to tax them; but differed from the country party only in his opinion of the policy of denying that right in their petitions, &c.”—I would not injure him, I was told this by three gentlemen who were of the committee of both houses, to prepare that petition, that he made this declaration explicitly before that committee. I have been told by other gentlemen, that he made the same declaration to them. It is possible that he might make use of expressions studied for the purpose, which would not strictly bear this construction. But it is certain, that they understood him so, and that this was the general opinion of his sentiments until he came to the chair.

The country party saw, that this aspiring genius aimed at keeping fair with the ministry, by supporting their measures, and with the people, by pretending to be of our principles, and between both to trim himself up to the chair. The only reason why he did not obtain an election at one time, and was excused from the service at another, after he had been chosen by a small majority, was, because the members knew he would not openly deny the right, and assure his Majesty, the parliament, and ministry, that the people never would submit to it. For the same reason he was left out of council. But he continued to cultivate his popularity, and to maintain a general opinion among the people, that he denied the right in his private judgment, and this idea preserved most of those who continued their esteem for him,

But upon Bernard’s removal, and his taking the chair as lieutenant governor, he had no further expectations from the people, nor complaisance for their opinions. In one of his first speeches he took care to advance the supreme authority of parliament. This astonished many of his friends. They were heard to say, we have been deceived. We thought he had been abused, but we now find what has been said of him is true. He is determined to join in the designs against this country.—After his promotion to the government, finding that the people had little confidence in him, and shewing that he had no interest at home to support him, but what he had acquired by joining with Bernard, he determined to strike a bold stroke, and in a formal speech to both houses, became a champion for the unbounded authority of parliament over the colonies. This he thought would lay the ministry under an obligation to support him in the government, or else to provide for him out of it, not considering, that starting that question before that assembly, and calling upon them as he did to dispute with him upon it, was scattering firebrands, arrows, and death in sport.

The house thus called upon, either to acknowledge the unlimited authority of parliament, or confute his arguments, were bound by their duty to God, their country and posterity, to give him a full and explicit answer.—They proved uncontestedly that he was out in his facts, inconsistent with himself, and in every principle of his law he had committed a blunder. And although this country has suffered severe calamities in consequence of this speech, yet I hope they will not be durable; but his ruin was certainly in part owing to it.—Nothing ever opened the eyes of the people so much to his designs, excepting his letters. If it was out of his power to do us any more injuries, I should wish to forget the part; but as there is reason to fear he is still to continue his labours against this country, although he is out of our sight, he ought not to be out of our minds.—This country has every thing to fear, in the present state of the British court, while the Lords Bute, Mansfield and North have the principal conduct of affairs, from the intrigues of that man.

We are then told “that disaffection to Great-Britain was infused into the body of the people.” The leading whigs have ever systematically, and upon principle, endeavoured to preserve the people from all disaffection to the King on the one hand, and the body of the people on the other, but to lay the blame where it is justly due on the ministry and their instruments,

We are next conducted into the superior court, and informed “that the judges were dependant on the annual grants of the general court; that their salaries were small in proportion to the salaries of other officers, of less importance: that they

they often petitioned the assembly to enlarge them without success, and were reminded of their dependance; that they remained unshaken amid the raging tempests, which is to be attributed rather to their firmness than situation.

That the salaries were small, must be allowed, but not smaller in proportion than those of other officers. All salaries in this province have been small. It has been the policy of the country to keep them so, not so much from a spirit of parsimony, as an opinion, that the service of the public ought to be an honorary, rather than a lucrative employment; and that the great men ought to be obliged to set examples of simplicity and frugality before the people.

But if we consider things maturely, and make allowance for all circumstances, I think the country may be vindicated. This province during the last war, had such overbearing burdens upon it, that it was necessitated to oeconomy in every thing. At the peace she was half a million sterling in debt. She thought it the best policy to get out of debt before she raised the wages of her servants, and if Great Britain had thought as wisely, she would not now have had 140 millions to pay, and she would never have thought of taxing America.

Low as the wages were, it was found that whenever a vacancy happened, the place was solicited with much more anxiety and zeal than the kingdom of heaven.

Another cause which had its effect was this.—The judges of that court had almost always enjoyed some other office.—At the time of the stamp act the Chief Justice was Lieutenant Governor, which yielded him a profit, and a judge of probate for the county of Suffolk, which yielded him another profit, and a counsellor, which if it was not very profitable, gave him an opportunity of promoting his family and friends to other profitable offices, an opportunity which the country saw he most religiously improved.—Another justice of this court was a judge of admiralty, and another was judge of probate for the county of Plymouth. The people thought therefore, that as their time was not wholly taken up by their offices as judges of the superior court, there was no reason why they should be paid as much as if it had been.

Another reason was this: those justices had not been bred to the bar, but taken from merchandize, husbandry, and other occupations; had been at no great expence for education or libraries, and therefore the people thought that equity did not demand large salaries.

Whether all these arguments were sufficient to vindicate the people for not enlarging their salaries, I shall leave to you, my friends, whose right it is to judge.—But that the judges petitioned “often” to the assembly I don’t remember.—I knew it was suspected by many, and

confidently affirmed by some, that Judge Russell carried home with him in 1766, a petition to his Majesty, subscribed by himself, and Chief Justice Hutchinson at least, praying his Majesty to take the payment of the judges into his own hands; and that this petition, together with the solicitations of Governor Bernard, and others, had the success to procure the act of parliament, to enable his Majesty to appropriate the revenue to the support of the administration of justice, &c. from whence a great part of the present calamities of America have flowed.

That the high whigs took care to get themselves chosen of the grand juries I don’t believe. Nine tenths of the people were high whigs; and therefore it was not easy to get a grand jury without nine whigs in ten in it.—And the matter would not be much mended by the new act of parliament. The sheriff must return the same set of jurors, court after court, or else his juries would be nine tenths of them high whigs still.—Indeed the tories are so envenomed with malice, envy, revenge, and disappointed ambition, that they would be willing, for what I know, to be jurors for life, in order to give verdicts against the whigs.—And many of them would readily do it, I doubt not, without any other law or evidence, than what they found in their own breasts. The suggestion of legerdmain, in drawing the names of petit jurors out of the box is scandalous.—Human wisdom cannot devise a method of obtaining petit jurors more fairly, and better secured against a possibility of corruption of any kind, than that established by our provincial law. They were drawn by chance out of a box in open town meeting, to which the tories went, or might have gone, as well as the whigs, and have seen with their own eyes, that nothing unfair ever did or could take place. If the jurors consisted of whigs it was because the freeholders were whigs, that is, honest men.

“The judges pointed out seditious libels, on governors, magistrates, and the whole government to no effect. They did so.—But the jurors thought some of these no libels, but solemn truths.—At one time I have heard that all the news-papers for several years, the Massachusetts Gazette, Massachusetts Spy, &c. were laid before a grand jury at once. The jurors thought there were multitudes of libels written by the tories, and they did not know who they should attack if they presented them; perhaps Governor Bernard, Lieut. Governor Hutchinson, secretary Oliver—possibly the attorney general.—They saw so many difficulties they knew not what to do.—

“We are told the whigs once flattered themselves they should be able to divide the province between them.” I suppose it is meant that they should be able to get the honourable and lucrative offices of the province into their hands.—If this was true, they would be chargeable with only de-
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signing what the tories have actually done; with this difference, that the whigs would have done it by saving the liberties and the constitution of the province—whereas the tories have done it by the destruction of both.

With regard to the tea, the case is shortly this. The East India company, by their contract with government, in their charter and statute, are bound, in consideration of their important profitable privileges, to pay to the public treasury, a revenue, annually, of four hundred thousand pounds sterling, so long as they can hold up their dividends at twelve per cent. and no longer.

The mistaken policy of the ministry, in obstinately persisting in their claim of right to tax America, and refusing to repeal the duty on tea, with those on glass, paper and paint, had induced all America, except a few merchants in Boston, most of whom were closely connected with the junto, to refuse to import tea from Great Britain: the consequence of which was a kind of stagnation in the affairs of the company, and an immense accumulation of tea in their stores, which they could not sell. This, among other causes, contributed to affect their credit, and their dividends were on the point of falling below twelve per cent. and consequently the government was upon the point of losing 400,000*l.* sterling a year of revenue.—The company solicited the ministry to take off the duty in America: but they adhering to their plan of taxing the colonies and establishing a precedent, framed an act to enable the company to send their tea directly to America. This was admired as a master-piece of policy.—It was thought they would accomplish four great purposes at once: establish their precedent of taxing America; raise a large revenue there by the duties; save the credit of the company; and the 400,000*l.* to the government.—The company however, were so little pleased with this, that there were great debates among the directors, whether they should risque it, which were finally determined by a majority of one only, and that one the chairman, being unwilling, it is said, to interfere in the dispute between the minister and the colonies, and uncertain what the result would be: and this small majority was not obtained, as it is said, until a sufficient intimation was given that the company should not be losers.

When these designs were made known, it appeared, that American politicians were not to be deceived: that their fight was as quick and clear as the minister's, and that they were as steady to their purpose, as he was to his. This was thought by all the colonies, to be the precise point of time when it became absolutely necessary to make a stand.—If the tea should be landed, it would be sold; if sold the duties would amount to a large sum, which would be instantly applied to increase the friends and advocates for more duties, and to divide the people; and the company would get such a footing, that no opposition afterwards could

ever be effectual. And as soon as the duties on tea should be established, they would be ranked among post-office fees, and other precedents, and used as arguments both of the right and expediency of laying ~~on~~ others, perhaps on all the necessities, as well as conveniences and luxuries of life. The whole continent was united in the sentiment, that all opposition to parliamentary taxation must be given up for ever, if this critical moment was neglected. Accordingly, New-York and Philadelphia determined that the ships should be sent back; and Charlestown, that the tea should be stored and locked up—this was attended with no danger in that city, because they are fully united in sentiment and affection, and have no junto to perplex them.—Boston was under greater difficulties.—The consignees at New-York and Philadelphia most readily resigned.—The consignees at Boston, the children, cousins, and most intimate connections of governor Hutchinson, refused.—I am very sorry that I cannot stir a single step in developing the causes of my country's miseries, without stumbling upon this gentleman. But so it is.—From the near relation and most intimate connection of the consignees with him, there is great cause of jealousy, if not a violent presumption, that he was at the bottom of all this business, that he had planned it, in his confidential letters with Bernard, and both of them joined in suggesting and recommending it to the ministry.—Without this supposition, it is difficult to account for the obstinacy with which the consignees refused to resign, and the governor to let the vessel go. However this might be, Boston is the only place upon the continent, perhaps in the world, which ever breeds a species of misanthropos, who will persist in their schemes for their private interest, with such obstinacy, in opposition to the public good; disoblige all their fellow citizens for a little pelf, and make themselves odious and infamous, when they might be respected and esteemed. It must be said, however, in vindication of the town, that this breed is spawned chiefly by the junto.—The consignees would not resign; the custom-house refused clearances; governor Hutchinson refused passes by the castle.—The question then was, with many, whether the governor, officers and consignees should be compelled to send the ships hence? an army and navy was at hand, and bloodshed was apprehended.—At last, when the continent, as well as the town and province, were waiting the issue of this deliberation with the utmost anxiety, a number of persons, in the night, put them out of suspense, by an oblation to Neptune.

“The revenue was not the consideration before parliament.” Let who will it, But if it was not, the danger to America was the same.—I take no notice of the idea of a monopoly.—If it had been only a monopoly, (though in this light it would have been a grievance) it would not have excited,

excited, nor in the opinion of any one justified the step that was taken.—It was an attack upon a fundamental principle of the constitution, and upon that supposition was resisted, after multitudes of petitions to no purpose, and because there was no tribunal in the constitution, from whence redress could have been obtained.

All men are convinced that it was impracticable to return the tea, and rendered so by Mr. Hutchinson and the Boston consignees.—Whether to have stored it would have answered the end, or been a less mischief than drowning it, I shall leave to the judgment of the public. The other colonies, it seems, have no scruples about it, for we find that whenever tea arrives in any of them, whether from the East India company, or any other quarter, it never fails to share the fate of that in Boston.—All men will agree that such steps ought not to be taken, but in cases of absolute necessity, and that such necessity must be very clear.—But most people in America now think the destruction of the Boston tea, was absolutely necessary, and therefore right and just.—It is very true, they say, if the whole people had been united in sentiment, and equally stable in their resolution, not to buy or drink it, there might have been a reason for preserving it; but the people here were not so virtuous or so happy. The British ministry had plundered the people by illegal taxes, and applied the money in salaries and pensions, by which devices, they had insidiously attached to their party, no inconsiderable number of persons, some of whom were of family, fortune and influence, though many of them were of desperate fortunes, each of whom, however, had his circle of friends, connections and dependants, who were determined to drink tea, both as evidence of their fervility to administration, and their contempt and hatred of the people.—These it was impossible to restrain without violence, perhaps bloodshed, certainly without hazarding more than the tea was worth. To this tribe of the *wicked*, they say, must be added another, perhaps more numerous, of the *weak*; who never could be brought to think of the consequences of their actions, but would gratify their appetites, if they could come at the means. What numbers are there in every community, who have no providence, or prudence in their private affairs, but will go on indulging the present appetite, prejudice, or passion to the ruin of their estates and families, as well as their own health and characters! how much larger is the number of those who have no foresight for the public, or consideration of the freedom of posterity? Such an abstinence from the tea, as would have avoided the establishment of a precedent, depended on the unanimity of the people, a felicity that was unattainable.—Must the wife, the virtuous and worthy part of the community, who constituted a very great majority, surrender their liberty and involve

their posterity in misery in complaisance to a detestable, though small party of knaves, and a despicable, though more numerous company of fools?—

If Boston could have been treated like other places, like New-York and Philadelphia, the tea might have gone home from thence as it did from those cities.—That inveterate, desperate junto, to whom we owe all our calamities, were determined to hurt us in this, as in all other cases as much as they could. It is to be hoped they will one day repent and be forgiven, but it is very hard to forgive without repentance.—When the news of this event arrived in England, it excited such passions in the minister as nothing could restrain; his resentment was kindled into revenge, rage and madness; his veracity was piqued, as his master-piece of policy proved but a bubble: the bantling was the fruit of a favourite amour, and no wonder that his natural affection was touched when he saw it dispatched before his eyes.—His grief and ingenuity, if he had any, were affected at the thought that he had misled the East India company, so much nearer to destruction, and that he had rendered the breach between the kingdom and the colonies almost irreconcilable: his shame was excited because opposition had gained a triumph over him, and the three kingdoms were laughing at him for his obstinacy and his blunders: instead of relieving the company he had hastened its ruin: instead of establishing the absolute and unlimited sovereignty of parliament over the colonies, he had excited a more decisive denial of it, and resistance to it.—An election drew nigh, and he dreaded the resentment even of the corrupted electors.

In this state of mind bordering on despair, he determines to strike a bold stroke. By attacking all the colonies together, by the stamp act, and the paint and glass act, they had been defeated. The charter constitution of the Massachusetts-Bay, had contributed greatly to both these defeats.—Their representatives were too numerous, and too frequently elected, to be corrupted; their people had been used to consider affairs in their town-meetings: their counsellors were not absolutely at the nod of a minister or governor, but were once a year equally dependant on the governor and the two houses.—Their grand jurors were elective, by the people; their petit jurors were returned merely by lot. The junto rightly judged that by this constitution the people had a check on every branch of power, and therefore as long as it lasted, parliamentary taxations, &c. could never be enforced.

Bernard publishes his select letters, and his principles of polity: hiring garretteers were employed to scribble millions of lies against us, in pamphlets and news papers: and setters employed in the coffee-houses, to challenge or knock down all the advocates for the poor Massachusetts.—

It was now determined, instead of attacking the colonies together, though they had been all equally opposed to the plans of the ministry, and the claims of parliament, and therefore upon ministerial principles equally guilty, to handle them one by one; and to begin with Boston and the Massachusetts. The destruction of the tea was a fine event for scribblers and speechifiers to declaim upon; and there was an hereditary hatred of New-England, in the minds of many in England, on account of their non-conforming principles.—It was likewise thought there was a similar jealousy and animosity in the other colonies against New England; that they would therefore certainly desert her; that she would be intimidated and submit; and then the minister among his own friends, would acquire immortal honour, as the most able, skilful and undaunted statesman of the age.

The port bill, charter bill, murder bill, Quebec bill, making all together such a frightful system, as would have terrified any people, who did not prefer liberty to life, were all concerted at once: but all this art and violence have not succeeded. This people, under great trials and dangers, have discovered great abilities and virtues, and that nothing is so terrible to them as the loss of their liberties.—If these arts and violences are persisted in, and still greater concerted, and carried on against them, the world will see that their fortitude, patience and magnanimity will rise in proportion.

“The whigs saw their ruin connected with a compliance with the terms of opening the port.”—They saw the ruin of their country connected with such a compliance, and their own involved in it: but they might have easily voted a compliance, for they were undoubtedly a vast majority, and have enjoyed the esteem and affection of their fellow slaves to their last hours: several of them could have paid for the tea, and never have felt the loss.—They knew they must suffer, vastly more than the tea was worth, but they thought they acted for America and posterity; and that they ought not to take such a step without the advice of the colonies.—They have declared our cause their own—that they never will submit to a precedent in any part of the united colonies, by which parliament may take away wharfs and other lawful estates, or demolish charters; for if they do, they have a moral certainty that in the course of a few years, every right of Americans will be taken away, and governors and councils, holding at the will of a minister, will be the only legislatives in the colonies.

If we recollect how many states have lost their liberties, merely from want of communication with each other, and union among themselves, we shall think that the committees of correspondence, may be intended by Providence to accomplish great events. What the eloquence and talents of De-

mosthenes could not effect, among the states of Greece, might have been effected by so simple a device. Castile, Arragon, Valencia, Majorca, &c. all complained of oppression under Charles the Fifth, flew out into transports of rage, and took arms against him—But they never consulted or communicated with each other.—They resisted separately, and were separately subdued. Had Don Juan Padilla, or his wife, been possessed of the genius to invent a committee of correspondence, perhaps the liberties of the Spanish nation might have remained to this hour.

The people are told that “they have been insidiously taught to believe that Great Britain is rapacious, cruel and vindictive, and envies us the inheritance purchased by the sweat and blood of our ancestors.” The people do not believe this—they will not believe it: on the contrary, they believe if it was not for scandals constantly transmitted from this province by the Tories, the nation would redress our grievances.—Nay, as little as they reverence the ministry, they even believe that the Lords North, Mansfield and Bute, would relieve them, and would have done it long ago, if they had known the truth.—The moment this is done “long live our gracious king and happiness to Britain,” will resound from one end of the province to the other: but it requires a very little foresight to determine, that no other plan of governing the province and the colonies, will ever restore a harmony between the two countries, but desisting from the plan of taxing them and interfering with their internal concerns, and returning to that system of colony administration, which nature dictated, and experience for one hundred and fifty years found useful.

Strictures on the Gazette Account of the Action between the Provincials and the Regulars, near Boston. (See page 40.)

WE must give the ministry credit, for the little cunning of putting General Gage's name to the end of the whole account, when in truth it was to the return only. This is a trick, or as Lord Sandwich would say, a “take-in,” and suits at once their genius and their capacity. The truth is, that the whole was culled out of a variety of letters by two secretaries, their sub-secretaries, and office clerks. Though I do not conceive General Gage to be a Cæsar, or a Wolfe, yet I know him incapable of writing such stuff as is here indirectly imputed to him.

The ministry were exceedingly puzzled, between the shame of being themselves obliged to refute the charge of cowardice, which they have been so forward to urge against the Americans, and the reproach of having commenced a civil war, by a wanton and unprovoked murder of the people. Of two evils, ministry chose the least; and, as men who have neither wisdom nor veracity, generally correct one extravagance by another,

ther, a small body of those cowardly poltroon Americans, millions of whom were to fly before the face of the regulars, are represented as daring enough to attack the flower of General Gage's army.

The Gazette tells us, "That General Gage detached in the night the grenadiers and light infantry of his army, to destroy some stores at Concord."

Every one knows, that this description comprehends the best and most active troops of the whole body. They have the advantage too of stealing a march upon the people. We might have expected some enterprize and exploit of moment and magnitude, equal to the preparation, the secrecy, and confidence of this expedition. But, alas! the trunnions of three old iron ordnance are the vast object of this mighty achievement! Some flower, musket balls, and gunpowder, was also thrown into the river. I should be glad to know, what motive could induce the King's troops to throw away articles so useful to themselves, but the distress occasioned by—a precipitate retreat?

However, the ministry go on to inform us, "That whilst this prodigious service was performing, the rebels assembled, and—a considerable body of them attacked the light infantry posted at one of the bridges, on which an action ensued."—Well, and who were defeated?—Not a word of that but—"A few were killed and wounded." These dastardly Americans march up, and attack the best of the regulars, advantageously posted; and we are left to conclude, from their continuing to annoy, kill, and wound the troops on their return, as it is generally termed, from Concord, that the light infantry were driven from their post and defeated. All this we should readily admit on the credit of the Gazette, had not the former assurances of the ministry, that the Americans were too cowardly ever to face the regulars, rendered it utterly incredible.

But let us accompany the army in its return, and we find them met by Lord Percy, at Lexington, with sixteen companies and the marines, amounting in all to about 1200 men, with two pieces of cannon. We have now almost the whole army that was collected at Boston, under so active a leader as Lord Percy, with the assistance of Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, "Doing every thing (so says the Gazette) that men could do," and two pieces of cannon; we may now expect that not a man of the unheaded poltroon provincials will be left alive. Not quite so bad—the Gazette tells us drily, that "The rebels were for a while dispersed."

They were so dispersed, however, that "As soon as the troops resumed their march," (not their flight) they began again to fire upon them, and continued it during the whole of fifteen miles

march, "by which measures several were killed and wounded."

If this was not a flight, and if Lord Percy's activity was not in running away, I should be glad to know where were the flanking parties of this army, on its march, with all this light infantry? Would any commanding officer suffer such an enemy to continue killing and wounding his troops, from stone walls and houses? If it was not a defeat and flight, would they have left so many of their wounded to fall into the enemy's hands? I feel for the honour of the British troops, tho' the ministry do not. This Gazette will proclaim their disgrace throughout all Europe; and yet I think, that when the military lend themselves to fight against the freedom of their fellow-subjects, they deserve to be both disgraced and defeated.

Take then the whole of this account as it stands, and to what does it amount? but that General Gage's army having marched out of Boston in the night, was attacked by the militia hastily assembled, without a leader, and was driven back with the loss of 65 killed, 180 wounded, and 28 taken prisoners, making in all 273.

In the mean time the ministers, who have thus involved us in disgrace and blood, are perfectly unconcerned: they comfort themselves with throwing out some shameful reflections on the Americans, and boast of the activity of their officers, and the intrepidity of their troops: they have not sense to perceive, that the more they exaggerate the bravery and conduct of the regulars, the more they extol their opponents, whom they and their Scotch tools have been traducing, both publicly and privately, as the most abject cowards. What must the resolution of that militia be, which could drive these active and intrepid regulars, with loss and confusion, back into their entrenchments? In fact, this superiority does not arise from any difference between the English and the Americans, but from the one contending in the cause of tyranny, and the other in that of liberty. It never has entered into the hearts of these wretched ministers and their tools, to feel or conceive the enthusiasm and valour which so good and noble a cause inspires; is it not therefore wonderful that they should not foresee its effects.

The charge of scalping is of the same complexion with those which they have constantly made, and which we have as constantly found to be false. It is like those of Bernard and Hutchinson, made in such general terms, that it cannot have a particular retutation. Had they mentioned the names of those men who were thus treated, we might then have sought them out to refute the falsehood—but no, they content themselves with saying, the provincials "scalped and cut off the ears of some of the wounded," which I very sincerely believe to be an infamous falsehood, because we have had affidavits from several of the

H 2

wounded

wounded prisoners, acknowledging the kindest treatment; and it is most certain, that General Ward sent word to General Gage, that "his surgeons were at liberty to come into the provincial camp, and attend the wounded prisoners, if General Gage had more confidence in them than in the provincial surgeons." The public will hardly believe, that so fair and generous an enemy could be guilty of barbarity and cruelty, because an unfair and ungenerous ministry are their accusers.

The Gazette tells us, "That the troops, on seeing some provincials drawn up at Lexington, marched up to them."—For what purpose do you think, gentle reader?—to ask the civilest question in the world, "the reason of their being so assembled;" but the militia not being apprised of their very civil intentions, "went off in great confusion;" and yet, to our utter astonishment, we are in the next line told, that this confounded and flying enemy immediately began an attack upon the victorious regulars, wounding one man; and, what was an inexpiable offence, shoot a Scots officer's Scots poney! It is, I believe, the first time in the world that one army marched up to another to—"ask questions." We have heard of Parthians wounding as they fled, but I did not know this was the American method. Surely they might have told a more plausible story, to make us believe the Americans were the aggressors; but ministry have so often imposed on our credulity, that they think any thing will suffice. The presumption arising from this very detail, compared with that of Lieutenant Gould's affidavit, and the positive oaths of a variety of witnesses, render it unquestionable, that the King's troops began the fire, and that too upon a small body of provincials, who were dispersing.

The whole of this business is shocking in itself, dangerous in its consequences; nor can any thing comfort us under the evils attending it, but a trust that the wicked authors of it will soon be brought to condign punishment.

I am of opinion, that children unborn will not alone have occasion to lament the bloody and inhuman carnage of Lexington. Some men, whose advice has tended to produce so unhappy a scene, and whose abilities have since been prostituted in misrepresenting and reviling their countrymen, may have cause to join in the general lamentation. The hypocritical eye of Mr. H. may once more weep; and even Coriolanus* may shed a tear from a different cause than that of virtuous compunction. Coriolanus's friend and adviser, the late Major of Brigade, will meet with a reception worthy of his treachery; and the noble Lord who has been his dupe, will find, that he has bestowed rewards on a person unworthy of his con-

fidence. His engagements to bribe the members of the continental congress, and to raise ten thousand men to join the parliamentary army, shewed the extremity of impudence. He must have known, that he was deceiving the Secretary of State, and his Lordship ought to be ashamed of his own puerile credulity. The solicitations of modest, virtuous merit, have by him been often rejected, and the most forward and wicked incendiaries countenanced and promoted. Coriolanus has been extremely liberal in charging his countrymen with treason and rebellion. I shall not lose so much time as to discuss this question with him. It would necessarily lead me to the examination of the right of taxation.

All the disorders of America have arisen from source, and I defy him to derive them from any other. If the parliament have not a right to tax America, they have no right to send troops to compel submission. If compulsion be attempted, resistance is justifiable. The greatest authorities that ever this country produced, might be cited to prove this. I forbear mentioning the names of Sydney and Locke, of Chatham and Camden.—Their doctrines are obsolete, and too uncourtly for the ear of a young divine, newly flattered with the pomp of a professorship in divinity, and gratified with the more substantial acquisition of two hundred pounds a year. I appeal to Judge Blackstone; he cannot be suspected of partiality in favour of the people, in opposition to sovereign power. In his seventh chapter, which treats of the rights of persons, he says, "All oppressions which may happen to spring from any branch of the sovereign power, must necessarily be out of the reach of any stated rule, or express legal provision; but if ever they unfortunately happen, the prudence of the times must provide new remedies upon new emergencies."—And again, "It is found by experience, that whenever the unconstitutional oppressions even of the sovereign power advance with gigantic strides, and threaten desolation to a state, mankind will not be reasoned out of the feelings of humanity; nor will sacrifice their liberty by a scrupulous adherence to those political maxims which were originally established to preserve it."—"Whenever necessity, and the safety of the whole shall require it, they will exert those inherent, though latent powers of society, which no climate, no time, no constitution, no contract can ever destroy or diminish." A fuller and plainer justification of resistance on certain occasions cannot be penned; and that the occasions have offered which call forth the exertion of those "inherent, though latent powers of society," is very evident from the convulsions into which all America is thrown.

The American gentlemen, in their petition to parliament last year, which has done them infinite honour, and which he ought to remember with shame, very justly observe, that "no his-

tory

* A writer for the ministry in the public papers.

tory can shew, nor will human nature admit of an instance of general discontent, but from a general sense of oppression." As there is now no legal provision against such oppression left untried, every province having in vain, first separately, and then unitedly, petitioned, and remonstrated, they are compelled into a contest the most shocking and unnatural, with a parent state, which has ever been the object of their veneration and their love.*

The present administration, and the rest of the friends of arbitrary power and non-resistance, have been premature in declaring this contest rebellion. The event must prove whether it may not be called the necessary step to a revolution. I hope that this nation may have wisdom and virtue enough to prevent it, by a total and immediate repeal of all the offensive acts, and by resting satisfied with the monopoly of the American trade, which is all that the one ought to require, or the other submit to. But it seems the honour of parliament must not be hurt. They have declared, that these are terms they will not be satisfied with. This is a difficulty that Lord North will be so good as to obviate for me. The necessity of the case has always been thought a sufficient justification for a departure from such resolutions, which, if not impracticable, never can compensate for the miseries and calamities which must be the consequence of an attempt to carry them into execution. "If," says Lord North in his speech on what he called his Conciliatory Motion, "it should seem to be abandoning the high ground taken in the address, or to be contrary to the assurances so frequently given, that no terms should be held out to America previous to her submission, this is nothing but what is common. The greatest powers have done it. In the war of the succession, it was a fundamental point, that no Prince of the house of Bourbon should ever sit on the throne of Spain. This was several times repeated, and in the most solemn manner. Such politics are necessary to gain, or to animate allies.† Yet all the powers which composed this confederacy yielded; and a Prince of the house of Bourbon did sit, and one of the same house does now sit on the throne of Spain. In the Spanish war of 1739, we declared, that we could never treat with Spain, until she had given up the point of search. Yet peace was made without her giving up the point, and the search continued." Lord North added to these, many other instances in which great powers had abandoned their pretensions. His Lordship will, I hope, for the sake of stopping the farther effusion of blood, and for the sake of making us a happy, powerful, and united people, add another exam-

ple to his catalogue. I shall trouble Coriolanus with but one more observation, which to a clergyman may have some weight. If he should be as fortunate as Dr. Johnson, and get an addition to his pension; if he should succeed his worthy friend and patron the president of the college in which he is a professor; if he should attain the summit of all spiritual honours in this kingdom, even the See of Canterbury, it is worthy of his consideration whether there may not be some chosen curse,

Some hidden thunder in the stores of heaven,
Red with uncommon wrath, to blast the man,
Who owes his greatness to his country's ruin.

WE have a general, avague idea, that our commerce and manufactures must suffer greatly by the present dispute with America; but when we come to an accurate calculation on this head, it will be found that the inevitable injury must far exceed our apprehensions. To prove this, I will state the loss we shall sustain upon the single article of tobacco.

In doing this I shall estimate the whole of the tobacco imported at 100,000 hogshheads: the profit made by the merchant upon his import and export commissions at forty shillings per hogshhead, the purchaser who is to resell it at half as much—the tradesman and shopkeepers who furnish the goods for export the same—the original manufacturer the same. The freight of the tobacco is eight pounds per ton; of the goods sent in return, at two one half per cent. twenty thousand pounds. All this contributes to the support of our shipping, and the nursery of our seamen. We must next consider the revenue. The duty upon tobacco is 400,000l. per annum; the taxes upon the goods exported, according to the common estimate, amount to 250,000l. per annum; and, finally, the six pounds per hogshhead, which the planter neat, and used to lay out in manufactures, will leave a stoppage in the consumption of them to the amount of 600,000l. per annum.

I omit to estimate the numberless little articles of wharfage, lighterage, and which merchants know amount in the whole to a considerable sum, that I may not swell the whole to an amount apparently incredible; but estimating it as I have done, the loss will stand thus:

	£.
The merchants	— 200,000
The purchasers	— 100,000
The shopkeepers	— 100,000
The manufacturers	— 100,000
The revenue	— 650,000
Shipping	— 220,000
Manufactures	— 600,000

Total loss annually 1,970,000

This is but a very small part of the losses we must sustain from pursuing this coercive plan against

* See the petition of the American gentlemen.

† Or to endeavour to intimidate the colonies into a surrender of every thing that is dear and valuable to them.

against the liberties of our fellow-subjects in America. When I come to estimate the whole, which we must sacrifice to the establishment of a right to raise a revenue, where it is acknowledged no revenue can, in fact, be raised, it must appear that nothing but a total want of policy and wisdom can induce us to persevere. Whatever hardships or losses the Americans may bear in this contest, will be alleviated by the reflection of its being in defence of their dearest rights—but on our parts, reflection will only add to our distresses. Surely the Minister, who, with these dreadful consequences before him, urges this fatal question farther, will make a poor atonement with his head to this much injured country.

A commercial correspondent has obliged us with the several quantities of wheat and flour imported at Bristol from the following provinces, from the 1st of January 1775, to the 27th of April last.

	barrels of flour	busb. of wheat
From New-York	5523	71,122
Maryland	7594	91,888
Philadelphia	8045	35,967
Virginia	1252	42,835
	<u>22,414</u>	<u>241,812</u>

Suppose five bushels of wheat goes to a barrel of flour, which being added to the sum total of wheat, makes 353,882 bushels, which is the produce of 17,694 acres, at 20 bushels per acre, and the value of the same at 5s per bushel, * amounts to 88,470l. 10s. The bread, rye, rice, and Indian corn, are omitted, and likewise wheat, barley, and oats, imported from Holland, Germany, and Ireland, at Bristol.

During the above said period, twenty ships were cleared out from Bristol for North-America, with nothing but ballast, viz.

For New-York	—	7
Maryland	—	3
Philadelphia	—	3
Virginia	—	3
South-Carolina	—	3
North-Carolina	—	1
		<u>20</u>

N. B. The quantity of American provisions imported at Bristol, is scarce a fourth of what is imported at London, Liverpool, Lancaster, and throughout the other parts of England; and therefore, when the non-exportation agreement from America, takes place with the present scarcity, and almost dearth of our own corn this year, a famine may be dreaded before next spring, if the present American disputes are not previously settled.

A correspondent taking notice of the accounts of the insurrections which have arisen in France on account of the want of corn, remarks, that had it not been for Governor Pownall's bill, regulating the importation and exportation of corn, we should have been nearly in the like distresses and difficulties. If the importation had, as it used to do, depended upon the will and act of government, the Minister would not have ventured to open the ports until the distress was felt, and until the clamour of the people demanded it by their petitions; that would have been too late, instead of preceding must have always come after the want, and never have completely remedied it, while the price must in the mean time have always kept up at an unreasonable height. But as that law allows the importation to take place according to the prices, the merchant speculates on the approaching event of a scarcity, and supplies it long before it is felt, and before the price is run up. We find accordingly, says our correspondent, that as the merchant found that the crops of last year were deficient, and the supply defective in English corn, he took early care to procure foreign corn; and we find by the Custom-House accounts, that there was imported before Christmas last.

Into Bristol,	quarters of wheat	23402
	of flour	15245
Into Liverpool,	quarters of wheat	29238
	of flour	6122
Into London,	quarters of wheat	131319
	of flour	7951
Into Newcastle,	quarters of rye	27083
	of wheat	3432

The consumption of oats in London is reckoned at about 7000 quarters a week, of which at an average about 5000 quarters per week have been imported. The whole import of corn for bread before Christmas last, has been above 300,000 quarters, and of oats also above 300,000 quarters. The scarcity would, before the harvest could come about, have become a want; but the import being permanent, that want is provided against before-hand by the filling the warehouses every where.

June 16, An account was laid before the Court of Aldermen, of the quantity of wheat imported into the port of London, from the 4th of January, 1775, to the 27th of May inclusive, amounting to 130,362 quarters in the whole; two-thirds of which was from America.

Stripes on "A Friendly Address to the Americans."
By Colonel Lee. Printed at Philadelphia.

THE doctrines which the author of the Address aims to inculcate are these—
"That the parliament has a right to tax you without your consent; that the duty upon tea is no tax; that this duty is your only grievance; that the cause of Boston is their own concern; that it is not your cause; that the punishment of Boston is a just punishment; that it is lenient; that

* The price of wheat from America at Bristol, was in May from 6s. 8d. to 7s. per bushel; and if the weather continues as it has been for these two months past, all the spring corn of the West of England must fail.

that it is not equal to their crimes; that the Bostonians are rebels, traitors, and pampered fanatics; that the Congress are little better; that no misconduct of administration can justify or excuse open disrespect; that submission is to be paid to the higher powers, whatever character they be; that an Apostle enjoined submission to the tyrant Nero; that of all people under heaven the king's American subjects have the least cause for complaint; that the present confusion of the colonies has been occasioned by false alarms; that none of your legal rights have been invaded; no injury has been done you, and consequently that you can never be justified in resenting that of which you have no reason to complain; that you are no judges of the rights of parliament; that the parliament ought to act according to their own judgment, not according to yours, even in things which concern you principally or solely; that they assert they have the right in question; that you have never proved they have not; that you have always believed or allowed they have it until the present occasion; that the Quebec Bill is a just and constitutional bill; that the Canadians are likely to prove the best and most loyal subjects in his majesty's American dominions; that there is too much reason to believe that the minds of the Americans are unprincipled, and their hearts disposed for rebellion; that since the reduction of Canada they have been bloated with a vain opinion of their own power and importance; that the island of Great-Britain is able to govern (that is to dragoon) ten America's; that the moment it is known that America is no longer under the protection of Great-Britain, all the maritime powers of Europe would join to ravage your sea-ports, plunder and seize your ships merely for the pleasure of ravaging; * that all the maritime powers of the world would not dispossess Great-Britain of the empire of the sea even when America is separated from her." Now I

* This is perhaps the most preposterous idea that ever was hatched in a distempered brain. America (more particularly since the distractions in Poland have taken place) has been the great granary or *cella penaria* of Europe. Is it possible to conceive that the different maritime powers should unite to deprive themselves of the chief means of subsistence, merely for the fun's sake? Is it not more natural to suppose that they would out-bid each other for your friendship and commerce on which so much depends? When the Low Countries withdrew themselves from the dominion of Spain, did England, France, and the other Powers immediately set about ravaging their sea-ports and seizing their ships? Did they not, on the contrary, exert themselves directly and indirectly to assist them? The case is similar, the event would be similar; and that Great-Britain would not be powerful enough at sea, when separated from her Colonies; to prevent this assistance, I shall refer my readers to Massie's Estimates, the authority of which has never been disputed, and which demonstrate, that more than half the naval power of Great-Britain stands on her American foundation.

challenge the world to produce so many wicked sentiments, stupid principles, audaciously false assertions, and monstrous absurdities crowded together into so small a compass. All his positions are indeed so self evidently absurd and false, that it would be an insult to American understandings, seriously to attempt refuting them. I shall only beg leave to take notice of the curious argument he uses to prove the duty on tea to be no tax; it is that, "unless we consent to the tax, we are not to pay the duty. We may refuse purchasing it if we please. The same logic would demonstrate, that a duty on beer, candles, or soap, would be no tax, as we are not absolutely obliged to drink beer; we may drink water, we may go to bed before it is dark, and we are not forced to wash our shirts. His assertion that Great Britain, when divorced from her colonies, will still hold the empire of the seas in spite of all the powers of the world, is still more ingenious. It amounts to this, that "without the possible means of procuring timber, iron, plank, masts, pitch, tar, or hemp, to furnish out a single frigate, they may build more ships than all the world put together;" that "when her nursery for seamen is destroyed, and all the commerce on which the existence of seamen depends, is annihilated, they will be able to man more fleets than the whole universe put together." But I am ashamed of trespassing on the public patience, in making strictures on such ridiculous articles, I shall therefore pass to some questions which have not been so much agitated, and on which, if I mistake not, his reverence lays the greatest stress; for as he modestly declares, that he has no opinion of your courage, it was natural for him to consider intimidation and terror, as the most powerful figures of rhetoric. "Regular armies from Great Britain, Hessians, Hanoverians, royal standards erected, skilful generals, legions of Canadians, and unnumbered tribes of savages; swords flaming in the front and rear, pestilence, desolation, and famine," are all marshalled in a most dreadful order by this church militant author.—But let us somewhat minutely examine the picture, and see whether, stript of its false colouring, it has any thing really terrifying. His reverence begins with assuring us, that there is no room to doubt, but that such an army as was employed in the reduction of Canada (that is an army of seven thousand men) would be more than sufficient for the conquest of all the disaffected American colonies, which are in fact all the colonies. Should such a resolution become necessary in order to reduce them to obedience. For my own part I think there is very great reason to doubt, that seven thousand, even of the best troops, are able to conquer two hundred thousand of the most disorderly peasantry upon earth, if they are animated in defence of every thing they hold most dear and sacred;

sacred; and there is still greater reason to doubt, that seven thousand very indifferent troops, composed of the refuse of an exhausted nation, few of whom have seen action of any kind, should be able to conquer 200,000 active, vigorous yeomanry, fired with the noble ardour we see prevalent thro' the continent, all armed, all expert in the use of arms almost from their cradles. The success of Quebec, it is true, does infinite honour to the English arms; the army was, I believe, only 7000, the enemy were perhaps more than double, but sixteen thousand men are not two hundred thousand. The fate of Canada, depended upon one decisive action, but it is impossible to calculate how many victories must be gained before these colonies could be subdued, whereas a single victory gained by the colonies must decide the contest in their favour. In the affair of Quebec there is another circumstance to be considered, it was Wolfe who commanded; a man of the most wonderful talents, formed to level all difficulties; to render the most despicable soldiery, almost instantaneously, an army of heroes.—In short, the genius of the man was so extraordinary, the event was so extraordinary that no inferences can be drawn from it; but this without presumption may be asserted, that no general now existing in the British service, would with double or treble his number have succeeded in the same circumstances. One thing more I must add in honour of that illustrious personage, that the same greatness of soul which qualified him to conquer the natural hereditary enemies of his country, would have made him reject with horror the hangman's office, which others who are not endowed with conquering attributes, will with readiness accept.

It is notorious, that Mr. Wolfe was not only the first of soldiers, but that he was a most liberal virtuous citizen, that he was passionately attached to the liberties of his country, and of mankind; and that he was particularly an enemy to large standing armies in time of peace. It is on the other hand remarkable, that all the advocates for standing armies, all those who are the fondest of the faddling and parade of war, are the most active in avoiding real service.

This tremendous soothsayer, on the supposition that so great a miracle should happen in our favour, as that the trifling body of five hundred thousand men, though firmly united (for every man in America, firmly united, would not amount to less) should be able to withstand this seven thousand, goes on to rattle in our ears, armies of Hessians and Hanoverians. I wish to Heaven he had for once deviated into probability and truth. I wish ten thousand of them could possibly be transported to-morrow. The purpose they would answer is a purpose devoutly to be wished for; they would be an addition to this continent of just so many useful and excellent citizens; for I will venture to affirm (affirming is infectious) that in

less than four months not two of these ten thousand would remain with their colours. But does not this reverend gentleman know, that in the year 1764, a convention was formed by most of the Princes of the empire, at the head of which convention were the Emperor himself and the King of Prussia, to prevent the alarming emigrations which threatened depopulation to Germany? Does he not know, that no troops can march out of the empire without the consent of the empire? Does he not know that the elector of Hanover and the Emperor are upon exceedingly ill terms? Does he not know that the Elector of Hanover and the King of Prussia are still upon worse? Is he sure, that the Landgrave of Hesse would sell his troops (for as not one man would return back to their country, he must consider them as for ever sold?) Is he sure that as the finances of Great Britain stand, the vast sum necessary for this purchase would be conveniently found? Is he sure that the state of Hanover would consent to such a draining of their country? I know not how it is, but his Most Excellent Majesty George the Third, who in England is justly esteemed the most gracious of Sovereigns, the wisest, greatest, and best of Kings, is not very popular in the Electorate of Hanover. These people seem to think it hard, that two hundred and twenty thousand pounds should annually be drawn from them for the purposes (as they conceive it) of corrupting the members of St. Stephen's Chapel, in order to support the power and authority of a set of men, who from the beginning have been enemies to the succession of the Hanoverian line, and who shewed a particular animosity to their last and favourite Prince, George the Second; but these difficulties (great and unsurmountable as to a common mortal they appear) our divine exorcist has in an instant conjured down, and by a single motion of his enchanted wand, has transported whole armies, in spite of their respective Princes, and without the consent of their respective states, from the interior parts of Germany, across the Atlantic into the plains of New England and Pennsylvania. But he does not confine himself to the introduction of his Germans. He proceeds next to erect the royal standard, to which he tells us, that all who have the courage to declare themselves now friends to government, will undoubtedly resort, and these, he says, in a good cause, will be of themselves formidable to their opposers: dreadfully formidable they must be indeed: there would resort to it, let me see, (for the respectable town of Rye have declared themselves a kind of neutrals, "rather than friends to government,") there would resort to it, Mr. Justice Sewell, the Honourable Mr. Paxton, Brigadier-Ruggles, and about eight or ten more mandamus councilmen, with perhaps twice their number of expectants, and not less than twenty of the unrecanted Hutchinsonian addressers.

(To be continued.)

NEW YORK, May 11.

THE following association was set on foot here last Saturday, and on that day it was signed by upwards of one thousand of our principal inhabitants. It is to be transmitted to all the counties in the province, where we make no doubt it will be signed by all ranks of people.

AN ASSOCIATION.

"Persuaded that the salvation of the rights and liberties of America depend, under God, on the firm union of its inhabitants, in a vigorous prosecution of the measures necessary for its safety; and convinced of the necessity of preventing the anarchy and confusion which attend a dissolution of the powers of government; we, the freemen, freeholders, and inhabitants of the city and county of New-York, being greatly alarmed at the avowed design of the ministry to raise a revenue in America, and shocked by the bloody scene now acting in the Massachusetts Bay; do, in the most solemn manner, resolve never to become slaves; and do associate, under all the ties of religion, honour, and love to our country, to adopt and to endeavour to carry into execution, whatever measures may be recommended by the Continental Congress, or resolved upon by our Provincial convention, for the purpose of preserving our constitution, and opposing the execution of several arbitrary and oppressive acts of the British parliament, until a reconciliation between Great Britain and America on constitutional principles, (which we most ardently desire) can be obtained; and that we will, in all things, follow the advice of our general committee, respecting the purposes aforesaid, the preservation of peace and good order, and the safety of individuals and private property."

General Gage, and his troops, when the last advices came away, had nothing but salt provisions to subsist on; even at his own table they eat pork and pease.

A correspondent desires we would inform the public, that the Generals Clinton, Howe, and Burgoyne, carried with them terms of accommodation to the Americans, by which the right of taxation was to be given up, and some doublers to be distributed among the leading men.

Extract of a letter from New-York, May 4.

"The general committee of one hundred have stoppt all supplies to Boston, Newfoundland, and all the fishing coasts, after the example of Philadelphia. The members of his Majesty's Council here sent a copy of the minutes of their proceedings to the committee this morning, with liberty to communicate the purport of them. The minutes (which are the outlines of

a letter to be transmitted by this packet) contain a just and true account of the circumstances which took place here on the news of an engagement; acknowledged the receipt of a letter from Lord Dartmouth of the 24th of March, wherein he hints at a plan of accommodation being to be offered; in answer to which they give their opinion explicitly, that no terms will be attended to in the present ferment; and unless General Gage ceases hostilities, it will be in vain to make proposals of any kind; in short, that this and all the other provinces are resolved, not only to refuse submission to the late and present acts of parliament, but to oppose, at the risque of their lives and fortunes, all those who come to enforce them."

The Lord-Mayor on Friday the 23d of June, laid before the Court of Common Council a letter addressed to the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of London, from the Committee of New-York, of which the following is a true copy. It was ordered to be taken into consideration at the next Court, and mentioned in the summons.

(C O P Y.)

Committee Chamber, New-York. May 5, 1775.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

Distinguished as you are, by your noble exertions in the cause of liberty, and deeply interested in the expiring commerce of the empire, you necessarily command the most respectful attention. The general committee of association for the City and County of New-York beg leave therefore to address you, and the capital of the British empire, thro' its Magistrates, on the subject of American wrongs. Born to the bright inheritance of English freedom, the inhabitants of this extensive continent can never submit to the ignominious yoke, nor move in the galling fetters of slavery. The disposal of their own property with perfect spontaneity, and in a manner wholly divested of every appearance of constraint, is their indefeasible birthright. This exalted blessing they are resolutely determined to defend with their blood, and transfer it uncontaminated to their posterity.

You will not then wonder at their early jealousy of the design to erect in this land of liberty, a despotism scarcely to be paralleled in the pages of antiquity, or the volumes of modern times; a despotism consisting in power assumed by the representatives of a part of his Majesty's subjects, at their sovereign will and pleasure, to strip the rest of their property;—and what are the engines of administration to execute this destructive project

jest? The duty on tea; oppressive restraints on the commerce of the colonies; the blockade of the port of Boston; the change of internal police in the Massachusetts, and Quebec; the establishment of popery in the latter; the extension of its bounds; the ruin of our Indian commerce, by regulations calculated to aggrandize that arbitrary government; unconstitutional Admiralty jurisdiction throughout the colonies; the invasion of our right to a trial, in the most capital cases, by a Jury of the vicinage; the horrid contrivance to screen from punishment the bloody executioners of ministerial vengeance; and not to mention the rest of the black catalogue of our grievances, the hostile operations of an army, who have already shed the blood of our countrymen. The struggles excited by the detestable stamp act, have so lately demonstrated to the world that Americans will not be slaves; that we stand astonished at the gross impolicy of the Minister. Recent experience had evinced that the possessors of this extensive continent would never submit to a tax by pretext of legislative authority in Britain; disguise therefore became the expedient. In pursuit of the same end, Parliament declared their absolute supremacy in attempting to raise a revenue under the specious pretence of providing for their good government and defence. Administration to exhibit a degree of moderation purely ostensible and delusory, while they withdrew their hands from our most necessary articles of importation, determined with an eager grasp to hold the duty on tea, as a badge of their taxative power. Zealous on our part for an indissoluble union with the parent state, studious to promote the glory and happiness of the empire, impressed with a just sense of the necessity of a controlling authority to regulate and harmonize the discordant commercial interests of its various parts; we cheerfully submit to a regulation of commerce, by the legislature of the parent state, excluding, in its nature, every idea of taxation.

Whither, therefore, the present machinations of arbitrary power infallibly tend, you may easily judge; if unremittedly pursued, as they were inhumanly devised, they will, by a fatal necessity, terminate in a total dissolution of the empire.

The subjects of this country will not, we trust, be deceived by any measures conciliatory in appearance, while it is evident that the Minister aims at a solid revenue to be raised by grievous and oppressive acts of parliament, and by fleets and armies employed to enforce the execution. They never will, we believe, submit to an auction on the colonies for the more effectual augmentation of the revenue, by holding it up as a temptation to them, that the highest bidder shall

enjoy the greatest share of government favour. This plan, as it would tend to sow the seeds of discord, would be far more dangerous than hostile force, in which we hope the King's troops will ever be, as they have already been; unsuccessful. Instead of those unusual, extraordinary, and unconstitutional modes of procuring levies from the subjects, should his Majesty graciously be pleased, upon suitable emergencies to make requisitions in ancient form, the colonies have expressed their willingness to contribute to the support of the empire, but to contribute of their voluntary gift as Englishmen; and when our unexampled grievances are redressed, our Prince will find his American subjects testifying, on all proper occasions, by as ample aids as their circumstances will permit, the most unshaken fidelity to their sovereign, and inviolable attachment to the welfare of his realm and dominions. Permit us further to assure you, that America is grown so irritable by oppression, that the least shock in any part is by the most powerful and sympathetic affection, instantaneously felt through the whole continent. That Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New-York, have already stopped their exports to the fishing islands, and those colonies which at this dangerous juncture have refused to unite with their brethren in the common cause; and all supplies to the navy and army at Boston; and that probably the day is at hand, when our Continental Congress will totally shut up our ports.

The minions of power here may now inform administration, if they can ever speak the language of truth, that this city is as one man in the cause of liberty; that to this end, our inhabitants are almost unanimously bound by the inclined association; that it is continually advancing to perfection, by additional subscriptions; that they are resolutely bent on supporting their Committee, and the intended Provincial and Continental Congresses; that there is not the least doubt of the efficacy of their example in the other Colonies: In short, that while the whole Continent are ardently wishing for peace on such terms as can be acceded to by Englishmen, they are indefatigable in preparing for the last appeal. That such are the language and conduct of our fellow-citizens, will be further manifested by a representation of the Lieutenant-Governor and Council of the right inst. to General Gage at Boston, and to his Majesty's Ministers by the packet. Assure yourselves, my Lord and Gentlemen, that we speak the real sentiments of the confederated Colonies on the Continent, from Nova-Scotia to Georgia, when we declare, that all the horrors of a civil war will never compel America to submit to taxation by authority of Parliament.

A sin-

A sincere regard to the public weal, and the cause of humanity; in hearty desire to spare the further effusion of human blood; our loyalty to our Prince, and the love we bear to all our fellow-subjects in his Majesty's realm and dominions; a full conviction of the warmest attachment in the capital of the empire to the cause of justice and liberty, have induced us to address you on this momentous subject, confident that the same cogent motives will induce the most vigorous exertions of the City of London to restore union, mutual confidence and peace to the whole empire.

We have the honour to be,

My Lord and Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and

Affectionate Fellow-subjects, and

Humble servants,

ISAAC LOW, Chairman,

John Jay	Aug. V. Horne
Fred. Lewis	Ab. Duryee
John Alsop	Sam. Verplanck
Phil. Livingston	Rudolphus Ritzeman
James Duane	John Morton
E. Duyckorch	Joseph Hellett
Wm. Seton	Rob. Benson
William W. Ludlow	Abm. Brasher
Cornelius Clopper	Leonard Lispenard
Abm. Brinkerhoff	Thomas Marlotry
Henry Remsen	Nicholas Hoffman
Robert Ray	P. V. B. Livingston
Ever. Bancker	Lewis Pintard
Joseph Totten	John Imlay
Abm. P. Lott	Elezar Miller, jun.
David Buckman	John Broom
Isaac Roosevelt	John B. Moore
Gabriel H. Ludlow	Nicholas Bogert
Wm. Walton	John Anthony
Daniel Phenix	Victor Bicker
Fred. Jay	William Goforth
Sam. Broome	Hercules Mulligen
John De Lancey	Nich. Roosevelt
Alex. McDougall	Corn. P. Low
John Reade	Francis Bassett
Joseph Bull	James Beckman
George Jancway	Thomas Ivers
John White	Wm. Denning
Gab. W. Ludlow	John Berrien
John Lasher	Benj. Helme
Theoph. Anthony	Wm. W. Gilbert
Tho. Smith	Dan. Duncomb
Rich. Yates	John Lamb
Oliver Templeton	Rich. Sharp
Jacobus Van Landhy	John Morin Scott
Jeremiah Platt	Jacob Vanvoorstis
Peter S. Currenious	Comfort Sands
Thomas Randall	Edward Fleming

Lancaster Burling
Benj. Kiffauv
Jacob Lefferts
Ant. Van Dane
Abraham Walton
Hamilton Young

Peter Goelet
Gerret Kitteras
Thomas Buchanan
James Desbrosses, jun.
Petrus Bywanck
Laurence Embren.

To the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor,
the Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of London.

Philadelphia, May 8. This day the General Assembly of this province met here, pursuant to adjournment, when they received a message from the Governor, informing them, that he had ordered the Secretary to lay before them a resolution entered into by the British House of Commons of the 20th of February last, relative to the unhappy differences subsisting between the Mother Country and her American Colonies, which resolution runs thus: "That it is the opinion of this committee, that when the General Council and Assembly, or General Court of any of his Majesty's provinces or colonies in America, shall propose to make provision, &c. &c. &c. to forbear, in respect of such province or colony, to lay any duty, tax, or assessment, except only such duties as it may be expedient to continue to levy for the regulation of commerce, &c. &c. &c."

To which message the Assembly returned the following answer:

May it please your Honour,

"We have taken into our serious consideration your message of the 2d instant, and "the resolution of the British House of Commons therein referred to."

"Having "weighed and considered this plan with the temper, calmness, and deliberation that the importance of the subject, and the present critical situation of affairs demand; we are sincerely sorry, that we cannot "think the terms pointed out" afford "a just and reasonable ground for a final accommodation" between Great-Britain and her Colonies.

"Your Honour observes, "that the Colonies, amidst all those complaints which a jealousy of their liberties has occasioned, have never denied the justice or equity of their contributing towards the burthens of the Mother Country;" but your Honour must know, that they have ever unanimously asserted it as their indisputable right, that all aids from them should be their own free and voluntary gifts, not taken by force, nor extorted by fear.

"Under which of these descriptions the "plan held forth and offered by the parent to her children" at this time, with its attendant circumstances, deserves to be classed, we chuse rather to submit

submit to the determination of your Honour's good sense, than to attempt proving by the enumeration of notorious facts, or the repetition of obvious reasons.

"If no OTHER objection to the "plan" proposed, occurred to us, we should esteem it a dishonourable desertion of sister Colonies, connected by an union, founded on just motives and mutual faith, and conducted by general councils, for a single Colony to adopt a measure, so extensive in consequence, without the advice and consent of those Colonies engaged with us by solemn ties in the same common cause.

"For we wish your Honour to be assured, that we can form no prospect appearing reasonable to us, of any LASTING advantages for PENNSYLVANIA, however agreeable they may be at the beginning, but what must arise from a communication of rights and prosperity with the other Colonies; and that if such a prospect SHOULD be opened to us, we have too sincere an affection for our brethren, and too strict a regard "for the inviolable performance of" our "engagements," to receive any pleasure from benefits equally due to them, yet confined to ourselves, and which, by generously rejecting them at present, may at length be secured to all.

"Your Honour is pleased to observe, "that as we are the FIRST Assembly on the continent, to whom this resolution has been communicated, much depends upon the moderation and wisdom of our Councils, and we shall be deservedly revered to the latest posterity, if, by any possible means" we "can be instrumental in restoring the public tranquillity, and rescuing both countries from the dreadful calamities of a civil war."

"Your Honour, from your long conversation among us, must be persuaded, that the people we represent, are as peaceable and obedient to government, as true and faithful to their Sovereign, and as affectionate and dutiful to their superior state, as any in the world; and though we are not inattentive to the approbation of "posterity," as might reflect honour upon our country; yet higher motives have taught us, upon all occasions, to demonstrate by every testimony, our devotion to our King and parent state.

"Still animated by the same principles, and most earnestly desirous of enjoying our former undisturbed condition of dependence and subordination productive of so many blessings to "both countries," we cannot express the satisfaction we should receive "if by any possible means" we could "be instrumental in restoring the public tranquillity;" should such an opportunity offer, we shall endeavour with the utmost diligence and zeal to improve it, and to convince his Majesty

and our mother country, that we shall ever be ready and willing, with our lives and fortunes, to support the interests of his Majesty and that country, by every effort that can be reasonably expected from the most loyal subjects, and the most dutiful colonists.

"Until Divine Providence shall cause, in the course of its dispensations, such a happy period to arrive, we can only deprecate, and, if it be possible, strive, by prudence to avoid "the calamities of a civil war," a "dreadful misfortune indeed! and not to be exceeded but by an utter subversion of the Liberties of America.

Signed by order of the House,
JOHN MORTON, SPEAKER."

May 4th 1775.

PHILADELPHIA, May 16.

In CONGRESS, Monday, May 15, 1775.

THE City and County of New-York having, through Delegates, applied to the Congress for their advice how to conduct themselves with regard to the troops expected there, the Congress took the measure into the most serious deliberation, and came to the following resolution:

"That it be recommended for the present to the inhabitants of New-York, that if the troops which are expected should arrive, the said Colony act on the defensive, so long as may be consistent with their safety and security;—that the troops be permitted to remain in the barracks, so long as they behave peaceably and quietly, but that they may not be suffered to erect fortifications, or take any steps for cutting off the communication between the town and country; and that if they commit hostilities, or invade private property, the inhabitants should defend themselves and their property, and repel force by force;—that the warlike stores be removed from the town;—that places of retreat, in case of necessity, be provided for the women and children of New-York; and a sufficient number of men be embodied, and kept in constant readiness, for protecting the inhabitants from insult and injury.

A true Copy from the Minutes.

CHARLES THOMPSON, Sec.

Gentlemen,

I Enclosed we send you the advice of the Congress, on the subject on which you requested it; and lest the advice to remove the military stores might be construed to extend to those belonging to the Crown, we think it prudent to suggest to you, that the contrary construction is the true one.

You would have received this advice before, had not sundry circumstances, not material, or perhaps

perhaps not proper to explain, concurred in deferring it till now.

We are, Gentlemen,

Your humble servants,

James Duane

Lewis Morris

Francis Lewis

Philip Livingston

John Jay

John Alsop

Philadelphia, May 16.

Cambridge, May 25. About half past eight o'clock on Wednesday evening last week a fire broke out in a barrack, on Treat's Wharf, in Boston. It was occasioned by the soldiers receiving a number of cartridges, one of which took fire and communicated it to many more, which immediately set fire to the room, and soon caught the adjoining buildings. All the stores on the South side of the Dock are destroyed, except that at the head of the Wharf, occupied by Mr. S. Elliott. All the stores from Mr. Elliott's to Mr. Ellis Gray's, which makes the North corner of Spear's Wharf, except that occupied by the Commissary's Office, are also destroyed. The fire raged with great fury all night.

We have received the following account of the number of stores burnt, and the names of the owners or occupiers: Hon. John Hancock, Esq; 1 store and a shed; Mr. Thomas Rayerweather 1 store; Mr. Benjamin Andrews 2; one occupied by Mess. B. and W. Foster; Mr. Edward Gray 1; Mr. Joseph Barrel 1; Mr. John Head 1; John Williams, Esq; 1, and in it 50 barrels of flour belonging to the donation stock destroyed; Mess. Hylop and Burton 1; Mr. Andrew Black 1; Mr. Nath. Cary 1 and a shed; Mr. Al. Hill 1 and a shed; James Russell, Esq; 1, occupied as Imposit Office; Mr. John Soley 1; Mr. John Sweatser 1; 3 at the end of the Town Dock; 6 stores and a cooper's shop owned by Mr. Eliakim Hutchinson, occupied as barracks; 1 store, formerly occupied by Mr. Elias Thomas, sail-maker; 2 stores leading down to the barracks, occupied by Mr. Grant Webster and Mr. Wm. Blair; Thomas Brattle's shed pulled down to stop the fire. Total 27 stores, 1 cooper's shop, and four sheds burnt, but not one dwelling-house.—The whole loss is thought to be 40,000l. sterling.

Cambridge, May 18, 1775. Yesterday Colonel Easton arrived at the Provincial Congress in Wastertown from Ticonderoga, and brings the glorious news of the taking that place by the American forces, without the loss of a man, of which interesting event we have collected the following particulars, viz. Last Tuesday se'nnight about 240 men from Connecticut and this Province, under Colonel Allen and Colonel Easton, arrived at the Lake near Ticonderoga. Eighty of them crossed it, and came to the fort about the dawn

of day. The centry was much surprised at seeing such a body of men, and snapped his piece at them. Our men, however, immediately rushed forward, seized and confined the centry, pushed through the covered way, and all got safe upon the parade, while the garrison were sleeping in their beds. They immediately formed a hollow square, and gave three huzzas, which brought out the garrison. An inconsiderable skirmish, with cutlasses or bayonets, ensued, in which a small number of the enemy received some wounds. The commanding officer soon came forth; Colonel Easton clapped him upon the shoulder, told him he was his prisoner, and demanded, IN THE NAME OF AMERICA, an instant surrender of the fort, with all its contents, to the American forces. The officer was in great confusion, and expressed himself to this effect, "*Damn you what—what—does all this mean?*" Colonel Easton again told him, that he and his garrison were prisoners. The officer said, that he hoped he should be treated with honour. Colonel Easton replied, he should be treated with much more honour than our people had met with from the British troops. The officer then said he was all submission, and immediately ordered his soldiers to deliver up all the arms, in number about 100 stands. As they gave up their arms, the prisoners were secured in the hollow square. The American forces having thus providentially got possession of this important fortress, found in it upwards of one hundred pieces of cannon, several mortars, and a considerable quantity of shot, stores, and some powder. After this acquisition, a detachment of our troops were dispatched to take possession of Crown Point, where there is a considerable number of cannon. Another detachment was sent to Skeneborough, where they took Major Skene and his family, with a number of soldiers, and several small pieces of cannon.

An account of arms, ammunition, &c. taken at Ticonderoga, viz. between 112 and 120 iron cannon, from 6 to 24 pounders, 50 swivels of different sizes, 2 ten inch mortars, 1 howitz, 1 cohorn, 10 tons of musket balls, 3 cart loads of flints, 30 new carriages, a considerable quantity of shells, a warehouse full of materials to carry on boat-building, 100 stand of small arms, 10 casks of poor powder, 2 brass cannon, 30 barrels of flour, 18 barrels of pork, some beans and peas, and 42 prisoners, besides women and children.

An act for laying an embargo on all kinds of provisions hath been passed by the General Assembly of Rhode Island.

The Provincial Congress hath established a Post Office in this town, and appointed Mr. James Winthrop, Post Master.

Last

Last sabbath, about ten o'clock, A. M. an express arrived at General Thomas's quarters at Roxbury, informing him that four sloops (two of them armed) were failed from Boston, to the south shore of the bay, and that a number of soldiers were landing at Weymouth. General Thomas ordered three companies to march to the support of the inhabitants; when arrived, they found the soldiers had not attempted to land at Weymouth, but had landed on Grape Island, from whence they were carrying off hay on board the sloops. The people of Weymouth assembled on a point of land next to Grape Island. The distance of Weymouth shore to the said island was too great for small arms to do execution, nevertheless our people frequently fired. The fire was returned from one of the vessels with swivel guns, but the shot passed over our heads and did no mischief. Matters continued in this state for several hours, the soldiers pulling hay down to the water-side, our people firing at the vessel, and they now and then discharging swivel guns. The tide had now come in, and several lighters which were aground were got afloat, upon which our people, who were ardent for battle, got on board, hoisted sail, and bore directly down upon the nearest point of the island. The soldiers and sailors immediately left the barn and made for their boats, and put off from one end of the island, whilst our people landed on the other. The sloops hoisted sail with all possible expedition, whilst our people set fire to the barn, and burnt seventy or eighty tons of hay; then fired several tons which had been pulled down to the water-side, and brought off the cattle. As the vessels passed *Horse-Neck*, a sort of promontory, which extends from German Town, they fired their swivels and small arms at our people pretty briskly, though without effect; though one of the bullets from their small arms, which passed over our people, struck against a stone with such force, as to take off a large part of the bullet. Whether any of the enemy is wounded is uncertain, though it is reported three of them were. It is thought they did not carry off more than one or two tons of hay.

The *Cerberus*, with the three Generals arrived at Boston on the 25th of May.

Colonel Easton met several hundred men from the Western parts of this Province, on their way to Ticonderoga. They were on the same expedition, not knowing the fort was taken till they met Colonel Easton. Part of them pursued their march, in order to secure the garrison and fort.

The prisoners, to the number of one hundred, including negroes, &c. were brought off by John Brown, Esq. Colonel Allen was left Commander of the fort.

The officers and soldiers in this important expedition, behaved with the utmost intrepidity and good conduct, and therefore merit the highest applause of their grateful countrymen.

We hear that an armed vessel a few days ago, on some frivolous pretence, took possession of two other vessels in the Vineyard Sound; on which the people fitted out two vessels, went in pursuit of them, retook, and brought them both into harbour, and sent the prisoners to Taunton goal.

Extract of a letter from Pittsfield, May 18.

"We have had much work here of late with the Tories: a dark plot has been discovered of sending James down to General Gage; in consequence of which, and the critical situation of this town, we have been obliged to act with vigour, and have sent Mr. Jones, and — Graves, to Northampton goal, where they now lie in close confinement, and have sent a hue and cry after Major Stoddard and Mr. Little, who have fled to New York for shelter. We hope it will not be long before they are taken into custody, and committed to close confinement.

"Solomons, the Indian King at Stockbridge, was lately at Colonel Easton's of this town, and said there, that the Mohawks had not only given liberty to the Stockbridge Indians to join us, but had sent them a belt, denoting that they would hold 500 men in readiness to join us immediately on the first notice; and that Solomons held an Indian post in actual readiness, to run with the news as soon as they should be wanted."

The following letter contains an account of the transactions of the military at the fire:

Extract of a Letter from Boston.

"I propose to give you a circumstantial account of the fire, previous to which please to observe, that for ten days past a report had been propagated that the liberty party intended to set fire to the town in different places, as soon as the greater part of them had got out. The General took the alarm, and took the engines under guard, and appointed new Captains; the late engine-man took umbrage at it. But to the point—I being informed the barrack was on fire, ran through the street, crying fire! (as no bells rang) but was stopped by a man who told me it was the officers order not to cry fire, one having threatened to beat out the man's brains out that did. The drums all this time beating to arms, when I came to the fire I found no engine there. Applying to one of the late engine men to know the reason, was informed he had applied for the engine, but the bayonet was presented at him, and he was told he must apply to some officer before he could have it. After this fatal delay, the engines

engines appeared, with the new appointed Captains and military firewards, and a miserable figure they cut, the former not knowing how to obey, if the latter had known how to command. Upon the whole it appears to me, as plain as the meridian sun, had the engines been on the old footing, the fire would have been put out, and twenty thousand pounds sterling loss prevented. Let that be as it may, I will venture to say, had the fire broke out in the center of the town, it would have laid it in ashes, in the direction it took to the water."

Copy of a Letter to his Excellency General GAGE, from the Hon. JONATHAN TRUMBULL, Esq; Governor of his Majesty's Colony of Connecticut, in behalf of the General Assembly of said Colony.

SIR, Dated Hartford, April 28, 1775.

THE alarming situation of public affairs in this country, and the late unfortunate transactions in the province of Massachusetts Bay, have induced the General Assembly of this colony, now sitting in this place, to appoint a Committee of their body to wait upon your Excellency, and to desire me, in their name, to write to you relative to these very interesting matters.

The inhabitants of this colony are intimately connected with the people of your province, and esteem themselves bound by the strongest ties of friendship, as well as of common interest, to regard with attention whatever concerns them. You will not therefore be surprised that your first arrival at Boston, with a body of his Majesty's troops, for the declared purpose of carrying into execution certain acts of parliament, which, in their apprehension, were unconstitutional and oppressive, should have given the good people of this colony a very just and general alarm; your subsequent proceedings in fortifying the town of Boston, and other military preparations, greatly increased their apprehensions for the safety of their friends and brethren; they could not be unconcerned spectators of their sufferings in that which they esteemed the common cause of this country; but the late hostile and secret inroads of some of the troops under your command into the heart of the country, and the violences they have committed, have driven them almost into a state of desperation. They feel now not only for their friends, but for themselves, and their dearest interests and connections. We wish not to exaggerate, we are not sure of every part of our information; but, by the best intelligence that we have yet been able to obtain, the late transaction was a most unprovoked attack upon the lives and property of his Majesty's subjects; and it is represented to us, that such outrages have been committed as would disgrace even Barbarians, and much more Britons,

so highly famed for humanity as well as bravery: It is feared therefore that we are devoted to destruction; and that you have it in command and intention, to ravage and desolate the country. If this is not the case, permit us to ask, why have these outrages been committed? Why is the town of Boston now shut up? And to what end are all the hostile preparations that are daily making, and why do we continually hear of fresh destination of troops for his country? The people of this colony, you may rely upon it, abhor the idea of taking arms against the troops of their Sovereign, and dread nothing so much as the horrors of Civil War? but at the same time we beg leave to assure your Excellency, that as they apprehend themselves justified by the principle of self defence, so they are most firmly resolved to defend their rights and privileges to the last extremity; nor will they be restrained from giving aid to their brethren, if any unjust,ifiable attack is made upon them. Be so good, therefore, as to explain yourself upon this most important subject, as far as is consistent with your duty to our common Sovereign. Is there no way to prevent this unhappy dispute from coming to extremities? Is there no alternative but absolute submission, or the desolations of war? By that humanity which constitutes so amiable a part of your character; for the honour of our Sovereign, and by the glory of the British Empire, we intreat you to prevent it, if it be possible; surely it is to be hoped, that the temperate wisdom of the empire might, even yet, find expedients to restore peace, that so all parts of the empire may enjoy their particular rights, honours, and immunities: Certainly this is an event most devoutly to be wished for; and will it not be consistent with your duty to suspend the operation of war on your part, and enable us on ours to quiet the minds of the people, at least, till the result of some further deliberations may be known? The importance of the occasion will, we doubt not, sufficiently apologize for the earnestness with which we address you, and any seeming impropriety which may attend it, as well as induce you to give us the most explicit and favourable answer in your power.

I am, with great Esteem and Respect,
In Behalf of the General Assembly, Sir, &c.
(Signed) JONATHAN TRUMBULL.
His Excellency Thomas Gage, Esq;

His Excellency General GAGE's Answer to the foregoing Letter.

Dated Boston May 3, 1775.

SIR,

I AM to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th of April last, in behalf of the General Assembly of your colony, relative

lative to the alarming situation of public affairs in this country, and the late transactions in this province: that this situation is greatly alarming, and that these transactions are truly unfortunate, are truths to be regretted by every friend to America, and by every well-wisher for the peace, prosperity, and happiness of this province. The intimate connection and strong ties of friendship between the inhabitants of your colony and the deluded people of this province, cannot fail of inducing the former to interpose their good offices, to convince the latter of the impropriety of their past conduct, and to persuade them to return to their allegiance, and to seek redress of any supposed grievances in those decent and constitutional methods in which alone they can hope to be successful.

That troops should be employed for the purpose of protecting the magistrates in the execution of their duty, when opposed with violence, is not a new thing in the English or any other government: that any acts of the British parliament are unconstitutional or oppressive, I am not to suppose; if any such there are, in the apprehension of the people of this province, it had been happy for them if they had sought relief, only in the way which the constitution, their reason, and their interest pointed out.

You cannot wonder at my fortifying the town of Boston, or making any other military preparations, when you are assured, that previous to my taking these steps, such were the open threats, and such the warlike preparations throughout this province, as rendered it my indispensable duty to take every precaution in my power, for the protection of his Majesty's troops under my command, against all hostile attempts. The intelligence you seem to have received, relative to the late excursion of a body of troops into the country, is altogether injurious and contrary to the true state of facts; the troops disclaim, with indignation, the barbarous outrages of which they are accused, so contrary to their known humanity. I have taken the greatest pains to discover if any were committed, and have found examples of their tenderness both to the young and the old, but no vestige of cruelty or barbarity: It is very possible that in firing into houses, from whence they were fired upon, that old people, women, or children, may have suffered, but if any such thing has happened, it was in their defence, and undesignated. I have no command to ravage and desolate the country, and were it my intention I have had pretence to begin it upon the sea ports, who are at the mercy of the fleet. For your better information, I inclose you a narrative of that affair, taken from gentlemen of indisputable ho-

nour and veracity, who were eye-witnesses of all the transactions of that day. The leaders here have taken pains to prevent any account of this affair getting abroad, but such as they have thought proper to publish themselves; and to that end the post has been stopped, the mails broke open, and letters taken out; and by these means the most injurious and inflammatory accounts have been spread throughout the continent, which has served to deceive and inflame the minds of the people.

When the resolves of the Provincial Congress breathed nothing but war, when those two great and essential prerogatives of the King, the levying of troops, and disposing of the public monies, were wrested from him; and when magazines were forming by an assembly of men, unknown to the constitution, for the declared purpose of levying war against the King, you must acknowledge it was my duty, as it was the dictate of humanity, to prevent, if possible, the calamities of civil war, by destroying such magazines. This, and this alone, I attempted. You ask why is the town of Boston now shut up? I can only refer you, for an answer, to those bodies of armed men, who now surround the town, and prevent all access to it. The hostile preparations you mention, are such as the conduct of the people of this province has rendered it prudent to make, for the defence of those under my command.

You assure me the people of your colony abhor the idea of taking arms against the troops of their Sovereign; I wish the people of this province, for their own sakes, could make the same declaration. You enquire, is there no way to prevent this unhappy dispute from coming to extremities? Is there no alternative but absolute submission, or the desolations of war? I answer, I hope there is; the King and Parliament seem to hold out terms of reconciliation, consistent with the honour and interest of Great Britain, and the rights and privileges of the colonies; they have mutually declared their readiness to attend to any real grievances of the colonies, and to afford them every just and reasonable indulgence, which shall, in a dutiful and constitutional manner, be laid before them; and his Majesty adds, it is his ardent wish that this disposition may have a happy effect on the temper and conduct of his subjects in America: I must add likewise the resolution of the 27th of February, on the grand dispute of taxation and revenue, leaving it to the colonies to tax themselves, under certain conditions; here is surely a foundation for an accommodation, to people who wish a reconciliation rather than a destructive war, between countries so nearly connected, by the ties of blood and interest; but I

fear that the leaders of this province have been, and still are, intent only on shedding blood.

I am much obliged by your favourable sentiments of my personal character, and assure you, as it has been my constant wish and endeavour hitherto, so I shall continue to exert my utmost efforts to protect all his Majesty's liege subjects under my care, in their persons and property. You ask, whether it will not be consistent with my duty to suspend the operations of war, on my part? I have commenced no operations of war but defensive; such you cannot wish me to suspend, while I am surrounded by an armed country, who have already begun, and threaten farther to prosecute an offensive war, and are now violently depriving me, the King's troops, and many others of the King's subjects, under my immediate protection, of all the conveniencies and necessities of life, with which the country abounds; but it must quiet the minds of all reasonable people, when I assure you that I have no disposition to injure and molest quiet and peaceable subjects; but on the contrary, shall esteem it my greatest happiness to defend and protect them against every species of violence and oppression.

I am, Sir, &c.

(Signed)

THOMAS GAGE,

NEW BERN, (*North-Carolina*) *April 6.*
The SPEECH of his Excellency JOSIAH MARTIN, Esq; his Majesty's Captain-General, Governor, and Commander in Chief, in and over the Province of North-Carolina, to the General Assembly held at Newbern, the 4th day of April, 1775.

Gentlemen of his Majesty's Honourable Council, Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,

I HAVE now met you in General Assembly, in hopes that, dismissing every cause of private dissension from your minds, you will clamly, unitedly, and faithfully, apply yourselves to the discharge of the high and important office of legislation, in which you bear so great a share, according to the constitution of this country, that calls upon you for relief at this time in a most peculiar and pressing manner.

I look, Gentlemen, with the extremest horror and concern, to the consequences of the violent and unjustifiable proceedings in some of his Majesty's Colonies of this continent, wherein many places the innocent, unwary, and ignorant part of the people, have been cruelly betrayed into measures highly inconsistent with their duty and allegiance to our most gracious Sovereign and the State, that

tend immediately to involve them in the most embarrassing distresses, and which, if pursued, must inevitably precipitate these Colonies, from their present unparalleled state of prosperity, into a train of miseries most dreadful to contemplate, whence ages of time will not redeem them to their now envied felicity. You, Gentlemen, are bound by your duty to the King, to the state, and to this people, as well as I by mine, to obviate the contagion of these evil examples in this country; and to defend it, if possible, from the ruin and destruction to which they plainly lead. I see, with infinite concern, the unhappy influence they have already had amongst us. The meetings to which the people have been excited; the appointment of committees; the violences these little, illegal, unrestrained, and arbitrary tribunals, have done to the rights of his Majesty's subjects; the flagrant and unpardonable insults they have offered to the highest authorities of the state by some of their acts, which have been made public; and the stop that has been put in some of the Counties to the regular course of justice, in imitation of the unwarrantable measures taken in other Colonies, but too plainly evince their baneful progress here, and loudly demand the most effectual exertion of your restraining and correcting powers. You are now, Gentlemen of the Assembly, by your duty to yourselves and to your constituents, most peculiarly called upon to oppose a meeting of Delegates, which the people have been invited to choose, and who are appointed to assemble at this very time and place, in the face of the legislature. This illegal meeting, pursuant to my duty to the King and the constitution of this country, and from regard to your dignity, and the just rights of the people, I have counteracted; and I shall continue to resist it by every means in my power. What can this mean, Gentlemen? Are you not the only lawful representatives of the people in this country, and competent to every legal purpose? Will you then submit to see your constituents misled to violate their dearest privileges, by wounding your dignity, and setting up representatives derogatory to your just power and authority? This, Gentlemen, is an insult to you of so violent a nature, that it appears to me to demand your every possible discouragement, for its evident tendency is to create a belief in the people that they are capable of electing representatives of superior powers to the members of your House; which if it can possibly obtain, must lead by obvious consequences to the destruction of the essence, if not the very being, of an Assembly in this Province, and finally to the utter dissolution and overthrow of its established happy constitution. This, Gentlemen, among other

others I have before mentioned, is one of the fatal expedients employed in some of the other Colonies, under the influence of factious and wicked men, intent upon promoting their own horrid purposes, at the hazard of their country's ruin. I hope they have been adopted here more from a spirit of imitation than ill principles, and that you, clearly discerning the mischiefs with which they are pregnant, will heartily concur with me in opposing the first dawnings of so dangerous a system.

As an object of the greatest consequence to all the Colonies, I would recommend it to your first attention to employ your utmost care and assiduity to remove those false impressions by which the engines of sedition have laboured to effect, but too successfully, a most unnatural division between the parent state and these Colonies, which under her protecting, indulgent, fostering care, have attained to a degree of prosperity beyond all example. The basest arts have been practised upon the innocent people, and they have been blindly led to partake in guilt to which their hearts are confessedly averse; and thus, step by step, they will be seduced from their duty, and all the bonds of civil society will be destroyed, unless timely remedies are applied. This, Gentlemen, is a melancholy prospect that must seriously alarm every good subject, every humane, every honest man; and it will be your duty, as guardians of the constitutional rights of the people, vigorously to oppose proceedings so manifestly subversive of their freedom and happiness. Be it your care then, Gentlemen, to undeceive the people; to lead them back from the dangerous precipice, to which an ill spirit of faction is urging them to, the path of their duty; set before them the sacred tie of allegiance by which, as subjects, they are bound to the state; inform them of the reciprocal benefits which their strict observance thereof entitles them to; and warn them of the danger to which they must expose their lives and properties, and all that they hold dear, by revolting from it. The frequent occasion you have had in your capacities as members of the legislature and magistrates, most solemnly to swear this allegiance, which is an implied duty upon every subject of every state, where it is not professed and declared, must have brought home to your own consideration; and you are therefore certainly well qualified to explain the obligatory nature and importance of it to the people. They will naturally look up to you for a rule of conduct in these wild and disordered times; and I have no doubt, that taught by your example, they will immediately return to their duty and obedience to the laws, and gladly free themselves from that tyranny, which ill di-

rected zeal and lawless ambition, by all the arts of misrepresentation and delusion, are courting them to submit to. I have the high satisfaction to tell you, Gentlemen, that I have already received signal proofs of the steady loyalty and duty of a great number of the people of this province; and I have the fullest assurance that many more will follow their laudable example. These, Gentlemen, are favourable presages, upon which I congratulate you, and which, I persuade myself, your prudent conduct will improve to the honour and advantage of your country.

The state of the Colonies is at this time the subject of the deliberations of the grand council of the nation, from whose wisdom and justice they have every thing to expect consistent with the principles of the *British* constitution, and the general welfare of the empire, while they continue in the duty they owe to it. The confessed generous character of *Britain*, and the magnanimity of our most gracious Sovereign, who through the whole course of his reign has uniformly made the happiness of his people the object of his views, and the rule of all his actions, insures it to them. On this great arbiter of *British* rights, it therefore becomes you to rely with the fullest confidence, and to deserve, by a dutiful behaviour, its favourable regard. If a precedent could be wanting, as I cannot suppose it is, to induce you to such a right conduct, one of the most respectable of the Colonies affords it to you; and you will see, without question, how highly improper it will be, at such a conjuncture, to countenance any measures of a contrary nature. If the people of this Colony have any representations to make to the supreme powers of the state, you are the only legal and proper channel of their applications; and through you they may be assured of every attention to their dutiful petitions. You, Gentlemen, I dare say, tender too highly the rights of the people committed to your guardianship, and know too well the limits of your own power, to consign them to any other hands, that must not only be disqualified to serve the people, but will infallibly divest you of that dignity and consequence, which belong to you as their lawful representatives.

Let me hope, Gentlemen, that laying aside all passion and prejudice, you will calmly, and with one accord, pursue such a line of conduct, in these points of general concern to America, as may be most likely to heal the unhappy differences now subsisting between Great-Britain and her Colonies. Consider how great an opportunity you now have to serve, to save your country; to manifest your loyalty to the best of Kings, and to demonstrate your attachment to the *British* con-

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constitution; the most free, the most glorious, and happiest political system in the whole world. If you consult but for a moment your own interest and welfare, and the happiness of this people, I cannot be disappointed in my hopes that you will avail yourselves of the occasion. Be it your glory, Gentlemen, to record to the latest posterity, that at a time when the monster Sedition dared to rear his impious head in America, the people of North Carolina, inspired with a just sense of their duty to their King and country, and animated by the example of its legislature, stood among the foremost of his Majesty's subjects to resist his baneful snares, and to repel the fell invaders of their happiness. Thus, Gentlemen, you may redeem your sinking country to prosperity; thus you will acquire to yourselves immortal honour and renown! while a contrary conduct must inevitably plunge this once happy land in horrors beyond all imagination, whence nothing can recover it but the generous hand of Britain, interposed to save you from your own destruction. Thus far, Gentlemen, I have set before you, upon principles of your duty to the constitution and the welfare of your country, the necessity of discouraging, to the utmost of your power, the illegal meetings into which the innocent people have been betrayed, and the unlawful establishments and appointments they have been led to give their sanction to. I have also stated to you the more especial obligation you lie under to prevent that meeting to which the people have been invited, to send deputies here at this time; and I have admonished you of the ruinous consequences of a different conduct. In addition to these powerful motives, Gentlemen, I am authorized to say, that the unwarrantable measure of appointing Delegates to attend a Congress at Philadelphia, now in agitation, will be highly offensive to the King; and this, I cannot doubt, will be reason with you of the greatest force, to oppose so dangerous a step.

Your next attention, Gentlemen, is due to the particular state of this country, that calls for your strictest regard.

The exhausted state of the Public Treasury; the large demands upon it that remain unsatisfied; the dues of public officers that are unpaid; call loudly for your attention to the ill condition of public credit, and the finances of this country; and I trust you will not fail to pay that regard which is due to points of so great importance. I heartily wish with regard to matters of finance, and mode of taxation, as well as to the regulation of the Treasury, to draw your attention to the system of New-York and Maryland, in which last Colony public credit is established upon the firmest basis;

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but the example of every other Colony, with regard to the latter article, I am sorry to say it, is better than has been yet adopted here.

You have now, Gentlemen, a fair opportunity to restore to this province, by a law for the permanent establishment of courts, that great store of political blessings, arising from a due and regular administration of justice, of which I have long lamented to see it deprived. I have received his Majesty's determination upon the proposed regulations with regard to proceedings by attachment, which have been the apparent cause of this misfortune. This I shall communicate to you in the course of your session; and I hope it will obviate all the difficulties that have occurred on this subject. When the establishment of courts shall come under your consideration, you cannot fail to see the necessity of making provision for the Judges; and the propriety of that provision being adequate and honourable, and suitable to offices of so high dignity and importance.

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,

I cannot doubt that you will see the same necessity for supporting the usual establishments of Fort Johnston, founded upon the same principles of public utility, that have induced you to maintain it during so long a series of years.

Gentlemen of his Majesty's Honourable Council, Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,

I am sensible that the advanced season of the year requires your attendance in your domestic affairs; and I shall be therefore glad to find that your unanimity in the conduct of the very important business you are now met upon, affords me an opportunity to conclude your session speedily, and happily. On my part, I do assure you, nothing shall be wanting to promote these good ends.

Newbern, April 4, 1775.

JO. MARTIN.

The Answer of the Assembly of NORTH-CAROLINA to Governor MARTIN'S Speech, inserted in our last.

To his Excellency JOSIAH MARTIN, Esq; Captain General, Governor, and Commander in Chief, in and over the Province of North Carolina,

S I R,

WE, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Members of the Assembly of North-Carolina, have taken into consideration your Excellency's speech at the opening of this Session.

We met in General Assembly with minds superior to private dissention, determined calmly, unitedly, and faithfully, to discharge the sacred trust

trust reposed in us by our constituents. Actuated by sentiments like these, it behoves us to declare, that the Assembly of this Colony have the highest sense of their allegiance to the King of Great-Britain, to whom alone, as our constitutional Sovereign, we acknowledge allegiance to be due, and to whom we so cheerfully and repeatedly have sworn it, that to remind us of the oath was unnecessary. This allegiance all past Assemblies have, upon every occasion, amply expressed; and we, the present representatives of the people, shall be always ready by our actions with pleasure to testify; sensible, however, that the same constitution which established that allegiance, and enjoined the oath in consequence of it, hath bound Majesty under as solemn obligations to protect subjects inviolate in all their just rights and privileges, wisely intending, by reciprocal dependance, to secure the happiness of both.

We contemplate with a degree of horror the unhappy state of America, involved in the most embarrassing difficulties and distresses, by a number of unconstitutional invasions of their just rights and privileges; by which the inhabitants of the continent in general, and of this province in particular, have been precipitated into measures, extraordinary perhaps in their nature, but warranted by necessity, from whence, among many other measures, the appointment of Committees in the several towns and counties took its birth, to prevent, as much as in them lay, the operations of such unconstitutional encroachments; And the Assembly remain unconvinced of any steps taken by those Committees, but such as they were compelled to take for that salutary purpose.

It is not to be controverted that his Majesty's subjects have a right to petition for a redress of grievances, or to remonstrate against them; and as it is only in a meeting of the people that their sense, respecting such petition and remonstrance, can be obtained, that the right of assembling is as undoubted.—To attempt, therefore, under the mask of authority, to prevent or forbid a meeting of the people for such purposes, or to interrupt their proceedings when met, would be a vain effort unduly to exercise power in direct opposition to the constitution.

Far be it from us then, Sir, even to wish to prevent the operations of the Convention now held at Newbern, or to agree with your Excellency in bestowing upon them the injurious epithet of an illegal meeting. They are, Sir, the respectable Representatives of the people, appointed for a special and important purpose, to which, though our constituents might have thought us adequate, yet as our meeting depended upon the pleasure of the Crown, they would have been unwise to

have trusted to so precarious a contingency, especially as the frequent and unexpected prorogations of the Assembly, one of them in particular, as if all respect and attention to the convenience of their Representatives hath been lost, was proclaimed but two or three days before the time which had been appointed for the meetings, gave the people not the least reason to expect that their Assembly would have been permitted to sit till it was too late to appoint Delegates to attend the Continental Congress at Philadelphia; a measure which they joined the rest of America in thinking essential to its interest.

The House, Sir, neither know nor believe that any base arts have been practised upon the people, in order to lead them from their duty; but we know with certainty, that the steps they have taken proceeded from a full conviction that the Parliament of Great Britain had, by a variety of oppressive and unconstitutional proceedings, made those steps absolutely necessary. We think it therefore a duty we owe the people to assert, that their conduct has not been owing to base arts, practised upon them by wicked and designing men; and have it much to lament that your Excellency should add your sanction to such groundless imputations, as it has a manifest tendency to weaken the influence which the united petition of his Majesty's American subjects might otherwise have upon their Sovereign, for a redress of those grievances of which they so justly complain.

We should feel inexpressible concern at the information given us by your Excellency, of your being authorized to say that the appointment of Delegates to attend the Congress at Philadelphia, now in agitation, will be highly offensive to the King, had we not recently been informed, from the best authority, that his Majesty has been pleased to receive very graciously the united petition of his American subjects addressed to him by the Continental Delegates, lately convened at Philadelphia. We have not therefore the least reason to suppose, that a similar application to the Throne will give offence to his Majesty, or prevent his receiving a petition for the redress of grievances, which his American subjects have a right to present, either separately or unitedly.

We shall always receive with pleasure the information of any marks of loyalty to the King, given to your Excellency by the inhabitants of this Colony; but we are greatly concerned, lest the manner in which you have thought proper to convey this information should excite a belief, that a great number of the people of this province are disaffected to their Sovereign, to prevent which it is incumbent upon us, in this manner, solemnly to testify to the world, that his Majesty has

has no subjects more faithful than the inhabitants of North Carolina, or more ready, at the expence of their lives and fortunes, to protect and support his person, crown, and dignity. If, however, by the signal proofs your Excellency speaks of, you mean those addresses lately published in the North-Carolina Gazette, and said to be presented to you, the Assembly can receive no pleasure from your congratulations thereupon, but what results from the consideration that so few have been found in so populous a province weak enough to be seduced from their duty, and prevailed upon by the base arts of wicked and designing men, to adopt principles so contrary to the sense of all America, and so destructive of those rights and privileges it was their duty to maintain.

We take this opportunity, Sir, the first that has been given us, to express the warm attachment we have to our sister Colonies in general, and the heart-felt compassion we entertain for the deplorable state of the town of Boston in particular, and also to declare the fixed and determined resolution of this Colony, to unite with the other Colonies in every effort to retain those just rights and liberties which, as subjects to a British King, we possess, and which it is our absolute and indispensable duty to hand down to posterity unimpaired.

The exhausted state of the public funds, of which your Excellency complains, we contemplate with great concern; alleviated, however, by the reflection, that it has not been owing to any misconduct of the Assembly: We were withheld from passing any inferior court law, but upon such terms as our duty rendered it impossible to accept, by which means no list of taxables could be taken for the year 1773, and consequently no money collected to defray the charges of Government for that year; and as your Excellency did not think proper to meet the Assembly at their usual time of meeting in the fall, no act could be passed to defray the contingent charges of Government for the year 1774. The Treasury, by these means deprived of two years collection of taxes, must consequently be unable to answer the great demands upon it, till an act of Assembly can be passed to enable it to discharge them.

The House, convinced of the necessity of Courts of Justice, would willingly adopt any plan for the establishment of them, which, in their opinion, is consistent with the circumstances of this Colony; and for independent Judges of *Capacity and Integrity*, they would with the greatest pleasure very liberally provide.

We are sorry, Sir, the impoverished state of the public finances will not permit us to provide for the usual establishment of Fort Johnston.

The advanced season of the year, which of all other times made it most inconvenient for us to attend public business, will, your Excellency may assure yourself, induce us to forward it with all possible expedition.

JOHN HARVEY, Speaker,

In Provincial Congress, Watertown, May 5, 1775. Whereas the Term for which this present Congress was chosen, expires on the 30th inst. and the exigencies of our public affairs render it absolutely necessary for the safety of this colony, that a new Congress be elected and convened, to consider of, and transact the public affairs thereof:

Therefore resolved, that it be, and it is hereby recommended to the several towns and districts in this colony, that they, each of them, do forthwith elect and depute as many Members as to them shall seem necessary and expedient, to represent them in a Provincial Congress to be held at the Meeting-House in Watertown, on the 31st day of May inst. to be chosen by such only as are qualified by law to vote for Representatives in the General Assembly, and to be continued by adjournment, as they shall see cause, until the expiration of six months from their being first convened on the 31st of this inst. May, and no longer; and to consult, deliberate, and resolve upon such further measures as under God shall be effectual to save this people from impending ruin, and to secure those inestimable liberties, derived to us from our ancestors, and which it is our duty to preserve for posterity.

JOSEPH WARREN, President P. T.

In Provincial Congress, Watertown, May 5, 1775. Whereas his Excellency General Gage, since his arrival in this colony, hath conducted as an instrument in the hands of an arbitrary Ministry to enslave this people; and a detachment of the troops under his command has of late been by him ordered to the town of Concord to destroy the public stores, deposited in that place for the use of the colony: And whereas by this clandestine and perfidious measure, a number of respectable inhabitants of this colony, without any provocation given by them, have been illegally, wantonly, and inhumanly slaughtered by his troops:

Therefore resolved, that the said General Gage hath, by these and many other means utterly disqualified himself to serve this colony as a Governor, and in every other capacity, and that no obedience ought in future to be paid by the several towns and districts in this colony to his writs, for calling an Assembly, or to his proclamations, or any other of his acts or doings; but that on the other hand he ought to be considered

and guarded against, as an unnatural and inveterate enemy to the country.

JOSEPH WARREN, President P. T.

From the New-York Gazetteer of Thursday, May 18.

An authentic account of the taking of the Fortresses of TYCONDERAGO and CROWN POINT by a party of the Connecticut Forces.

Capt. Edward Mott, and Capt. Noah Phelps, set out from Hartford, on Saturday the 29th of April, in order to take possession of the fortresses of Tyconderago, and the dependencies thereunto belonging; they took with them from Connecticut 16 men, unarmed, and marched privately through the country till they came to Pittsfield, without discovering their design to any person, till they fell in company with Col. Ethan Allen, Col. Easton, and John Brown, Esq; who engaged to join themselves to said Mott and Phelps, and to raise men sufficient to take the place by surprise, if possible. Accordingly the men were raised, and proceeded as directed by said Mott and Phelps. Col. Ethan Allen commanding the soldiers, on Tuesday they surprized and took the fortresses, making prisoners the Commandant and his party. On Wednesday morning they possessed themselves of Crown-Point, taking possession of the ordnance stores, consisting of upwards of 200 pieces of cannon, 3 mortars, sundry howitzers, and 50 swivels, &c.

Ethan Allen, fearful of an attempt from Governor Carlton to retake the place, has written to the committee of Albany for a supply of 500 men, and provisions; the committee, however, not perceiving themselves competent to determine on a matter of so much importance, requested the advice of our general committee, who referred them, and immediately dispatched an express, to the Congress now sitting in Philadelphia.

Williamsburgh (Virginia) May 5. Late on Wednesday night Colonel Carter Braxton arrived in town from a number of armed people, all men of property, led by Patrick Henry, Esq; on their march for this city, from the counties of Hanover, New Kent, and King William. The intent of their coming, we are well assured, is the general alarm spread over the country by the removal of the gun-powder from the public magazine, and to secure the treasury from a like catastrophe; as also to seize upon the person of his Majesty's Receiver General (then in this city) till either the gunpowder was restored, or a sum of money paid down to its value. Next morning Colonel Braxton returned with the Hon. Richard Corbin's bill of exchange for 320l. sterling; and at the same time the inhabitants of this city engaging themselves to guard the public treasury,

the gentlemen dispersed yesterday afternoon, and are returned to their respective homes, perfectly satisfied with the success of their expedition. They had proceeded as far as Duncastle's, about 15 miles from town, where they were encamped to the number of 150 men and upwards, all well accounted, and had a very martial appearance.

As soon as his Excellency the Governor received intelligence of the above armed force coming down, he dispatched a messenger to the Fowey man of war, now lying before York town, and by ten o'clock yesterday morning a detachment of 40 sailors and marines belonging to that ship, under the command of Capt. Stretch, arrived at the palace; they did not march thro' the main street, but were led through the Governor's park.

The town of York, we are well informed, was threatened with a cannonade from his Majesty's ship the Fowey, by her commander, if the inhabitants presumed to molest the troops in their landing, or on their march to this city. They are now at the palace; how long they will stay is uncertain.

Upwards of 100 of the citizens last night guarded the public treasury, and patrolled the streets.

Committee Chamber, New-York, May 1775. Resolved, "That any person in this city or county, who has arms, ammunition, for the other articles necessary for our defence, to dispose of, or shall import any of those articles for sale, and shall not, within ten days after the publication of these resolutions, or in ten days after the importation of such arms, ammunition, &c. aforesaid, inform the Chairman or Deputy Chairman of this Committee of the Quantity and quality of the same, he shall be held up to the public as an enemy to the Court.

Resolved, "That any person in this city or county, who shall, during the unhappy contest with our parent state, dispose of any arms, ammunition, or other articles aforesaid, to any person, knowing, or having reason to believe such person to be inimical to the liberties of America, or shall put these articles in the hands of any such person, or any other person, knowing, or having reason to believe that they are to be used against those liberties, he shall be held up as an enemy to this country." Which was unanimously agreed to.

PETER V. B. LIVINGSTONE,
Chairman, *pro tempore*.

Authentic Advice from the CONTINENTAL CONGRESS in AMERICA.

Met on the 10th of May. Dr. Franklin (who had been received with greatest respect by all ranks of people took his seat,

11th,

11th, 12th, 13th. Nothing material. Adjourned to the 15th.

On the 15th, in Committee of the whole body. Moved to establish a paper currency, for the support of a Continental army.

Agreed to.

Mr. Henry, of Virginia, was not come to the Congress on the 15th. He was engaged to go with a large body of gentlemen to Lord Dunmore, to demand the restoration of some gunpowder, which his Lordship had seized. His Lordship declared, if he was pressed, he would emancipate the slaves. The threat was despised, and they were determined to compel him.

The General Congress in America will, according to some late letters from thence, direct the Southern colonies to raise twenty regiments of horse. They have horses in great plenty. These regiments will consist of five hundred men each. The Northern colonies will be directed to furnish their proportions in regiments of foot. To pay this army, a paper currency will be established; the first issues of which will not be less than five hundred thousand pounds, by and under the faith of the General Congress. And further, that this Congress will publish a manifesto, declaring to the whole world the causes of their taking up arms, and inviting the maritime powers of Europe to take their trade under their protection, and receive those benefits of commerce, which were formerly confined to Great Britain. Our correspondent says, these are not the idle hints of visionary men, but are the substance of real advices from some of the most sensible people in America.

Some gentlemen of fortune in South Carolina have established a Bank in that province—the first thing of the kind ever done in America. To what astonishing, and hitherto unthought-of resources, are these mad Ministers driving the Americans; while England is so enervated by corruption and dissipation, she seems as if fast asleep.

The Americans have taken the post of that country into their own hands.

Saturday, June 24, came on at Guildhall the election of Sheriffs for the city of London and county of Middlesex, and other offices, for the year ensuing. At a quarter past one o'clock, the Lord Mayor, attended by the two Sheriffs, Recorder, and the Aldermen Bull, Lewes, Thomas, Newnham, Hayley, Esdaile, Rawlinson, &c. ascended the Hustings, when the Common Cryer opened the Court, and the Aldermen below the Chair, who had not served the office of Sheriff, were first put in nomination. The principal show of hands appearing in favour of the

Aldermen Hayley and Newnham, the Sheriffs declared the election to have fallen on them.

The names of Hayley and Newnham were received with the greatest applause, which was testified by almost every one in the Hall holding up their hands. About twelve people held up their hands for Alderman Rawlinson, and about seven for Alderman Thomas.

The Lord Mayor then came to the front of the Hustings, and acquainted the Livery, that in consequence of their resolutions last Common Hall, he waited on his Majesty in his corporate capacity, with their Address, &c. He then read the King's answer, together with a letter he received a few days after from the Lord Chamberlain, with his (the Lord Mayor's) answer.

Mr. Stuby the Chairman from the Livery at the Half Moon Tavern, then came forward, and made the following motions:

1. That the Town Clerk do enter in the records of this City, the letter from the Lord Chamberlain to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, with his Lordship's answer.

2. That the thanks of this Common Hall be given to the Right Hon. John Wilkes, Lord Mayor, for his very able, judicious, and spirited defence of the rights and privileges of the Livery in Common Hall assembled.

3. That a copy of the said resolution be fairly transcribed and signed by the Town Clerk, and by him delivered to his Lordship.

4. That whoever advised his Majesty to declare he would not in future receive on the Throne any Address, Remonstrance, and Petition from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of London, are enemies to the right of the subject to petition the Throne, because such advice is calculated to intercept the complaints of the people to their Sovereign, to prevent a redress of grievances, and alienate the minds of Englishmen from the Hanoverian succession.

5. That it is the opinion of this Common Hall, that unless his Majesty hears the petitions of his subjects, the right of petitioning is nugatory.

6. That the thanks of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery, in Common Hall assembled, be given to the Right Hon. the Earl of Effingham, for having, consistent with the principles of a true Englishman, refused to draw that sword, which has been employed to the honour of his country, against the lives and liberties of his fellow-subjects in America.

7. That the said resolution be fairly transcribed, and signed by the Town Clerk, and by him delivered to the Right Hon. the Earl of Effingham.

8. That

8. That an humble Address, Remonstrance, and Petition, be presented to his Majesty from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the City of London, in Common Hall assembled, on this important crisis of American affairs.

9. To agree to the Address, Remonstrance, and Petition, now read.

10. The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, our Representatives in Parliament, the Court of Aldermen, the Sheriffs, and Livery, in their gowns, attended by the Recorder and other City officers, be desired to present the said Address, Remonstrance, and Petition, to his Majesty sitting on his Throne.

11. That the Sheriffs, attended by the Remembrancer, do wait on his Majesty on Monday next, to know his Royal will and pleasure, when he will receive on the Throne the humble Address, Remonstrance, and Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery, in Common Hall assembled.

12. That the said Address, Remonstrance, and Petition, be not presented to his Majesty but sitting on his Throne.

The above motions being unanimously approved of, the Hall was adjourned.

June 28, the Sheriffs Plomer and Hart waited on his Majesty at St. James's, in consequence of the King's appointment last Saturday at Kew. Mr. Sheriff Plomer addressed his Majesty in the following words, "May it please your Majesty, We are ordered by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery, of the City of London in Common Hall assembled, to wait upon your Majesty, humbly to know your Majesty's royal will and pleasure, when your Majesty will be pleased to receive upon the Throne their humble Address, Remonstrance and Petition." His Majesty replied, "You will please to take notice, that I will receive their Address, Remonstrance and Petition on Friday next [To-morrow] at the Levee." Mr. Sheriff Plomer then said, "Your Majesty will permit us, to inform you, that the Livery in Common Hall assembled have resolved not to present their Address, Remonstrance and Petition, unless your Majesty shall be pleased to receive it sitting on the Throne." The King answered, "I am ever ready to receive Addresses and Petitions, but I am the Judge where."

July 5, the Sheriffs waited on his Majesty at St. James's, when Mr. Sheriff Plomer addressed the King in the following words: "May it please your Majesty, We are ordered by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the City of London in Common Hall assembled, to wait upon your Majesty, humbly to deliver into your Majesty's hands, in their name,

"their resolutions agreed to in Common Hall" on the 24th of June last and of the 4th instant." Mr. Sheriff Plomer then delivered a copy of the resolutions only, but not the address, petition, and remonstrance, into the King's hand, which he received without saying a word. The address, petition, and remonstrance was ordered by the Common Hall to be given to the public in print.

At a meeting of the Livery of London, in Common Hall assembled, on Saturday the 24th of June, 1757.

A motion being made and question put, that an humble address, remonstrance, and petition be presented to his Majesty from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the City of London in Common Hall assembled, on this important crisis of American affairs; the same was resolved in the affirmative.

And an address, remonstrance, and petition to the King being produced, a motion was made that the same be read; and the question being put by Mr. Recorder, it was resolved in the affirmative, whereupon the same was read as follows:

To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Address, Remonstrance, and Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the City of London, in Common Hall assembled:

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most faithful subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the City of London, in Common Hall assembled, are compelled again to disturb your Majesty's repose with our complaints.

We have already expressed to your Majesty our abhorrence of the tyrannical measures pursued against our fellow-subjects in America, as well as of the men who secretly advise, and of the Ministers who execute these measures.

We desire to repeat again, that the power contended for over the Colonies, under the specious name of dignity, is to all intents and purposes, despotism; that the exercise of despotic power, in any part of the empire, is inconsistent with the character and safety of this country.

As we would not suffer any man, or body of men, to establish arbitrary power over us, we cannot acquiesce in any attempt to force it upon any part of our fellow-subjects; we are persuaded that by the sacred, unalterable rights of human nature, as well as by every principle of the constitution, the Americans ought to enjoy peace, liberty, and safety; that whatever power invades these rights, ought to be resisted; we hold such resistance,

refistance, in vindication of their constitutional rights, to be their indispensable duty to God, from whom those rights are derived to themselves, who cannot be safe and happy without them; to their posterity, who have a right to claim this inheritance at their hands unviolated and unimpaired.

We have already remonstrated to your Majesty, that these measure were big with all the consequences, which could alarm a free and commercial people; a deep and perhaps fatal wound to commerce; the ruin of manufactures; the diminution of the revenue, and consequent increase of taxes; the alienation of the colonies, and the blood of your Majesty's subjects.

Unhappily, Sir, the worst of these apprehensions is now realized in all its horror: We have seen with equal dread and concern, a civil war commenced in America, by your Majesty's Commander in Chief: Will your Majesty be pleased to consider what must be the situation of your people here; who have nothing now to expect from America, but Gazettes of blood, and mutual lists of their slaughtered fellow-subjects.

Every moment's prosecution of this fatal war may loosen irreparably the bonds of that connection, on which the glory and safety of the British empire depend.

If any thing could add to the alarm of these events, it is your Majesty's having declared your confidence in the wisdom of men, a majority of whom are notoriously bribed to betray their constituents and their country. It is the misfortune of your Majesty, it is the misfortune and grief of your people, to have a Grand Council and a representative, under an undue and dangerous influence; an influence, which though procured by your Ministers, is dangerous to your Majesty, by deceiving you; and to your people, by betraying them.

In such a situation, your petitioners are bound to declare to your Majesty, that they cannot and will not sit unconcerned; that they will exert themselves, at every hazard, to bring those who have advised these ruinous measures to the justice of this country, and of the much-injured Colonies.

We have already signified our persuasion that these evils originate in the secret advice of those, who are equally enemies to your Majesty's title, and to the rights of your people. Your petitioners are now compelled to say, that your Throne is surrounded by men, avowedly inimical to those principles on which your Majesty possesses the Crown, and this people their liberties: At a time of such difficulty and danger, public confidence is essential to your Majesty's repose, and to

the preservation of your people: Such confidence cannot be obtained by Ministers and advisers who want wisdom, and hold principles incompatible with freedom; nor can any hope of relief be expected from a Parliament, chosen under a national delusion, insidiously raised, by misrepresentations touching the true state of America, and artfully embraced by a precipitate dissolution.

Your petitioners therefore again pray and beseech your Majesty to dismiss your present Ministers and advisers from your person and councils for ever; to dissolve a Parliament, who, by various acts of cruelty and injustice, have manifested a spirit of persecution against our brethren in America, and given their sanction to popery and arbitrary power; to put your future confidence in Ministers, whose known and unshaken attachment to the constitution, joined to their wisdom and integrity, may enable your Majesty to settle this alarming dispute upon the sure, honourable, and lasting foundation of general liberty.

And a motion being made, and question put, to agree to the said Address, Remonstrance and Petition, the same was resolved in the affirmative.

Signed by order,

R I X.

At a meeting of the Livery of London in Common Hall assembled on Tuesday the Fourth Day of July, 1775,

The Lord Mayor acquainted the Livery that the Sheriffs waited on his Majesty at St. James's on Wednesday last, and that Mr. Sheriff Plomer addressed his Majesty as follows:

' May it please your Majesty,

' We are ordered by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the City of London in Common Hall assembled, to wait upon your Majesty humbly to know your Majesty's Royal Will and Pleasure when your Majesty will be pleased to receive upon the Throne their humble Address, Remonstrance, and Petition.'

To which his Majesty answered:

' You will please to take notice, that I will receive their Address, Remonstrance, and Petition on Friday next at the Levee.'

Mr. Sheriff Plomer replied:

' Your Majesty will permit us to inform you, that the Livery in Common Hall assembled have resolved not to present their Address, Remonstrance, and Petition, unless your Majesty shall be pleased to receive it sitting on the Throne'

To which his Majesty answered:

' I am ever ready to receive Addresses and Petitions—but I am the judge where.'

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The Lord Mayor then declared, that in consequence of the order of the Livery that the Address, Remonstrance, and Petition should not be presented to the King but sitting on his Throne, the Sheriffs report to him, and Lord Hertford's Letter, his Lordship had not attended his Majesty with the said Address.

Ordered, That his Majesty's Answer now reported be entered in the Books of the Livery of this City.

Resolved, That the King is bound to hear the Petitions of his people, it being the undoubted right of the subject to be heard, and not a matter of grace and favour.

Resolved, That his Majesty's Answer is a direct denial of the right of this Court to have their Petitions heard.

Resolved, That such denial renders the right of Petitioning the Throne, recognized and established by the Revolution, of no effect.

Resolved, That whoever advised his Majesty, directly or indirectly, to refuse hearing the humble Address, Remonstrance, and Petition of this Court on the Throne is equally an enemy to the happiness and security of the King, and to the peace and liberties of the people.

Ordered, That the Address, Remonstrance, and Petition, which his Majesty refused to hear on the Throne, be printed in the public papers, and signed by the Town Clerk.

Resolved, That the following instruction be given to our Representatives in Parliament:

Gentlemen,

You are instructed by the Livery in Common-hall assembled, to move immediately on the next meeting of parliament, for an humble address from the House of Commons to his Majesty, requesting to know who were the advisers of those fatal measures, which have planted popery and arbitrary power in America, and have plunged us into a most unnatural civil war, to the subversion of the fundamental principles of English liberty, the ruin of our most valuable commerce, and the destruction of his Majesty's subjects. To know who were the advisers of a measure so dangerous to his Majesty's happiness, and the rights of his people, as refusing to hear the petitions and complaints of his subjects. You are further instructed, gentlemen, to move for an impeachment of the authors and advisers of those measures, that by bringing them to public justice, evil counsellors may be removed from before the King, his throne may be established, the rights of the people be vindicated, and the whole empire restored to the enjoyment of peace, liberty, and safety.

Ordered, That the said Resolution be fairly

transcribed and signed by the Town Clerk, and by him delivered to our Representatives in Parliament.

Ordered, That the Sheriffs do wait upon his Majesty, and deliver into his Majesty's hand, in the name of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery in Common Hall assembled, a fair copy of the Resolutions agreed to on Midsummer Day, and this day, signed by the Town Clerk.

Ordered, That the Sheriffs, attended by Mr. Remembrancer, do To-morrow wait on his Majesty with the aforesaid Resolutions.

Ordered, That the Resolutions of this day be printed in the public papers, signed by the Town Clerk.

Signed by Order,

R I X

Part of a genuine copy of a letter just received by Captain Falkner, from a gentleman in Philadelphia, to his friend in London.

Dear Sir, Philadelphia, May 2 1775.

"DO we not see the hand of Providence in the late repulse of the national Soldiery? New-England men, who are justly noted for religious attentions, do say, that God hath evidently appeared on their side, and fought for them; thus deriving powerful motives for perseverance and vigour in a cause so favoured: And indeed the battle has been the Lord's. He has wrought by few, as easily as he could by many.

The militia, it is said, threaten the siege of Bolton, however difficult it may seem; and we have a report that General Gage is suffering the inhabitants to retire. This forebodes the destruction of that City; but the people of the Colony contemplate that consequence, the bombardment of their coast towns, and the total stagnation of their fishery and trade, as minor objects in the great controversy. These advices must strike terror into the British Ministry, and astonish all Europe. But this comes of driving people to despair. Though I trust you will have come away, yet I venture to risque a letter."

From the same person, May 4, 1775.

"This is the last I shall write to you, till further advices from you. Indeed means of conveyance will probably fail; for we expect that the Congress (about to sit) will recommend the total suspension of exportation, at their first meeting. This has already taken place at New-York. The van of the New-England militia has actually arrived there, and will be joined by the inhabitants who are arraying. You may be assured that from Maryland, North Eastward, there is no scarcity of ammunition. Gun-powder abounds in New-England. A proper magazine of victuals for six months,

months, and stores, even tents for 30,000 men, have been collected at Worcester, 45 miles West of Bolton.

"Our City affords 30 companies, from 50 to 100 each of trained bands, who daily practise the manual exercise of the musquet. Citizens may not perhaps be so much esteemed as soldiers; but it is the same throughout the Country."

From the PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL.

Newport (Rhode-Island) May 1. The New Hampshire Congress has voted, and are raising their quota of men for the defence of the Colonies.

Notwithstanding the numerous expresses sent out, to stop the country people from going down to Boston upon the late alarm, the numbers which really marched to Roxbury, Cambridge, and Charlestown, amounted to near 40,000; about 30,000 of whom remained there last Friday.

Philadelphia, May 10. By a proclamation in the Carolina papers, we find, that the arms and powder in the public magazines in Charles-Town, were removed in the night of the 21st of March, without the consent of the Governor, who is very angry.

By accounts from all parts of the country, we find, that they are every where learning the use of arms, and seem determined on liberty or death.

New-York, May 17. Dr. Johnson, and Oliver Wolcot, Esq; that were sent on an embassy from Connecticut to General Gage, by order of their Assembly, are returned, and we hear met with a very polite and kind reception; the particulars were to be laid before their Assembly now sitting at Hartford.

A sub-committee from this city waited on his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor last Saturday at Jamaica, with an Address, requesting his interposition with his Majesty and General Gage, in behalf of America. His Honour, in giving an answer, was so affected, that he shed many tears.

J U L Y 4.

The colony of Rhode-Island, we hear, have suspended their Governor from the execution of his office, for refusing to concur in a bill for raising 1500 men for the assistance of the people of Massachusetts Bay.

It is impossible to describe the military ardour which now prevails in Philadelphia. A considerable number of the Friends have joined in the military association. There is one company composed entirely of gentlemen belonging to that religious denomination of people.

Intelligence is received by the Heart of Oak, just arrived from Charles-Town, that a meeting of the people was lately held there, at which all the pilots were particularly sworn not to pilot up

any vessel belonging to his Majesty's navy, under the penalties of death.

Extract of a letter from Quebec, April 27.

"The Governor's commission from the King was read here on Monday the 24th instant: He has very ample powers; he chuses all the members of the Council himself; and can discharge them at pleasure; can oblige what number of his Majesty's subjects in Canada he pleases to march against any enemy, or supposed enemy, when he shall think fit; can build forts, or do any thing else with the people's money, and demolish them at pleasure. In short, he is possessed of absolute and despotic power, only with this difference (if it is any) that the majority of the Council (who hold their seats as before-mentioned) must approve of his measures. The Council consist of 23 persons, seven of them Roman Catholics."

J U L Y 5.

The committee of the county of Norfolk have published a letter, wherein they assert, that Lord Dunmore's letter, of the 24th of December, to the Earl of Dartmouth, is full of misrepresentations. They then proceed to show the falshoods, which they alledge are contained in it, and observe that whilst they were fondly flattering themselves that they had in his Excellency a most powerful advocate, in order to accommodate the unhappy disputes between Great Britain and her colonies, they leave the world to judge what poignant sorrow they must feel, on a discovery that it was a vain delusion; and instead of those good offices they expected, he was all the time widening the breach by misrepresenting so greatly their conduct to those in power; and they submit to the public how far his Excellency merits the continuance of that confidence heretofore placed in him.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman at Charles-Town, South Carolina, to his friend at London, dated May 10.

"In consequence of the action of the 19th ult. (so disgraceful to the King's troops) the Provincial Congress immediately voted a standing army of 30,000 men, of which 12,800 are to be of the province of Massachusetts, the rest from Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island; and have appointed General Ward, Commander in Chief; Major General Putnam, of Connecticut, was ready with 6000 troops, and it was supposed would be the second in command.

"Sixty thousand men were in arms at Cambridge, and the Congress sent word to all the inhabitants of the sea ports to remove immediately, or expect no protection.

"The town of Boston capitulated to lay down the

their arms and march out on the 25th. They have accordingly laid down 2,500 stand, and no injury had been done to the inhabitants. The resolution was, to attack the town and castle on the 29th, in confidence that they should carry it.

"The mode proposed to advance to the fortifications, by Gen. Putnam, was by fascines made of hay, pressed into bundles, and pushed forward upon jacks. Three days after the engagement, two of General Gage's most able engineers deserted and came over to the Congress.

"Lord Percy said at table, he never saw any thing equal to the intrepidity of the New England minute men.

"The Delegates from this province (who are the same that went last year) sailed on the 3d inst. for Philadelphia.

"Our companies of artillery, grenadiers, light infantry, light horse, militia, and watch, are daily improving themselves in the military art. We were pretty expert before, but are now almost equal to any soldiers the King has. It is talked of raising a company of *Split Shirts* immediately."

By the last accounts from Philadelphia of May 17th by Captain Williams, who arrived on Saturday last, we hear "that the province of Pennsylvania have taken the Post Office into their own hands; that the troops were expected to arrive every hour at New-York; but that the inhabitants of that city and province were prepared for every event; that a considerable number of the Connecticut men were encamped near New-York as a reinforcement; and that they were well provided with artillery, small arms, and ammunition.

"All the continent of America are forming themselves into companies. The late conduct of the troops in Boston has roused them to that, as being the most sure way for self defence. Mr. and Mrs. ———, with their family, are just arrived in this city from Boston, and a vast number of women and children are daily coming. Poor creatures, how great must be their distresses! and God knows how soon this may be our case. Women flying from their husbands, and children seeking shelter in an unknown land. Mrs. ——— says she saw at the time of the engagement between the King's troops and the Provincials, a woman almost frantic, with a little infant in one arm, and with the other leading a child with a small bundle to the woods, flying from an enraged soldiery for protection to she knew not where, so great was her distress. How ought this to awaken the people of Great Britain to attend to the dreadful calamities of their fellow subjects in America."

A young gentleman of Gloucester, who is a midshipman on board the *Nautilus* man of war at

Boston, in a letter to his friends, gives this account of his situation:—"My situation here is not very pleasant, for I am stationed in an open boat at the Mouth of Charles River, to watch the Americans who are busily employed in making fire stages, to send down the stream to burn our ships. I have a command of six men, and a six pounder is fixed to the bow of our boat, which we are to fire to alarm the camp and fleet, as soon as we observe the fire stages. The inhabitants of Boston are delivering up their arms, and leaving the town. The *Somerset* of 74 guns lays between Boston and Charles Town, which are only separated by a channel about a mile broad, and our ship lays about half a mile above her, and if she sees a particular signal hung out, she is to fire on Charles Town."

Extract of a letter from Waterford, June 23.

"In consequence of the present unhappy and melancholy disputes between England and her American colonies, the people in Newfoundland are in extreme want of provisions. Wednesday the *Hercules*, Captain Thompson, in ballast, and the *Byron*, Captain Reeves, with salt, arrived here from St. John's, in order to carry over, with all possible speed, forty tons of bread, and a quantity of other necessaries, to that harbour.

"Yesterday the *Valentine*, Captain Nowlan, also arrived here from St. John's, for bread, &c. He sailed the 4th instant, and has brought dispatches for the principal officers of his Majesty's Ordnance, London, and other persons in office."

Virginia, May 2, 1775. At a meeting of the committee of the county of Gloucester, at the court-house, on Tuesday the 2d day of May, 1775.

Resolved, That we will not ship a single hog-head of tobacco, to Great Britain, until the determination of the Continental Congress respecting exportation be known.

Williamsburg, May 13. Yesterday afternoon the Countess of Duimore, and the rest of the Governor's family, returned to this city, from on board the *Fowey* man of war.

NEWPORT, RHODE-ISLAND, June 1, 1775.

A circumstantial Account of a Skirmish between the Provincials and the Regulars, at Chelsea, Hogg Island, &c.

On Saturday last, the 27th of May, a part of the American army at Cambridge, to the number of between two and three hundred men, had orders to drive off the live stock, from Hogg and Noddle's Islands, which places lie near Chelsea and Winnefimit, on the north east side of Boston harbour,

From

From Chelsea to Hogg Island, at low water, it is but about knee deep, and from that to Noddle's Island about the same, the stock on the former belonged to Mr. Oliver Wendell, of Boston, and Mr. Jonathan Jackson, at Newbury Port; the stock on Noddle's Island was owned by Mr. Williams, of Boston, who hires the Island.

About eleven o'clock, A. M. between 20 and 30 men belonging to the proprietors of the cattle, were sent from Chelsea to Hogg Island, and from thence to Noddle's Island, to drive off the stock which was there, but were interrupted by a schooner and a sloop, (dispatched from the fleet in Boston harbour) and about 40 marines, who had been stationed there to protect the stock. However, they drove off two fine English stallions, two colts, and three cows, killed fifteen horses, two colts and three cows, burnt a large barn full of salt, hay, and an old farm-house. By this time they were fired on by the schooner and sloop, and a large number of marines in boats, sent from the several ships of war; upon which they retreated to a ditch on the marsh, and kept themselves undiscovered till they had an opportunity to fire on the marines, when they shot two dead, and wounded two more, one of whom died soon after. They then retreated to Hogg Island, where they were joined by the remainder of their party from Chelsea, and drove off all the stock thereon, viz. between three and four hundred sheep and lambs, some cows, horses, &c.

During the driving off the cattle, there were continual firings between the provincials, and the schooner, sloop, boats and marines on the other island.

Having cleared Hogg Island, the provincials drew up on Chelsea Neck, and sent for a reinforcement of 300 men and two pieces of cannon (four pounders) which arrived about nine o'clock in the evening, soon after which General Putnam went down and hailed the schooner, and told the people, that if they would submit, they should have good quarters, which the schooner returned with two cannon shot; this was immediately answered with two cannon from the provincials.

Upon this a very heavy fire ensued from both sides, which lasted till eleven at night, at which time the fire from the schooner ceased, the fire from the shore being so hot, that her people were obliged to quit her, and take to the boats, a great number of which had been sent from the ship to their assistance, and also a large reinforcement of marines sent to Noddle's Island with two twelve pounders.

The schooner being thus left drove ashore, about break of day the Provincials carried some

hay under her stern, set fire to it, and burnt her to ashes; the sloop keeping up a small fire upon them.

At this time a heavy cannonading began at Noddle's Island Hill, with the twelve pounders, upon the Provincials, and General Putnam kept up a heavy fire on the sloop, disabled her much, and killed many of her men, so that she was obliged to be towed off by the boats, when the firing ceased, excepting a few shot which were exchanged between the party at Chelsea, and the marines on Noddle's Island.

Thus ended this long action, without the loss of one Provincial, and only four wounded, one of whom was wounded by the bursting of his own gun, and another only lost his little finger.

The loss of the enemy amounted to at least twenty killed and fifty wounded. The Provincials took out of the schooner four double fortified four pounders, twelve swivels, the chief of her rigging and sails, which the sailors and marines left behind, with many cloaths, some money, &c. they having quitted in her great haste.

[The above was brought by the Beaver, Capt. Coffin, from Nantucket.]

Williamsburgh, May 13. Upon the report that a number of men were coming to Williamsburgh, to demand restitution of the gun-powder lately removed from thence, the marines and seamen belonging to the Fowey man of war and the Magdalene armed Schooner, now lying in the river, were ordered to march to Williamsburgh to protect the place. Capt. Montague also thought proper to send a message to the Hon. the President of the Council, informing him that in case the marines were attacked, he should fire upon the town of York. The President, we hear, for answer, desired to know what authority he had for such a step? To which we are informed Capt. Montague replied, that he had orders from the Governor.

JULY 6.

The following advices were brought by the Eneas, Capt. Grant, who arrived at Dover last Wednesday from Salem, which place he left the 5th of June last.

From the New-England Chronicle, or Essex Gazette, of June 1, 1775.

Extract of a Letter from Ticonderoga, dated May 23, 1775.

"I shall endeavour to give you a very concise journal of matters here, since the 12th instant.

"May 11, We set sail from Skenesborough, in a schooner belonging to Major Skeene, which we christened Liberty.

"Sunday 13. Arrived at Ticonderoga, from whence,

whence, after some preparations, we set sail for Crown Point.

"Monday, 14. Contrary winds retarded our voyage, and the day drew to a close when we anchored at Crown Point.

"Tuesday, 15. Contrary winds. Col. Arnold, with thirty men took the boat, and proceeded on for St. John's, leaving to Capt. Sloan the command of the vessel with the sailors; and to me the command of the soldiers on board: About twelve o'clock, while beating down, we espied a boat, sent out our cockswain to bring her in. It proved to be the French post from Montreal, with Ensign Moland on board; we examined the mail, and among other things, found an exact list of all the regular troops in the Northern department, amounting to upwards of 700.

"Wednesday, 16. A fair gale, we overtook Col. Arnold in the boat, took him on board, and at night arrived within thirty miles of St. John's; when the wind fell, and the vessel was becalmed. We immediately armed our two boats, manned them with thirty-five men, and determined by dint of rowing to fetch St. John's, and take the place and the King's sloop by surprize at break of day.

"Thursday. After rowing hard all night, we arrived within half a mile of the place at sunrise, sent a man to bring us information, and in a small creek, infested with numberless swarms of gnats and muskitoes, waited with impatience for his return.

"The man returning, informed us they were unapprized of our coming, though they had heard of the taking of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. We directly pushed for shore, and landed at about 60 rods distance from the barracks; the men had their arms, but upon our briskly marching up in their faces, they retired within the barracks, left their arms, and resigned themselves into our hands.

"We took 14 prisoners, 14 stands of arms, and some small stores. We also took the King's sloop, two fine brass field pieces, and four boats. We destroyed five boats more lest they should be made use of against us. Just at the completion of our business, a fine gale arose from the North; we directly hoisted sail and returned in triumph. About six miles from St. John's, we met Colonel Allen with four boats and ninety men, who determined to proceed and maintain the ground. This scheme Colonel Arnold thought impracticable, as Montreal was near, with plenty of men, and every necessary for war: Nevertheless, Col. Allen proceeded, and encamped on the opposite side of the lake (or river as it is there called) the next morning he was attacked by two hundred regulars, and obliged to decamp and retreat.

"Friday, 18. Returned again to Crown Point, from thence to Ticonderoga.

"Saturday, 19. Encamped at Ticonderoga. Since that time nothing material has happened. It is Colonel Arnold's present design, that the sloop Enterprize (as she is called) and the schooner Liberty shall cruise on the lake, and defend our frontiers, till men, provision, and ammunition are furnished to carry on the war."

Pertmouth, May 19. Last Tuesday evening a barge belonging to the man of war lying here, rowing up and down the river to make discoveries, with two small Officers and six seamen; the tars, not liking the employ, tied their commanders, then run the boat ashore, and were so unpolite as to wish the prisoners good night, and came off. The Officers soon got loose and rowed themselves back to the ship.

Bristol, July 4. Two thousand barrels of flour were bought yesterday for Newfoundland, the people on the fishery being in the greatest distress, only 2lb. of bread per week per man being the allowance; and it is supposed many will leave the fishery, on account of the want of provisions.—It is generally thought the West India islands will soon be in the same state.

From the NEW-YORK GAZETTE of June 5.

PHILADELPHIA, May 21.

IN Congress, Saturday, May 27, 1775. Upon a motion, the memorial of Robert Murray and John Murray, "desiring to be restored to their former situation, with respect to their commercial privileges," was taken into consideration, and after some time spent therein,

Resolved, That where any person hath been, or shall be adjudged by the committee to have violated the Continental Association, and such offender shall satisfy the convention of the Colony where the offence was, or shall be committed, or the committee of the parish of St. John's, in the Colony of Georgia, if the offence be committed there, of his contrition for his offence, and sincere resolution to conform to the association for the future, the said convention, or committee of the parish of St. John's aforesaid, may settle the terms upon which he may be restored to the favour and forgiveness of the public, and that the terms be published.

A true copy from the minutes.

C. THOMPSON, Sec.

Camp at Cambridge, May 28. Lieut. Gould, taken prisoner at Lexington, April 19, is exchanged for an old man named Breed, who has a large family.—Lieut. Gould has a fortune of 1000l. per ann. It is said that when he was first taken, he offered 2000l. for his ransom.

The

The Assembly of New York is prorogued from June 7, to July 5, by Lieut. Gov. Colden.

J U L Y 8.

Capt. Grant, of the ship *Æneas*, from Salem, who is arrived at Dover, says, that he had much ado to get leave to come from thence; that he sent up to the Congress to know whether he might sail for England, as his ship was laden, who sent him word down he might, but would not suffer him to carry any letters, and he was obliged to leave upwards of 2000 behind him, and only brought five, which were in his pocket. He further adds, that the Provincials have entirely stopped up the Port at Salem, and that his ship would be the last they would suffer to come from thence. He sailed the 7th of June at night, and arrived at Dover the 5th instant.

By Capt. Grant we also learn, that General Putnam waded at the head of the men to the vessel, which was fired by putting hay into the windows; that two ships arrived from Carolina with corn for the People at Providence, which were seized by the men of war. Upon the report of which the people met, and appointed a committee to wait upon the Captain to demand the release of them, which he refused, as his orders from the Admiral were to seize all vessels laden with corn, melasses, or salt. Upon which they informed him, if they were not released in two days, they would burn his ship. That the Governor had applied to the committee, to prevent their threats being put in execution, till he applied himself to the Captain, the result of which was not known when he failed. That twelve boats were allowed by the General and Admiral, to carry people who had passed from Bolton to Salem, which were searched by one of the committee upon their return, to see that no provisions should be carried there; that one of the boatmen told him, he could have a guinea, if he could convey a pound of butter there; that a person had deposed, he saw 20 soldiers killed in the attack at Hog Island buried in one grave; and that the people at Bolton had nothing but salted provisions to live on, which were the contribution of the other colonies.

The Provincials had upwards of forty pieces of cannon at Boston.

The following are the number of ships of war in the different ports in America:

At Bolton	—	7
Rhode Island,		4
New-York,		3
Philadelphia		4

Friday July 7, a Court of Common Council was held at Guildhall, when the Court re-assumed the consideration of the letter from the Committee

of New-York, addressed to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of London; when a motion was made that an humble Address, Remonstrance, and Petition, relative to the distressed situation of the American colonies, should be presented by the City in their corporate capacity to his Majesty. This caused warm Debates, it being strongly opposed by several of the Members; but at length it was agreed that an humble Address and Petition (leaving out the word Remonstrance) should be presented, couched in very humble and moderate terms; which being drawn up, read, and agreed to, the Sheriffs were ordered to go up to St. James's next Wednesday to know his Majesty's pleasure when he will permit the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, to wait on him with the said Address and Petition.

The numbers for the motion were, 6 Aldermen, 66 Commoners, 2 Tellers, in all 74.—Against the motion, 6 Aldermen, 51 Commoners, 2 Tellers, in all 59.—Majority for the motion 15.

From the NEW-YORK GAZETTE.

New-York, May 22. On Thursday Capt. Reynolds spoke with Capt. Lyndsay, in the Falcon sloop of war, who acquainted him, that having advice that a sloop lay at a place called Sandwich, that had carried some provisions to Providence, &c. for the use of the Boston Provincials, he dispatched his Lieutenant, with his tender and 20 men, and two other officers, to take possession of her; which they accordingly did: but, before they could carry her off, she was retaken, as also the tender, by some boats from the country, and the Lieutenant lost an arm, the gunner was wounded in the head, and the doctor's mate in one of his legs. The seamen were sent prisoners into the country.

New-York, May 24. In Provincial Congress held for the colony of New-York, this day, in this city.

“Resolved, that this Congress will, before they rise, provide the best ways and means in [their power, as Representatives of the people, for the discharge of such money, as is now lent, or shall be subscribed or otherwise advanced or supplied on the public faith, to defray the charges that are or shall be incurred in the present exigencies of the colony, or that shall hereafter be expended or incurred by recommendation of the Continental or this Provincial Congress. A true copy of the minutes. ROBERT BENSON, Secretary.”

May 25. In Provincial Congress held here this day.

“Whereas the enemies of American Liberty are

are indefatigable in their endeavours to disunite these colonies; and in prosecuting of this measure, evil-minded persons may insinuate that the Northern colonies have hostile intentions against our fellow subjects in Canada;

“Resolved, That this Congress do most earnestly recommend it to all persons whatsoever, not to commit any hostilities against the people of that country; and do hereby declare to the world, that we do consider every such step as infamous, and highly inimical to all the colonies.

ROBERT BENSON, Secretary.”

May 29. His Excellency the Earl of Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, has issued a proclamation, appointing Thursday the first of June next for the meeting of the General Assembly of that colony, at the city of Williamsburgh.

May 31. In Provincial Congress, at New-York, Resolved, That it be recommended to the inhabitants of this colony in general, immediately to furnish themselves with necessary arms and ammunition; to use all diligence to perfect themselves in the military art, and if necessary, to form themselves into companies for that purpose, until the further orders of this Congress.

ROBERT BENSON, Secretary.

New-York, June 5. By accounts from Boston as late as the 25th of May, we learn, that three General officers, with about 700 marines, and 200 drafts, were arrived there in six transports from England.

Philadelphia, May 24. On Wednesday evening last John Brown, Esq; arrived here from Ticonderoga express to the General Congress, who brought with him intercepted letters from Lieut. Malcolm Frazer, to his friends in New-England, from which it appears, that Gen. Carleton has issued orders for raising a Canadian regiment, in which Mr. Frazer observes, the officers find difficulty, as the common people are by no means fond of the service. He likewise remarks, that all the King's European subjects are disaffected at the partial preference given to the late converts to Loyalty, as he phrases it, to their utter exclusion from any kind of confidence, or even common civility. Matters are indeed in such a situation, that many, if not most of the merchants, talk of leaving the Province.

From the NEW-YORK JOURNAL.

Newport, Rhode-Island, May 22. An account of the late action arrived at Baltimore, in Maryland, in six days, upon which the inhabitants seized upon the provincial magazine, containing 1500 stands of arms, &c. the people of Maryland being determined to risk their lives and fortunes in defence of the liberties of America; and we hear the Virginians have 20,000 men under discipline for the same purpose.

The people of New-Jersey have taken possession of the Treasury of that province, in which was the amount of between 20 and 30,000l. which money is to be appropriated to the payment of the troops now raising in that province, for the defence of the liberties of America.

Philadelphia, May 25. By a letter from Montreal, of the 8th inst. to a gentleman in this city, we are informed, that in the night preceding the 1st instant, a certain bust, erected there soon after the late fire, had its face blackened, a crucifix was hung round its neck, and a label was affixed to it with this inscription. “The Pope of Canada and the ——— of England.” The writer adds, that this made a very great noise in Montreal, where all was running into disorder and confusion, on account of the late acts respecting them.

New-York, July 1. Since our last our Provincial Congress voted, that all the Ministers in this City, who can pray in English, should be invited to open their meetings each morning with prayers. In consequence of this vote, the clergy settled their arrangement according to seniority, and began to comply with the invitation last Friday, when a prayer, very suitable to the occasion, was made by the Rev. Dr. Auchmuty, who happened to be the eldest Minister.

Worcester, May 17. The General Assembly of Connecticut have resolved, “That an embargo be laid upon the exportations out of that Colony, by water, of wheat, rye, Indian corn, pork, beef, live cattle, peas, beans, bread, flour, and every kind of meal, to continue to the 20th day of May instant. Governor Trumbull has issued a proclamation, notifying the same.

As the present Provincial Congress will soon be dissolved, the inhabitants of this Colony have been notified to chuse Delegates to meet in Congress, at Watertown, on the 31st instant.

New Jersey, May 26. In Provincial Congress:

The Continental Congress having resolved unanimously, “That all exportations to Quebec, Nova Scotia, the island of St. John, Newfoundland, Georgia, except the parish of St. John, and to East and West Florida, immediately cease; and that no provisions of any kind, or other necessaries, be furnished to the British fisheries on the American coasts, until it be otherwise determined by the Congress.”

Resolved unanimously, That this Congress earnestly recommend to the good people of this province, that they do most religiously adhere to the said resolution; and that the Secretary publish this our resolve in one or more of the public news papers. Signed by order,

JONATHAN D. SERGEANT, Sec.

Monmouth

Monmouth County, Upper Freehold, May 4. This day, agreeable to previous notice, a very considerable number of the principal inhabitants of this township met at Imlay's Town, John Lawrence, Esq; in the Chair, when the following resolves were unanimously agreed to:

Resolved, That it is our first wish to live in union with Great Britain, agreeable to the principles of the constitution; that we consider the unnatural civil war, which we are about to be forced into, with anxiety and distress; but, that we are determined to oppose the novel claim of the parliament of Great Britain, to raise a revenue in America, and risk every possible consequence, rather than submit to it.

Resolved, That it appears to this meeting, that there are a sufficient number of arms for the people.

Resolved, That a sum of money be now raised to purchase what further quantity of powder and ball may be necessary; and it is recommended, that every man capable of bearing arms enter into companies to train, and be prepared to march at a minute's warning; and it is further recommended to the people, that they do not waste their powder in fowling or hunting.

A subscription was then opened, and 160l. instantly paid into the hands of a person appointed for that purpose. The officers of four companies were then chosen, and the meeting broke up in perfect unanimity.

ELISHA LAWRENCE, Minor, Clerk.

Worcester, May 10. We hear that the Senecas, one of the Six Nations of Indians, are determined to support the Americans against the arbitrary exactions of the British parliament, and if desired, will lend their help in this day of general distress, expecting if the colonies are subjected, they shall also fall a sacrifice to the relentless fury of Great Britain.

New-London, May 12. By the post who left the head quarters at Roxbury, last Monday three o'clock P. M. we learn that only two persons had been permitted to come out of Boston that day, who reported that no more of the inhabitants would be permitted to leave the town for the present; and that on the same day at Town-meeting was to be held in Boston, when the inhabitants were determined to demand the arms they had deposited in the hands of the select men, or have liberty to leave the town.

Extract of a letter from New-York, May 22.

"An express arrived here this day from Ticonderago, which brings an account, that Major

Skene's snow on Lake Champlain was taken last Tuesday by forces from Virginia, who have joined our militia and that of Connecticut. She is an armed vessel, and of some consequence on the lake. The New-England people have timber ready, and are building fourteen sail on the lakes, all to be armed vessels. The fort at Ticonderago is defended by about 2,800 men from the different colonies; to secure us from the incursions of the Roman Catholics."

The Provincial army are about to send proposals to General Gage for an exchange of prisoners.

By some letters from Nova Scotia, and some circumstances in that province, it is believed that colony will join the general confederacy of the other colonies.

The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts Bay have struck off 75,000l. lawful money (as they term it) and intend to borrow 100,000l. more, for the purpose of maintaining an army.

A letter has been received from General Burgoyne, informing his friends of his arrival at Boston, with the Generals Clinton and Howe, and the marines from England, but not the troops from Ireland. He says, they have nothing but salt beef, salt fish, and pease, to live upon. However, General Gage, and they, have determined not to attempt anything further, till they know the resolutions of the Continental Congress.

General Gage has sent some transports and men of war to New York, to demand provisions. The question will be, whether they shall have any? The Connecticut men, it is said, are not far off. *It is possible the next action may be in the vicinity of New-York.*

Letters by the Charming Peggy, Laurence, arrived at Dover, mention, that the Congress had voted 36,000 men as a standing army, besides the militia, and one million of Pennsylvania currency to pay them with; that three of the Delegates be a committee to act; that they are resolved to send manifestoes to all the powers in Europe, to let them know their reasons for breaking with their Mother Country; that they are determined not to submit till they are reinstated in all the privileges they enjoyed before the late acts, &c. and that all the ports be stopp'd up on the 23d of July.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman at Norfolk, in Virginia, to his brother in Manchester, dated May 19, 1775.

"America is all in confusion. The New-York port is entirely blocked up, and the Bostonians have killed many of his Majesty's troops."

in their march up the country. The Earl of Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, has pulled all the ashes out of his palace, and has planted guns round it, to defend himself, having got some marines from on board the man of war for the purpose."

A letter from Dr. Franklin, of the 21st ult. says, that there was the utmost unanimity in the proceedings of the Congress; that they had resolved to prosecute the war against the Ministry vigorously; and that he had no thoughts of returning till matters were finally settled.

A letter from Worcester (Massachusetts Bay) dated May 20, says, "It is confidently asserted that several houses in Boston, belonging to persons who had moved out of that distressed town, have been plundered of effects left therein by the soldiery. The Hon. John Hancock's, Esq; house, we hear, was entered by a number of soldiers, who began to pillage and break down the fences; but upon complaint being made by the select men to General Gage, he ordered the fences to be repaired, and Earl Percy to take possession of the same."

Philadelphia, May 20. In Continental Congress this day, on motion, resolved, "That no provisions or necessaries of any kind be exported to the island of Nantucket, except from the colony of Massachusetts Bay, the convention of which colony is desired to take measures for effectually providing the said island, upon their application to purchase the same, with as much provision as shall be necessary for internal use, and no more."

"The Congress deeming it of great importance to North America, that the British fishery should not be furnished with provisions from this continent through Nantucket, earnestly recommended a vigilant execution of this resolve to all Committees."

CHARLES THOMPSON, Sec."

RULES and REGULATIONS for the MASSACHUSETTS ARMY. Published by order of the CONGRESS.

IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS.

CONCORD, April 5, 1755.

WHEREAS the lust of power, which of old oppressed, persecuted, and exiled our pious and virtuous ancestors, from their fair possessions in Britain, now pursues, with tenfold severity, us, their guiltless children, who are unjustly and wickedly charged with licentiousness, sedition,

treason, and rebellion; and being deeply impressed with a sense of the almost incredible fatigues and hardships our venerable progenitors encountered, who fled from oppression for the sake of civil and religious liberty for themselves and their offspring, and began a settlement here, *on bare creation*, at their own expence; and having seriously considered the duty we owe to God, to the memory of such invincible worthies, to the King, to Great-Britain, our country, ourselves and posterity, do think it an indispensable duty, by all lawful ways and means in our power, to recover, maintain, defend, and preserve, the free exercise of all those civil and religious rights and liberties for which many of our forefathers fought, bled, and died; and to hand them down entire for the free enjoyment of the latest posterity: And whereas the keeping a standing army in any of these Colonies in times of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that Colony in which such an army is kept, is against law: And whereas such an army, with a large naval force, is now placed in the harbour of Boston, for the purpose of subjecting us to the power of the British Parliament: And whereas we are frequently told by the tools of administration, dupes to ministerial usurpation, that Great-Britain will not, in any degree, relax in her measures, until we acknowledge her "right to make laws binding upon us in all cases whatsoever;" and that if we refuse to be slaves, if we persist in our denial of her claim, the dispute must be decided by arms, in which, 'tis said by our enemies, "We shall have no chance, being undisciplined, cowards, disobedient, impatient of command, and possessed of that spirit of levelling which admits of no order, subordination, rule, or government."—And whereas, from the ministerial army and fleet now at Boston, the large reinforcement of troops expected, the late circular letters to the Governors upon the continent, the general tenor of intelligence from Great-Britain, and the hostile preparations making here, as also from the threats and frequent insults of our enemies in the capital town, we have reason to apprehend that the sudden destruction of this Colony is in contemplation, if not determined upon: And whereas the great law of self-preservation may suddenly require our raising and keeping an army of observation and defence, in order to prevent, or repel, any farther attempts to enforce the late cruel and oppressive acts of the British Parliament, which are evidently designed to subject us and the whole continent to the most ignominious slavery: And whereas, in case of raising and keeping such an army, it will be necessary that

that the officers and soldiers in the same be fully acquainted with their duty; and that the articles, rules, and regulations thereof, be made as plain as possible; and having great confidence in the honour and public virtue of the inhabitants of this Colony, that they will readily obey the officers chosen by themselves, and will cheerfully do their duty, when known, without any such severe articles and rules (except in capital cases) and cruel punishments as are usually practised in standing armies, and will submit to all such rules and regulations as are founded in reason, honour, and virtue:

It is therefore resolved, that the following articles, rules, and regulations for the army, that may be raised for the defence and security of our lives, liberties, and estates, be, and hereby are earnestly recommended, to be strictly adhered to by all officers, soldiers, and others concerned, as they regard their own honour and the public good.

Article 1. All officers and soldiers, not having just impediment, shall diligently frequent divine service and sermon in the places appointed for the assembling of the regiment, troop, or company, to which they belong; and such as wilfully absent themselves, or being present, behave indecently or irreverently, shall, if commissioned officers, be brought before a regimental court-martial, there to be publicly and severely reprimanded by the President; if non-commissioned officers or soldiers, every person so offending shall for his first offence forfeit one shilling, to be deducted out of his wages; for the second offence he shall not only forfeit one shilling, but be confined, not exceeding twenty-four hours; and for every like offence shall suffer and pay in like manner, which money, so forfeited, shall be applied to the use of the sick soldiers of the troop or company to which the offender belongs.

Art. 2. Whatever non-commissioned officer or soldier shall use any unlawful oath or execration, shall incur the penalties expressed in the first article; and if a commissioned officer be thus guilty of profane cursing or swearing, he shall forfeit and pay for each and every such offence the sum of four shillings, lawful money.

Art. 3. Any officer or soldier, who shall behave himself with contempt or disrespect towards the General or Generals, or Commanders in Chief of the Massachusetts forces, or shall speak words tending to his or their hurt or dishonour, shall be punished according to the nature of his offence, by the judgment of a general court martial.

Art. 4. Any officer or soldier, who shall begin, excite, cause, or join in any mutiny or sedition, in the regiment, troop, or company to

which he belongs, or in any other regiment, troop, or company of the Massachusetts forces, either by land or sea, or in any party, post, detachment, or guard, on any pretence whatsoever, shall suffer such punishment as by a general court-martial shall be ordered.

Art. 5. Any officer, non-commissioned officer, or soldier, who being present at any mutiny or sedition, does not use his utmost endeavours to suppress the same, or coming to the knowledge of any mutiny, or intended mutiny, does not, without delay, give information thereof to the commanding officer, shall be punished by order of a general court-martial according to the nature of his offence.

Art. 6. Any officer or soldier, who shall strike his superior officer, or draw, or offer to draw, or shall lift up any weapon, or offer any violence against him, being in the execution of his office, on any pretence whatsoever, or shall disobey any lawful commands of his superior officer, shall suffer such punishment as shall, according to the nature of his offence, be ordered by the sentence of a general court-martial.

Art. 7. Any non-commissioned officer or soldier, who shall desert, or without leave of his commanding officer, absent himself from the troop or company to which he belongs, or from any detachment of the same, shall, upon being convicted thereof, be punished according to the nature of his offence, at the discretion of a general court-martial.

Art. 8. Whatsoever officer or soldier shall be convicted of having advised or persuaded any other officer or soldier to desert, shall suffer such punishment as shall be ordered by the sentence of a general court-martial.

Art. 9. All officers, of what condition soever, shall have power to part and quell all quarrels, frays, and disorders, tho' the persons concerned should belong to another regiment, troop, or company; and either order officers to be arrested, or non-commissioned officers or soldiers to be confined and imprisoned, till their proper superior officers shall be acquainted therewith; and whoever shall refuse to obey such officer (tho' of an inferior rank) or shall draw his sword upon him, shall be punished at the discretion of a general court-martial.

Art. 10. No officer or soldier shall use any reproachful or provoking speeches or gestures to another; nor shall presume to send a challenge to any person to fight a duel: And whoever shall knowingly and willingly suffer any person whatsoever to go forth to fight a duel; or shall second, promote, or carry any challenge, shall be deemed as a principal: And whatsoever officer or soldier shall

shall upbraid another for refusing a challenge, shall also be considered as a challenger: And all such offenders, in any of these, or such like cases, shall be punished at the discretion of a general court-martial.

Art. 11. Every officer commanding in quarters, or on a march, shall keep good order, and, to the utmost of his power, redress all such abuses or disorders, which may be committed by any officer or soldier under his command; if upon any complaint made to him of officers or soldiers beating, or otherwise ill-treating any person, or of committing any kind of riot, to the disquieting of the inhabitants of this continent, he the said commander, who shall refuse or omit to see justice done on the offender or offenders, and reparation made to the party or parties injured, as far as the offenders wages shall enable him or them, shall, upon due proof thereof, be punished as ordered by a general court-martial, in such manner as if he himself had committed the crimes or disorders complained of.

Art. 12. If any officer should think himself to be wronged by his Colonel, or the commanding officer of the regiment, and shall, upon due application made to him, be refused to be redressed, he may complain to the General or Commander in Chief of the Massachusetts forces, in order to obtain justice, who is hereby required to examine into said complaint, and see that justice be done.

Art. 13. If any inferior officer or soldier, shall think himself wronged by his Captain, or other officer commanding the troop or company to which he belongs, he is to complain thereof to the commanding officer of the regiment, who is hereby required to summon a regimental court-martial, for the doing justice to the complainant from which regimental court-martial, either party may, if he thinks himself still aggrieved, appeal to a general court-martial; but if, upon a second hearing, the appeal shall appear to be vexatious and groundless, the person so appealing shall be punished at the discretion of the general court-martial.

Art. 14. Whatsoever non-commissioned officer or soldier, shall be convicted, at a regimental court-martial, of having sold, or designedly, or through neglect, wasted the ammunition, arms, or provisions, or other military stores, delivered out to him, to be employed in the service of this Colony, shall, if an officer, be reduced to a private sentinel; and, if a private soldier, shall suffer such punishment as shall be ordered by a regimental court-martial.

Art. 15. All non-commissioned officers and soldiers, who shall be found one mile from the

camp, without leave in writing from their commanding officer, shall suffer such punishment as shall be inflicted on him or them by the sentence of a regimental court-martial.

Art. 16. No officer or soldier shall lie out of his quarters or camp without leave from the commanding officer of the regiment, upon penalty of being punished according to the nature of his offence, by order of a regimental court-martial.

Art. 17. Every non-commissioned officer and soldier shall retire to his quarters, or tent, at the beating of the retreat; in default of which, he shall be punished according to the nature of his offence, by order of the commanding officer.

Art. 18. No officer, non-commissioned officer or soldier, shall fail of repairing, at the time fixed, to the place of parade or exercise, or other rendezvous appointed by the commanding officer, if not prevented by sickness, or some other evident necessity; or shall go from the said place of rendezvous, or from his guard, without leave from his commanding officer, before he shall be regularly dismissed or relieved, on penalty of being punished according to the nature of his offence, by the sentence of a regimental court-martial.

Art. 19. Whatsoever commissioned officer shall be found drunk on his guard, party, or other duty, under arms, shall be cashiered for it; any non-commissioned officer or soldier, so offending, shall suffer such punishment as shall be ordered by the sentence of a regimental court-martial.

Art. 20. Whatsoever sentinel shall be found sleeping upon his post, or shall leave it before he shall be regularly relieved, shall suffer such punishment as shall be ordered by the sentence of a general court-martial.

Art. 21. Any person belonging to the Massachusetts army, who by discharging of fire arms, beating of drums, or by any other means whatsoever, shall occasion false alarms, in camp or quarters, shall suffer such punishment as shall be ordered by the sentence of a general court-martial.

Art. 22. Any officer or soldier, who shall without urgent necessity, or without leave of his superior officer, quit his platoon or division, shall be punished according to the nature of his offence, by the sentence of a regimental court-martial.

Art. 23. No officer or soldier shall do violence, or offer any insult or abuse to any person who shall bring provisions, or other necessities, to the camp or quarters, of the Massachusetts army; any officer or soldier, so offending, shall, upon complaint being made to the commanding officer, suffer such punishment as shall be ordered by a regimental court-martial.

Art. 24. Whatsoever officer or soldier shall shamefully abandon any post committed to his charge,

charge, or shall speak words inducing others to do the like, in time of an engagement, shall suffer death immediately.

Art. 25. Any person belonging to the Massachusetts army, who shall make known the watch-word to any person who is not entitled to receive it, according to the rules and discipline of war, or shall presume to give a parole or watch-word different from what he received, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as shall be ordered by the sentence of a general court-martial.

Art. 26. Whosoever, belonging to the Massachusetts army, shall relieve the enemy with money, victuals or ammunition; or shall knowingly harbour or protect an enemy, shall suffer such punishment as by a general court-martial shall be ordered.

Art. 27. Whosoever, belonging to the Massachusetts army, shall be convicted of holding correspondence with, or of giving intelligence to the enemy, either directly or indirectly, shall suffer such punishment as by a general court-martial shall be ordered.

Art. 28. All public stores taken in the enemy's camp of magazines, whether of artillery, ammunition, clothing or provisions, shall be secured for the use of the Massachusetts Colony.

Art. 29. If any officer or soldier shall leave his post or colours in time of an engagement, to go in search of plunder, he shall, upon being convicted thereof before a general court-martial, suffer such punishment as by said court-martial shall be ordered.

Art. 30. If any commander of any post, intrenchment or fortress, shall be compelled by the officers or soldiers under his command, to give it up to the enemy, or to abandon it, the commissioned officer, non-commissioned officers or soldiers, who shall be convicted of having so offended, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as may be inflicted upon them by the sentence of a general court-martial.

Art. 31. All sutlers and retailers to a camp, and all persons whatsoever, serving with the Massachusetts army, in the field, though not enlisted soldiers, are to be subject to the articles, rules, and regulations of the Massachusetts army.

Art. 32. No general court-martial shall consist of a less number than thirteen, none of which shall be under the degree of a commissioned officer; and the President shall be a field officer; And the President of each and every court martial, whether general or regimental, shall have power to administer an oath to every witness, in order to the trial of offenders. And the members of all courts-martial shall be duly sworn by the President; and the next in rank on the court-martial shall administer the oath to the President.

Art. 33. The members, both of general and regimental courts-martial, shall, when belonging to different corps, take the same rank which they hold in the army; but when courts martial shall be composed of officers of one corps, they shall take their ranks according to their commissions by which they are mustered in the said corps.

Art. 34. All the members of a court-martial are to behave with calmness, decency and impartiality; and in the giving of their votes, are to begin with the youngest or lowest in commission.

Art. 35. No field officer shall be tried by any person under the degree of a Captain; nor shall any proceedings or trials be carried on, excepting between the hours of eight in the morning and three in the afternoon, except in cases which require an immediate example.

Art. 36. The commissioned officers of every regiment may, by the appointment of their Colonel or commanding officer, hold regimental courts-martial for the enquiring into such disputes or criminal matters as may come before them, and for the inflicting corporal punishments for small offences, and shall give judgment by the majority of voices; but no sentence shall be executed till the commanding officer, (not being a member of the court-martial) shall have confirmed the same.

Art. 37. No regimental court-martial shall consist of less than five officers, excepting in cases where that number cannot be conveniently assembled, when three may be sufficient; who are likewise to determine upon the sentence by the majority of voices; which sentence is to be confirmed by the commanding officer, not being a member of the court-martial.

Art. 38. Every officer, commanding in any fort, castle, or barrack, or elsewhere, where the corps under his command consists of detachments from different regiments, or of independent companies, may assemble courts-martial for the trial of offenders in the same manner as if they were regimental, whose sentence is not to be executed till it shall be confirmed by the said commanding officer.

Art. 39. No person whatsoever shall use menacing words, signs or gestures in the presence of a court-martial then sitting, or shall cause any disorder or riot, so as to disturb their proceeding, on the penalty of being punished at the discretion of the said court-martial.

Art. 40. To the end that offenders may be brought to justice; whenever any officer or soldier shall commit a crime deserving punishment he shall by his commanding officer, if an officer, be put in arrest; if a non-commissioned officer, or soldier, be imprisoned till he shall be either tried by a court-martial, or shall be lawfully discharged by proper authority.

Art.

Art. 41. No officer or soldier who shall be put in arrest, or imprisonment, shall continue in his confinement more than eight days, or till such time as a court-martial can be conveniently assembled.

Art. 42. No officer commanding a guard or Provost-Marshal, shall refuse to receive or keep any prisoner committed to his charge, by an officer belonging to the Massachusetts forces; which officer shall at the same time deliver an account in writing, signed by himself, of the crime with which the said prisoner is charged.

Art. 43. No officer commanding a guard, or Provost-Marshal, shall presume to release any prisoner committed to his charge, without proper authority for so doing; nor shall he suffer any prisoner to escape, on the penalty of being punished for it, by the sentence of a general court-martial.

Art. 44. Every officer or a Provost-Marshal, to whose charge prisoners shall be committed, is hereby required, within twenty-four hours after such commitment, or as soon as he shall be relieved from his guard, to give in writing to the Colonel of the regiment to whom the prisoner belongs (where the prisoner is confined upon the guard belonging to the said regiment, and that his offence only relates to the neglect of duty in his own corps) or to the Commander in Chief, their names, their crimes, and the names of the officer who committed them, on the penalty of being punished for his disobedience or neglect, at the discretion of a general court-martial.

Art. 45. And if any officer under arrest shall leave his confinement before he is set at liberty by the officer who confined him, or by a superior power, he shall be cashiered for it.

Art. 46. Whatsoever commissioned officer shall be convicted before a general court-martial, of behaving in a scandalous, infamous manner, such as is unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman, shall be discharged from the service.

Art. 47. All officers, conductors, gunners, matrosses, drivers, or any other persons whatsoever, receiving pay or hire, in the service of the Massachusetts artillery, shall be governed by the aforesaid rules and articles, and shall be subject to be tried by courts-martial, in like manner with the officers and soldiers of the Massachusetts troops.

Art. 48. For differences arising among themselves, or in matters relating solely to their own corps, the courts-martial may be composed of their own officers; but where a number sufficient of such officers cannot be assembled, or in matters wherein other corps are interested, the officers of artillery shall sit in court-martial with the officers of the other corps.

Art. 49. All crimes not capital, and all disorders and neglect which officers and soldiers may be guilty of, to the prejudice of good order and military discipline, though not mentioned in the articles of war, are to be taken cognizance of by a general regimental court-martial, according to the nature and degree of the offence, and be punished at their discretion.

Art. 50. No courts-martial shall order any offender to be whipped, or receive, more than thirty-nine stripes for any one offence.

Art. 51. The field officers of each and every regiment are to appoint some suitable person belonging to such regiment, to receive all such fines as may arise within the same, for any breach of any of the foregoing articles, and shall direct the same to be carefully and properly applied to the relief of such sick, wounded, or necessitous soldiers, as belong to such regiment; and such person shall account with officers for all fines received and the application thereof.

Art. 52. All members sitting in courts-martial shall be sworn by the President of said courts, which President shall himself be sworn by the officer in said court next in rank:—The oath to be administered previous to their proceeding to the trial of any offender, in form following, viz.

"You A. B. swear that you will well and truly try, and impartially determine the cause of the prisoner now to be tried, according to the rules for regulating the Massachusetts army. So help me God."

Art. 53. All persons called to give evidence, in any case, before a court-martial, who shall refuse to give evidence, shall be punished for such refusal, at the discretion of such court-martial: The oath to be administered in the form following, viz.

"You swear the evidence you shall give in the case now in bearing, shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. So help you God."

Signed by order of the Provincial Congress,
JOHN HANCOCK, President,

A true extract from the minutes,
Benjamin Lincoln, Secretary.

By his EXCELLENCY,
The Hon. THOMAS-GAGE, Esq.
Governor, and Commander in Chief, in and over his Majesty's Province of Massachusetts-Bay, and Vice-Admiral of the same.

A P R O C L A M A T I O N.

WHEREAS the insatuated multitudes, who have long suffered themselves to be conducted by certain well known incendiaries and traitors

traitors, in a fatal progression of crimes, against the constitutional authority of the state, have at length proceeded to avowed rebellion; and the good effects which were expected to arise from the patience and lenity of the King's government, have been often frustrated, and are now rendered hopeless, by the influence of the same evil counsels; it only remains for those who are entrusted with supreme rule, as well for the punishment of the guilty, as the protection of the well affected, to prove they do not bear the sword in vain.

The infringements which have been committed upon the most sacred rights of the crown and people of Great Britain, are too many to enumerate on one side, and are all too atrocious to be palliated on the other. All unprejudiced people who have been witnesses of the late transactions, in this and the neighbouring provinces, will find upon a transient review, marks of premeditation and conspiracy that would justify the fullness of chastisement: And even those who are least acquainted with facts, cannot fail to receive a just impression of their enormity, in proportion as they discover the arts and assiduity by which they have been falsified or concealed. The authors of the present unnatural revolt, never daring to trust their cause or their actions to the judgment of an impartial public, or even to the dispassionate reflection of their followers, have uniformly placed their chief confidence in the suppression of truth: And while indefatigable and shameless pains have been taken to obstruct every appeal to the real interest of the people of America; the grossest forgeries, calumnies and absurdities that ever insulted human understanding, have been imposed upon their credulity. The press, that distinguished appendage of public liberty, and when fairly and impartially employed, its best support, has been invariably prostituted to the most contrary purposes: The animated language of ancient and virtuous times, calculated to vindicate and promote the just rights and interest of mankind, has been applied to countenance the most abandoned violation of those sacred blessings; and not only from the flagitious prints, but from the popular harangues of the times, men have been taught to depend upon activity in treason, for the security of their persons and properties; till to complete the horrid profanation of terms, and of ideas, the name of God has been introduced in the pulpits to excite and justify devastation and massacre.

The minds of men having been thus gradually prepared for the worst extremities, a number of armed persons, to the amount of many thousands, assembled on the 19th of April last, and from behind walls and lurking holes, attacked a

detachment of the King's troops, who not expecting to consummate an act of phrenzy, unprepared for vengeance, and willing to decline it, made use of their arms only in their own defence. Since that period the rebels, deriving confidence from impunity, have added insult to outrage; have repeatedly fired upon the King's ships and subjects, with cannon and small arms, have possessed the roads and other communications by which the town of Boston was supplied with provisions; and with a preposterous parade of military arrangement, they affect to hold the army besieged; while part of their body make daily and indiscriminate invasions upon private property, and with a wantonness of cruelty ever incident to lawless tumult, carry depredation and distress wherever they turn their steps. The actions of the 19th of April are of such notoriety as must baffle all attempts to contradict them, and the flames of buildings and other property from the islands and adjacent country, for some weeks past, spread a melancholy confirmation of the subsequent actions.

In this exigency of complicated calamities, I avail myself of the last effort within the bounds of my duty, to spare the effusion of blood, to offer, and I do hereby in his Majesty's name offer and promise his most gracious pardon to all persons who shall forthwith lay down their arms and return to the duties of peaceable subjects, *excepting only from the benefit of such pardon, Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose offences are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment.*

And to the end that no person within the limits of this proffered mercy, may plead ignorance of the consequences of refusing it, I by these presents proclaim not only the persons above-named and excepted, but also all their adherents, associates and abettors, meaning to comprehend in those terms, all and every person, and persons of what class, denomination or description soever, who have appeared in arms against the King's government, and shall not lay down the same as afore-mentioned; and likewise all such as shall so take arms after the date hereof, or who shall in any wise protect or conceal such offenders, or assist them with money, provision, cattle, arms, ammunition, carriages, or any other necessary for subsistence or offence; or shall hold secret correspondence with them by letter, message, signal, or otherwise, to be rebels and traitors, and as such to be treated.

And whereas, during the continuance of the present unnatural rebellion, justice cannot be administered by the common law of the land, the course whereof has, for a long time past, been violently

violently impeded, and wholly interrupted; from whence results a necessity for using and exercising the law martial; I have therefore thought fit, by the authority vested in me by the royal charter to this province, to publish, and I do hereby publish, proclaim and order the use and exercise of the law martial, within and throughout this province, for so long a time as the present unhappy occasion shall necessarily require; whereof all persons are hereby required to take notice, and govern themselves, as well to maintain order and regularity among the peaceable inhabitants of the province, as to resist, encounter and subdue the rebels and traitors above-described by such as shall be called upon for those purposes.

To these inevitable, but I trust salutary measures, it is a far more pleasing part of my duty to add the assurances of protection and support, to all who in so trying a crisis, shall manifest their allegiance to the King, and affection to the parent state. So that such persons as may have been intimidated to quit their habitations in the course of this alarm, may return to their respective callings and professions; and stand distinct and separate from the parricides of the constitution, till God in his mercy shall restore to his creatures, in this distracted land, that system of happiness from which they have been seduced, the religion of peace, and liberty founded upon law.

Given at Boston, this twelfth day of June, in the fifteenth year of the reign of his Majesty George the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, KING, Defender of the Faith, &c. Annoque Domini, 1775.

THOMAS GAGE.

By his Excellency's command,
Tho. Flucker, Secretary.
GOD save the KING.

JULY 15.

Yesterday the following humble Address and Petition was presented to the King by the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, the Aldermen Bull, Lewes, Hayley, Lee, Plomer, Hart, and several of the Common Council:

To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty.
The humble Address and Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of London in Common Council assembled,

Most gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of London in Common Council assembled, with all humility beg leave to lay themselves at your royal feet, humbly imploring your

benign attention towards the grievous distractions of their fellow subjects in America.

The characteristic of the people, Sire, over whom you reign, has ever been equally remarked for an unparalleled loyalty to their Sovereign, whilst the principles of the constitution have been the rule of his government, as well as a firm opposition whenever their rights have been invaded.

Your American subjects, Royal Sire, descended from the same ancestors with ourselves, appear equally jealous of the prerogatives of freemen, without which they cannot deem themselves happy.

Their cheerful and unasked-for contributions, as well as willing services to the mother country, whilst they remained free from the clog of compulsory laws, will, we are sure, plead powerfully with the humanity of your disposition for graciously granting them every reasonable opportunity of giving as freemen what they seem resolutely determined to refuse, under the injunction of laws made independent of their own consent.

The abhorrence we entertain of civil bloodshed and confusion, will, we trust, Sire, if not wholly exculpate us in your royal mind, yet plead powerfully in our favour, for the warmth with which we lament those measures whose destructive principles have driven our American Brethren to acts of desperation.

Convinced of the earnest disposition of the colonists to remain firm in all dutious obedience to the constitutional authority of this kingdom, permit us, most gracious Sovereign, to beseech you that those operations of force, which at present distract them with the most dreadful apprehensions, may be suspended; and that, uncontrouled by a restraint incompatible with a free government, they may possess an opportunity of tendering such terms of accommodation as we doubt not will approve them worthy of a distinguished rank amongst the firmest friends of this country.

The KING's ANSWER.

'I am always ready to listen to the dutiful Petitions of my Subjects, and ever happy to comply with their reasonable requests; but while the constitutional authority of this kingdom is openly resisted by a part of my American subjects, I owe it to the rest of my people, of whose zeal and fidelity I have had such constant proofs, to continue, and enforce, those measures by which alone their rights and interests can be asserted and maintained.'

JULY 17.

Our intelligence of the freshest date, since the safe landing of the troops, differs widely from the

the account given by government scribblers, that *Gage's army consisted then of 9000 men, including officers.* Our correspondent's letter runs thus: Before the landing the reinforcements, *Gage's army* did not exceed 2,500, and the regiments now arrived are so very thin (many say not 300 each) that if the whole was collected together, the Generals could not turn out 5,000 men.

The deputies of the several yards, who last Wednesday presented a petition to his Majesty for a redress of grievances, were the representatives of 2500 shipwrights. It seems their request is to have their wages raised from 2s. 1d. to 2s. 6d. per day, which, if granted to the above number of men, would come to 16,250l. per ann.—*Q. If a single election has not often cost as much?*

Whitehall, July 18. Lieutenant General Gage, in his letters to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated June 12, 1775, gives an account, that the town of Boston continued to be surrounded by a large body of rebel Provincials, and that all communication with the country was cut off; that the rebels had been burning houses, and driving sheep off an island that has easy communication with the main land, which drew on a skirmish with some marines, who drove the Rebels away; but that an armed schooner, that had been sent between the island and the main land, having got on shore at high water, there was no possibility of saving her, for as the tide fell, she was left quite dry, and burned by the rebels. Two men were killed and a few wounded.

The first embarkation of troops from Ireland, consisting of three regiments of infantry and one light cavalry, was arrived at Boston; and General Gage had published a proclamation, offering his Majesty's pardon to all persons who should immediately lay down their arms (except Samuel Adams and John Hancock) declaring all persons to be traitors, who should aid and assist, or hold any correspondence with the rebels; and ordering Martial Law to be in force within the province of Massachusetts Bay, so long as the present unhappy occasion shall necessarily require it.

Madrid, June 29. By the last advices from Carthageña we learn, that the fleet sailed from thence on the 23d inst. but, about three leagues from land, was prevented from pursuing its course by a strong easterly wind, and remained on the 24th at the same distance from the coast.

The following was sent us by the last Lisbon mail.

Sailed from Carthageña, June 16, 1775.

7 sail	—	74 guns.
8 ditto	—	40 ditto.
12 ditto	—	36 ditto.
10 ditto	—	20 to 36 ditto.

10 ditto — 20 to 30 guns.
20 small craft from 14 to 16 ditto.
1800 guns, and 19,000 seamen and marines.
400 transports, and 22,000 infantry.
4000 horse.
2150 artillery men.

400 pieces of artillery for field and batteries.
Besides the above, many ships of the line are ready for sea at Cadiz and Ferrol.

Extract of a letter from Chatham, July 16.

“Our shipwrights still continue to absent themselves from this Dock yard; they meet every morning, and sometimes twice a day, in Mr. Louch's cricketing field, near this town, at which place they transact all their business. They have appointed Mr. Edward Randall, shipwright, belonging to the committee, to be their chairman, he being a person of unexceptionable character, and a good orator. He reads them all the letters that come from the other yards, and gives them his opinion what is best to be done for the advantage of the community. He advises them to sobriety, and to act in a peaceable manner, as the only method of getting their grievances redressed.

“Orders were received here yesterday to discharge all the shipwrights that do not come into the yard to work to-morrow; it is imagined they will not come.”

Extract of a letter from Portsmouth, July 17.

“This morning all the shipwrights, except four, who absented themselves from the Dockyard on account of their wages not being augmented to 2s. 6d. per day, to the amount of near 400, were discharged, never to be employed again.”

Yesterday morning at four o'clock, an express arrived at Lord Rochford's office from Woolwich, signifying, that all the workmen in the dockyard left their work, and were come to a resolution (after the manner and form of those at Plymouth, Portsmouth, &c. not to work unless their wages were raised to 2s. 6d. per day.

JULY 20.

By the ship *Wilson*, Capt. Hallie, arrived at Clyde, in 30 days from Virginia, the following advices were received:

Williamsburgh, Virginia, June 9. On the first instant, the general assembly of this colony met here, pursuant to the Governor's proclamation. On this occasion his Excellency the Earl of Dunmore, his Majesty's Lieutenant and Governor General of the colony of Virginia, made the following speech.

“Gentlemen of the Council, Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses,

“I have called you together to give you an opportunity,

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portunity of taking the alarming state of the colony into your consideration, and providing remedies against the evils which are increasing therein; and I am induced to it at this time particularly, because, as the declarations of the King and parliament, contained in the joint address of the lords and commons on the 7th of February last, and his Majesty's answer, no longer admit of a doubt that your well-founded grievances, properly represented, will meet with that attention and regard which are so justly due to them; so likewise the resolution of the house of commons, which followed on the 27th of the same month, will I trust, have the effect of removing the jealousy which has been the principal source of disquiet and uneasiness in the minds of the people: Therefore, I entertain the strongest hopes that nothing will remain, after a just consideration of the nature and tendency of that resolution, to prevent your seriously exerting yourselves to bring the disputes, which have unhappily raged between the mother country and the colonies, to a good end; to which the step already taken by the house of commons must be considered as a benevolent tender, and, I hope, auspicious advance, on the part of the parent state.

"It must now be manifest to all dispassionate people, that the Parliament, the high and supreme legislature of the Empire, far from having entertained thoughts so inconsistent with the wisdom and publick virtue which have distinguished that august body, of oppressing the people of the colonies, or of promoting the interest of one at the expence of another part of their fellow subjects, have only been extending their care, that the whole, in consideration of the enjoyment of equal rights, privileges, and advantages, should be obliged, according to their abilities and situation, to contribute that proportion towards the burthens necessary for the support of their civil government, and for their common defence, which the subjects of the same state cannot, with any justice, or consistent with their own welfare, refuse to grant; the principle of which having never, I believe, been denied by the people of his Majesty's dominions of Virginia, I hope you will think it reasonable now to acknowledge the propriety, and to engage to fulfil your part, of the obligation it includes.

"Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses,

"No specifick sum being demanded of you for these purposes (as I think obviously appears) your justice and liberality are left to their full scope; and your gift, if you should be induced to offer any, may be, in the compleatest manner

free. The civil government of this country, being already provided for, you will only have to declare what proportion, and by what means, you are willing to contribute to the publick burthens of the State, burthens to which the mother country hath cheerfully submitted, to secure the colonies from the encroachment of a dangerous and vigilant enemy. And I am warranted to say, that as it is never intended to require you to tax yourselves, without parliament's taxing the subjects of Great Britain on the same occasion in a far greater proportion, no prudence which you shall think necessary to observe for your security in that particular can be disapproved of.

"And I can likewise assure you, that if you should judge fit to adopt the principle, and imitate the example of justice, equity, and moderation; in your proposals, which actuated the House of Commons in their resolutions, declaring at once what was ultimately expected of you, such a compliance on your part will be considered by his Majesty not only a testimony of your reverence for Parliament, but also as a mark of your duty and attachment to your Sovereign, who has no object nearer his heart than the peace and prosperity of his subjects in every part of his dominions.

"I must recommend to you to fall upon means of paying the officers and private men employed in repelling the late invasion and incursions of the Indians, as I make no doubt you will think their services on that occasion deserving of your attention.

"Gentlemen of the Council, Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses,

"You may be assured of my cheerful concurrence in all measures, and ready assent to all laws which it may be found expedient to adopt for the present peace, tranquillity and advantage of the country; and I hope you will think it necessary, to these ends, that the Courts of Justice, should forthwith be opened in order that the laws may again have their due course.

"I cannot conclude without exhorting you, in the most earnest manner, to enter upon the subject matter now recommended to you, with that patience, calmness, and impartiality, which its great importance requires, and to reflect upon the benefits this country hath received from the support given to it by the parent state; which I hope will animate your zeal, now you have it in your power, to restore that harmony and mutual confidence which rendered both countries so flourishing, and, in short, to pursue your true interest, which will convert our present gloomy apprehensions into prospects of peace, happiness, and lasting security."

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The Council of Virginia immediately presented an Address to the Earl of Dunmore, in which they return humble thanks to his Excellency for the above speech; and declare their willingness to concur with the other branch of the legislature in such proportion, and in such means, as they shall be willing to contribute towards the public burdens of the state: And that they are desirous that the Courts of Justice should be forthwith opened, that the laws may again have their due course, &c.

This letter was not sent, as Mr. Hutchinson by the 2d of March altered his opinion; but a true copy of what was sent, wrote in his own hand, is annexed to his letter book with wafers, and begins,

No. 4.

My Lord, Boston, 28 Feb. 1770.

From the BOSTON GAZETTE of June 12, 1775.

The following will serve as a collateral evidence in proof of the late Governor Hutchinson's having been under no positive instruction for ordering the General Court to Cambridge.

In his Letter Book he writes thus to Lord Hillsborough.

No. 4.

My Lord,

28 Feb. 1770.

BY the December mail I have the honour of your Lordship's letter, No. 30, in which you are pleased to express your sentiments of the expediency of my meeting the general court at Cambridge, to obviate any objection on account of the troops, and to shew a proper resentment of the behaviour of the inhabitants of Boston, *unless I shall think there are reasons to the contrary of such a nature as to outweigh these considerations.* I apprehend, my Lord, that when the main guard is removed from the Court house, I shall meet with little or no trouble on account of the troops; and the discontent which sitting at Cambridge at this season of the year will occasion in the minds of the members, must I think outweigh any advantage from the resentment shewn at the behaviour of the town of Boston. Had I received his Majesty's commands to carry the court out of Boston, as a mark of the royal resentment for the undutiful and disloyal behaviour of the inhabitants, this would have fallen with weight upon them; but any thing short of that in these licentious times will have but little effect. *As your Lordship is pleased to leave it to my discretion, I have thought it most prudent not to alter the place of the general court's meeting.* The other part of your Lordship's direction, not to concur in the election of any counsellors who shall have been acting parties in the illegal combination, I shall carefully observe. If your Lordship had extended your direction to all who are favourers of them, as I doubt whether I shall ever have any but such offered to me for my consent, I must be without a council if I should strictly conform to them.

BY the December mail—[and so on as above till you come to] on account of the troops, [when it proceeds] and I am sensible that removing the court out of town will be disagreeable to most of the members. I doubt notwithstanding, after mature deliberation, whether I can be justified in not conforming to a measure which appears to your Lordship to be highly expedient, and therefore I have issued a proclamation proroguing the Court to the 15th instant to meet at Cambridge. I shall also govern myself by your Lordship's opinion in giving my consent to the choice of counsellors, who have been active parties in the illegal combinations. If I should refuse all who are concerned or are favourers of them, I think I shall have no council, for in the present temper of the people I have no reason to think that any other will be offered to me for my consent. I am very sorry that I must acquaint your Lordship with the continuance of disorders in the town of Boston, by exhibitions of pageantry before the doors of the few persons who venture to sell the goods they have imported contrary to the agreement of the merchants. Lads and children are employed upon these occasions, who collect in great numbers, and the civil magistrate will not oppose the popular prejudice, and attempt to disperse them. A person offered to remove one of these shews, and being obstructed by those who had the charge of it, and at length pelted and drove into his house, and then having his house surrounded, and as he says his windows broke, and his person in danger, he fired upon the multitude, and killed one lad and wounded another. He was soon fetched out of his house and committed to prison. The lad was buried a day or two after, and his funeral the largest perhaps ever known in America. All this tends to increase the discontent which before was very great in the town, and I thought it necessary to convene the council, and to propose to them the issuing a proclamation against these disorders; but it did not appear to them necessary; and after two days consideration, they advised me to send to the Justices and Sheriff and exhort them to do their duty. This was done, and had repeatedly been done before to no purpose. Some of the Justices openly justified the proceedings. All this disorder is owing to a general disposition not in the body of the people only, but in those to whom the administration of government by the

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constitution is intrusted, to favour the measures of the merchants as the only means to preserve the rights of the people, and to bring about the repeal of the revenue acts, and other acts called unconstitutional. In other matters which have no relation to this dispute between the kingdom and the colonies, government retains its vigour, and the administration of it is attended with no unusual difficulty.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble,

And most obedient servant,

THOMAS HUTCHINSON.

Although this is dated 28 Feb. it is plain from the internal mark of the Court's being prorogued to the 15th instant, that it was not wrote till the beginning of March, which is corroborated by what follows to Sir Francis Barnard.

No. 6.

My Dear Sir,

28 Feb. 1770.

BY the December mail I have your favour No. 13. No. 9, 10, 11, 12, not yet received. I must be sanguine, notwithstanding your encouragement. Parliament cannot leave America in this state. Whilst these combinations are tolerated, government can never be restored. They never will be suppressed by any power within themselves, for both the legislative and executive power join with the body of the people in the combination.

Every week we have a mob before the store or house of some or other of the importers. Last week Richardson, whose name you must remember as an informer, attempted to remove a piece of pageantry. He was drove into his house and attacked there by stones through his windows. He fired on the boys, *perhaps too soon*, and killed one and wounded another.—The boy was buried with as much respect as young Allen (killed in George's Fields, London, as I suppose the governor intended.) It is said the procession reached from the Town-house to Liberty-tree. I could not avoid meeting the council and urging them to advise me to a proclamation. I will enclose T—s and E—g's speeches as near as I can recollect them.

I expect to meet the general court at the time proposed.

Dr. Sr.

Your faithful and affectionate Friend.

On a separate paper.

March 1.

I Shall cover a printed piece designed for Edes and Gill's paper. It came to one of my sons by accident; he supposes from Pitt's

family.* Burch says, that from what in it relates to the Board it must come from T—e, or he must have been privy to it. I suppose some of the charges against me were so incredible that the supervisors of the press did not think proper to publish it.

March 1. Just as I am sealing my letters your favours No. 10, 11, and 12, are brought me by Capt. Paddock. Lord Hillsborough recommends meeting the assembly at Cambridge, unless other considerations shall in my judgment outweigh the reasons his Lordship gives for it — *I wish for more express orders in every case which is fully understood.* Where I am left to my discretion I will do the best I can; but I am sensible of my delicate situation, and that to what I will I shall be charged with want of resolution, or with rashness and want of discretion. At New York, Pennsylvania, and Carolina there does not seem to be the least effort against the combined merchants, but they have the ball at their feet. The council here ask me what occasion there is for my worrying them to distinguish this government from all the rest. In those governments, the governor has power to remove or suspend his council, and other magistrates, who neglect their duty, here I can do nothing without my counsel, and have no authority to remove them, or any magistrate, without their consent.—I will nevertheless do nothing that can be done to support government, and to distinguish the friends of it, but the restoration of the authority of government, where the disputes between the kingdom and the colonies is concerned, can't be affected by a governor let his talents be ever so great. Parliament alone must effect it, by giving up the points in controversy, or by a vigorous exertion of power in maintaining and supporting them. I am, &c.

March 2d. **U**PON more mature deliberation I have determined to prorogue the court to the 15th at Cambridge. There will be inconveniences either way, but I have the opinion of the ministry in favour of the one side, which outweighs with me the opinion of such as dislike the measure here, and I am convinced of this particular opportunity of doing it ought not to be lost, and perhaps it might serve the measures of Parliament, which must take notice of the town of Boston, and I think cannot possibly disserve them. I have issued the proclamation.

Notwithstanding all appearances in the above of deliberation and acting upon his own discretion, his saying in the *secret and confidential* of March 25, 1770, "for I have followed your advice." (whether that was wrote to Sir Francis Barnard or Secretary Pownall, with each of whom he carried on a private correspondence to be communicated

to

to those in higher departments as they might judge expedient) shews, that he had under-advised and go-between at home to direct and influence, and ripen every measure that might be conceived by him and his adherents.

JULY 24.

Madrid, July 3. By the last advices from Carthagea we learn, that the fleet (which sailed on the 23d past, but had been detained by a strong easterly wind) proceeded on its voyage on the 27th, and was out of sight in the evening. — *Gazette.*

The following is a letter from Portsmouth in New Hampshire, to the Provincial Congress, Massachusetts, and from them forwarded to the committees of correspondence in Connecticut, May 29.

“Gentlemen, We had two provision vessels seized at the mouth of our harbour last night, by the Scarborough, and upon application made to Capt. Barclay for their release, find he had positive orders from the Admiral to take possession of all vessels laden with provisions, fish, and molasses, and sent them to Boston — and says farther, those orders are circular through the Continent. By order of the Committee,

B. WENTWORTH, Chairman.”

The following genuine Petition was presented to his Majesty, on his setting off for Kew, on Wednesday the 12th of July, 1775.

To our ROYAL MASTER, the KING'S Most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of the United Shipwrights of his Majesty's several Dock Yards,

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects and servants, the Shipwrights of your Majesty's several dock yards, most humbly presume to lay before your Majesty the grievances we now do, and for a long time past have laboured under,

Your Majesty cannot, we humbly conceive, be uninformed, that at the time our wages of two shillings and one penny per day were established, the same was more adequate to our subsistence than five shillings per day at present, when the price of every necessary of life is so greatly enhanced.

Our former solicitations to your Majesty, the Parliament, and the Honourable the Admiralty and Navy Boards, for an increase of our pay, have, we apprehend, been productive of the cause of our present just complaints. Those Honourable Boards, seeing the reasonableness of our request, thereby, we are told, meant to alleviate our distresses; but we have found, by repeated expe-

rience, that instead of its answering that end, our situation has been thereby rendered much more intolerable than before.

The burthen of a mode of labour, called Task Work, lately imposed on us by the said Boards, though we hope without any design to injure us, has been found a yoke on our necks too heavy to be borne, without destroying the constitutions of the most hardy amongst us; by which we must inevitably be brought to an untimely end, and our numerous families be deprived of their only support.

To the Boards we have repeatedly presented our humble petitions for a redress of grievances; but we are sorry to inform your Majesty, that our just complaints have been altogether fruitless, inasmuch, that we have been constrained for a time to cease from working in your Majesty's yards, to avoid a slavery worse than death.

We, therefore, most humbly and earnestly implore your Majesty, that you will be graciously pleased to take our distresses into your Royal consideration, and grant to us, your loyal subjects and useful servants, the United Shipwrights, the very moderate wages of two shillings and sixpence per day, we being totally unable to maintain our numerous families on our former pay, otherwise we must, though with inexpressible regret, be unavoidably reduced to the necessity of applying ourselves to some other employment.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

Extract of a letter from Chatham, July 18.

“Yesterday 265 shipwrights, who had absent themselves from this dock yard, with the view of getting their wages augmented to half a crown a day, were discharged. They are a fine body of workmen, being chiefly able young men, most of whom are now determined to go into foreign parts.

Leghorn, July 5. There are letters here which mention the departure of the first division of the Spanish fleet; its arrival on the coast of Algiers; and the landing of the troops in two different places. The Dey has turned out of the town all the christian slaves of both sexes, their children and other persons unable to bear arms; that the two forts which cover the town have been amply provided with every thing necessary for a vigorous defence, and that troops are posted along the coast to prevent a descent.

JULY 25.

The subjects of late under debate in the Cabinet Council of this kingdom, are such as ought to convince his Majesty of the situation into which the

the monarchy is drawing:—Lord Rockford informs him of the strength of the Spanish armada, and reads a most suspicious negotiation of Lord Grantham's at Madrid. Lord Sandwich, just when all his seventeen ships are wanted, informs him of the revolt of the ship builders, and that all preparations for defence are at a stop. Lord Dartmouth brings him General Gage's letters; by which he finds the reinforcements cut in pieces as soon as they arrive. Mr. Jenkinson roars out for vengeance on America; but Lord North enters with a revenue list, by which appears a defalcation of 400,000*l.* a year, and 400 ships in the river laid up. From all which coming thump upon the neck of one another, we may hope his Majesty will see the consequences of the present measures in their just light.

From the LONDON GAZETTE of July 25.

Whitehall, July 25, 1775. This morning arrived Capt. Chadds, of his Majesty's ship *Cerberus*, with the following letter from the Honourable Lieutenant General Gage to the Earl of Dartmouth, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

Copy of a letter from the Honourable Lieutenant General Gage to the Earl of Dartmouth. Dated Boston, June 25, 1775.

MY LORD,

I am to acquaint your Lordship of an action that happened on the 17th instant between his Majesty's troops and a large body of the rebel forces.

An alarm was given at break of day, on the 17th instant, by a firing from the *Lively* ship of war; and advice was soon afterwards received that the rebels had broke ground; and were raising a battery on the Heights of the peninsula of Charles-Town, against the town of Boston. They were plainly seen at work, and, in a few hours, a battery of six guns played upon their works. Preparations were instantly made for landing a body of men to drive them off, and ten companies of the grenadiers, ten of light infantry, with the 5th, 38th, 43d, and 52d battalions, with a proportion of field artillery, under the command of Major General Howe and Brigadier General Pigot, were embarked with great expedition, and landed on the Peninsula without opposition, under the protection of some ships of war, armed vessels, and boats, by whose fire the rebels were kept within their works.

The troops formed as soon as landed; the light infantry posted on the right, and the grenadiers upon their left. The 5th and 38th battalions drew up in the rear of those corps, and the 43d

and 52d battalions made a third line. The rebels upon the Heights were perceived to be in great force and strongly posted. A redoubt, thrown up on the 16th at night, with other works, full of men, defended with cannon, and a large body posted in the houses in Charles Town, covered their right flank; and their center and left were covered by a breast work, part of it cannon-proof, which reached from the left of the redoubt to the Mystic or Medford river.

This appearance of the rebels strength, and the large columns seen pouring in to their assistance, occasioned an application for the troops to be reinforced with some companies of light infantry and grenadiers, the 47th battalion, and the 1st battalion of marines; the whole when in conjunction, making a body of something above 2000 men. These troops advanced, formed in two lines, and the attack began by a sharp cannonade from our field pieces and howitzers, the lines advancing slowly, and frequently halting to give time for the artillery to fire. The light infantry was directed to force the left point of the breast-work, to take the rebel line in flank, and the grenadiers to attack in front; supported by the 5th and 52d battalion. These orders were executed with perseverance, under a heavy fire from the vast numbers of the rebels; and notwithstanding various impediments before the troops could reach the works, and though the left under Brigadier General Pigot who engaged also with the rebels at Charles Town, which at a critical moment was set on fire, the Brigadier pursued his point, and carried the redoubt.

The rebels were then forced from other strong holds, and pursued till they were drove clear off the peninsula, leaving five pieces of cannon behind them.

The loss the rebels sustained must have been considerable from the great numbers they carried off during the time of action, and buried in holes; since discovered, exclusive of what they suffered by the shipping and boats; near one hundred were buried the day after, and thirty found wounded in the field, three of which are since dead.

I inclose your Lordship a return of the killed and wounded of his Majesty's troops.

This action has shewn the superiority of the King's troops, who, under every disadvantage, attacked and defeated above three times their own number, strongly posted and covered by breast-works.

The conduct of Major General Howe was conspicuous on this occasion, and his example spirited the troops, in which Major General Clinton assisted, who followed the reinforcement. And in justice to Brigadier General Pigot, I am to add,

that the success of the day must in great measure be attributed to his firmness and gallantry.

Lieutenant Colonels Nesbit, Abercrombie, and Clarke; Majors Butler, Williams, Bruce, Spendlove, Smelt, Mitchell, Pitcairne, and Short, exerted themselves remarkably; and the valour of the British officers and soldiers in general was at no time more conspicuous than in this action.

I have the honour to be, &c.

THO. GAGE.

Return of the Officers, Non-Commission Officers, and Privates, Killed and wounded, of his Majesty's Troops, at the attack of the redoubts and imbreachments on the Heights of Charles-Town, June 17, 1775.

Royal Regiment, Artillery. Capt. Huddleston, Capt. Lemoine, Lieut. Shuttleworth, 1 Serjeant, 8 rank and file, wounded.

4th foot. Capt. Balfour, Capt. West, Lieut. Barron, Lieut. Brown, wounded. 1 Serjeant, 13 rank and file, killed. 1 serjeant, 1 drummer and fifer, 29 rank and file, wounded.

5th. Capt. Harris, Capt. Jackson, Capt. Downes, Capt. Marsden, Lieut. M'Clintock, Lieut. Croker, Ensign, Charleton, Ensign Balaguire, wounded. 22 rank and file, killed, 10 serjeants, 2 drummers and fifers, 110 rank and file, wounded.

10th. Capt. Parsons, Capt. Fitzgerald, Lieut. Pettigrew, Lieut. Verner, Lieut. Hamilton, Lieut. Kelly, wounded. 2 serjeants 5 rank and file, killed. 1 drummer and fifer, 39 rank and file, wounded.

18th. Lieut. Richardson, wounded, 3 rank and file, killed. 7 rank and file, wounded.

22d. Lieut. Col. Abercromby, wounded, and since dead.

23d. Capt. Blakeney, Lieut. Beckwith, Lieut. Cochran, Lieut. Lenthall, wounded. 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 11 rank and file, killed. 2 serjeants, 1 drummer and fifer, 35 rank and file, wounded.

35th. Lieut. Baird, killed. Capt. Drew, Capt. Lyon, Lieut. Massay, Lieut. Campbell, wounded. 18 rank and file, killed. 3 serjeants, 2 drummers, 41 rank and file, wounded.

38th. Lieut. Dutton, killed. Capt. Coker, Capt. Boyd, Lieut. Christie, Lieut. House, Lieut. Myres, Ens. Sergeant, Ens. Sweney, Quarter-Master Mitchell, wounded. 2 serjeants, 23 rank and file, killed. 4 serjeants, 1 drummer and fifer, 69 rank and file, wounded.

43d. Major Spendlove, Capt. M'Kenzie, Lieut. Robinson, Lieut. Dalrymple, wounded. 2 Serjeants, 20 rank and file, killed. 3 Serjeants, 2 drummers and fifers, 77 rank and file, wounded.

47th. Major Smelt, Capt. Craig, Capt. Engstrand, Capt. Alcock, Lieut. England, wounded.

Lieut. Hilliard, Lieut. Gould, wounded, since dead. 1 serjeant, 15 rank and file, killed. 3 serjeants, 47 rank and file, wounded.

52d. Major Williams, wounded, since dead. Capt. Addison, Capt. Smith, Capt. Davidson, killed. Capt. Nelson, Lieut. Higgins, Lieut. Thompson, Lieut. Crawford, Ensign Chetwynd, Ensign Græme, wounded. 1 serjeant, 20 rank and file, killed. 7 serjeants, 73 rank and file, wounded.

59th. Lieut. Haynes, wounded. 6 rank and file, killed. 25 rank and file, wounded.

63d. Lieut. Dalrymple, killed. Capt. Folliott, Capt. Stopford, wounded. 1 serjeant, 7 rank and file, killed. 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 25 rank and file, wounded.

65th. Capt. Hudson, killed, Major Butler, Capt. Sinclair, Lieut. Paxton, Lieut. Hales, Lieut. Smith, wounded. 1 serjeant, 8 rank and file, killed. 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 25 rank and file, wounded.

1st battalion marines, Major Pitcairn, wounded, since dead. Captain Ellis, Lieutenant Sher, Lieutenant Finnie, killed. Capt. Averno, Capt. Chudleigh, Capt. Johnston, Lieut. Ragg, wounded. 2 serjeants, 15 rank and file, killed. 2 serjeants, 55 rank and file, wounded.

2d battalion marines. Capt. Campbell, Lieut. Gardiner, killed. Capt. Logan, Lieut. Dyer, Lieut. Brisbane, wounded. 5 rank and file, killed, 1 serjeant, 29 rank and file, wounded.

Officers attending on General Howe.

67th. Capt. Sherwin, aid de camp, killed.

14th. Lieutenant Bruce, killed. Ensign Hasketh, wounded.

Royal Navy. Lieutenant Jorden, wounded.

Engineer Lieutenant Page, wounded.

Volunteers, late Barre's. Lieut. Alexander Campbell, on half pay, wounded.

Royal Artillery, Mr. Uance, wounded.

4th Foot. Mr. Dorcus, wounded.

35th. Mr. Maden, wounded.

52d. Mr. Harrison, wounded.

59th. Mr. Clarke, wounded.

2d battalion marines. Mr. Bowman, wounded.

T O T A L.

1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 2 Majors, 7 Captains, 9 Lieutenants, 15 serjeants, 1 drummer, 191 rank and file, killed. 3 Majors, 27 Captains, 32 Lieutenants, 8 Ensigns, 40 serjeants, 12 drummers, 706 rank and file, wounded.

N. B. Captain Downes, of the 5th regiment, and Lieut. Higgins, of the 52d, died of their wounds on the 24th instant.

J U L Y 26.

The second or third day after General Gage's proclamation appeared, the American army published

fished theirs, in full contradiction of every sentence contained in that of the General's, and took care immediately to dispatch couriers throughout the whole continent, with copies of their answer.

The following intelligence is extracted from authentic private letters just received from America, and may be depended upon:—

The Continental Congress at Philadelphia, on the 8th of June, resolved, That the compact between the Crown and people of Massachusetts Bay, is dissolved, by the violation of the charter of William and Mary; and that it be therefore recommended to the people of that Province, to proceed to the establishment of a new government, by electing a Governor, Assistants, and House of Assembly, agreeable to powers contained in the first charter to the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay.

Five and twenty hundred of the Connecticut troops, under the command of General Worcester, have marched from New Haven, in Connecticut, to Greenwich, near New York, to be encamped for the protection of that city.

The Continental Congress were to continue their session, until they should receive an account of the prorogation of Parliament; after which a council of war, consisting of one Delegate from each Colony, was to be appointed to direct the operations of the several Provincial armies, which Council was expected to sit at Hartford in Connecticut.

On the 6th of June the several companies of the royal regiment of Ireland, marched from the upper barracks in New-York, and embarked on board the Asia man of war, commanded by Capt. Vandeput. The desertions from these companies had been so great, that they were reduced to about 70 men; and to prevent their total defection, they were thus ordered on board the Asia.

There are now 150,000 men in arms in the several Colonies, ready to march at an hour's notice wherever they may be wanted.

The gunsmiths of Lancaster county, in Pennsylvania, have engaged alone to furnish the Provincial army with five hundred stand of arms every fourteen days.

Five tons of very good gunpowder were manufactured in and near Philadelphia, in the space of three weeks. A single powder mill, situated about six miles from that City, regularly produces 500lb. per week.

In Congress, June 2, 1775.

Upon motion, Resolved,

THAT no bill of exchange, draught, or order of any officer in the army or navy, their agents or contractors, be received or negotiated, or any money supplied to them by any person in America. That no provisions or necessaries of

any kind be furnished or supplied to or for the use of the British army or navy in the colony of the Massachusetts Bay; and that no vessel employed in transporting British troops to America, or from one part of North America to another, or warlike stores or provisions for said troops, be freighted or furnished with provisions or any necessaries, until farther orders from this Congress.

A true Copy from the Minutes,

CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary.

A private letter from Philadelphia to a gentleman in Manchester, dated June 5, mentions, "That the Congress had concluded upon never submitting to the late acts, and had resolved upon repelling force by force, and had appointed Colonel George Washington General and Commander in Chief of all the forces in America; and that he had set out to join the Provincial troops before Boston,—That each province was to raise a certain number of men, more to the northward than the southward, on account of more negroes being to the southward; but that the whole was to be paid and clothed by the whole continent,—That it is expected all the ports will be shut up, both for exports and imports."

The last military returns transmitted from Boston to the office of the Secretary of War, we hear, were 5,700 men fit for duty, and 1,600 in the hospitals; besides 2,400 marines, &c. on board the ships of war, or quartered in the town. The Provincials in the field amount to about 6,000 men, besides about 22,000 ready to enter into actual service on two days notice.

The following will give the public as convincing a proof of the importance of keeping up a friendly intercourse with America as can be produced.

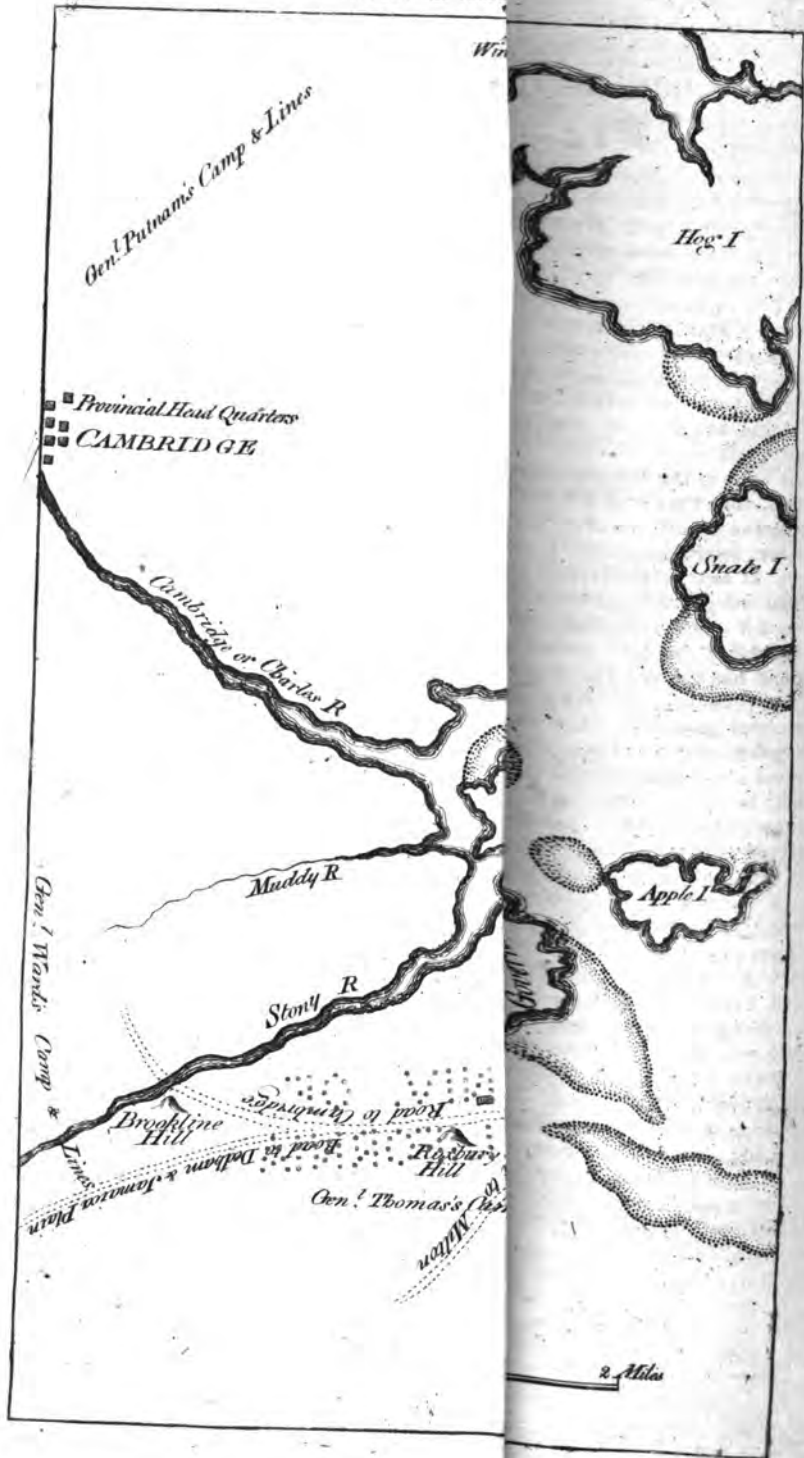
		seamen
In the year 1764 there were employed	42034	
1765	38278	
1766	44599	
1767	44658	
1768	39951	
1773.	49000	

The Stamp act of 1764 was repealed in 1766; the Bostonians were blockaded in 1768; and in 1773, the present plan concerning America commenced; so, that if we could come at the Greenwich Hospital register, it would appear that the seamen employed for 1774, do not exceed those employed in 1765, if they are so many.

Extract of a letter from New York, May 14.

"We are preparing for war with much alacrity, and the greatest unanimity prevails among the inhabitants of this province. We expect soon to be visited by the military. Many of the women and children are sent up the country, with some of the most valuable effects of the people of this city."

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To the Hon. Cadwallader Colden, Esq; Lieutenant Governor, and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Colony of New York, and Territories thereunto depending, in America.

May 11, 1775.

The humble Address of the General Committee of Association for the City and County of New York.

May it please your Honour,

IT frequently happens under every form of Government, that the measures of Administration excite the just jealousies of the people, and that the same measures pursued divest them of all confidence in those, in whose hands the ordinary executive powers are lodged.

In such a state of things, it is natural for the people to cast their eyes on those of their fellow sufferers, on whose abilities and integrity they can rely, and to ask their advice and direction for the preservation of all that is dear and valuable to them.

That such is the frame and temper of our inhabitants, you have had the fullest opportunity to know in the course of that residence with which you have lately honoured us.—This city and county, as well as the rest of the colony, have exercised the greatest patience in waiting, though in vain, for a redress of the many unconstitutional and oppressive burdens under which this whole continent has groaned for several years past.—To their inexpressible grief they have found, that the most dutiful applications for redress have not only been rejected, but have been answered by reiterated violations of their rights.—You cannot therefore wonder, Sir, that at this most interesting crisis, when their all is at stake, and when under the authority of administration, the sword has been drawn, though unsuccessfully, against their brethren of the Massachusetts, for asserting those invaluable rights which are the common inheritance of Britons and Americans, that the city and county of New York have proceeded to associate in the common cause, and to the election of a committee and delegates in congress, to represent them in their claims, and to direct their councils and conduct for the preservation of those inestimable privileges, to which the great Creator, the order of their being as rational creatures, and our happy constitution, have given them an undoubted title.—To this important end they have unanimously invested us their Committee, with a trust which we are determined with the best of our abilities, most faithfully to discharge, and in the execution of which we think it our indispensable duty to declare.—That our constituents, while they cheerfully yield that the legislature of the parent state may make provisions in their nature merely calculated to regulate the trade of the empire, yet they claim, as their indefeasible birth-right, a total exemption from all taxes, internal and external,

by authority of parliament, and from every aid to the crown, but on royal requisitions to their representatives in assembly constitutionally convened, and freely deliberating and determining upon every such requisition.—That they never can nor will submit to the establishment of unconstitutional Admiralty jurisdictions, but will ever regard them as engines that may be employed for the most tyrannical purposes.—That they are determined never to part with their precious and lately invaded right of trial by peers of their vicinage, in any case whatsoever.—That they look with the utmost dread on every expedient, by authority of parliament or otherwise, that may tend to secure from condign punishment offenders, against the most essential rights of human nature, by removing them for their trial to places distant from the scene of perpetration, at the discretion of a governor or commander in chief.—That they esteem, and therefore will by every lawful means, oppose the late oppressive restraints upon commerce, as subversive in their nature of the liberties of America.—That they regard the hostile blockade of the port of Boston; the attack upon the venerable charter-right of the Massachusetts;—the extensions of the bounds of Quebec, the establishment of Popery, and an arbitrary form of government in that province, and the exclusive privileges virtually given to it in the Indian trade, as so many steps of an ill-judging administration, that most imminently endanger the liberty and prosperity of the whole empire.—That they view with inexpressible horror the bloody standard erected in the eastern parts of the confederated colonies, and feel, as in their own bodies, every stroke which their brave compatriots have received from the hand of their fellow subjects, cruelly and unnaturally armed against them by mistaken ministerial severity.—In short, that they are determined to equip themselves for maintaining with successful bravery and resolution, the unquestionable rights of Englishmen.

Permit us at the same time, Sir, to assure you in their behalf, that though they are arming with great diligence and industry, it is not with design to oppose, but to strengthen government in the due exercise of constitutional authority; it is to be in a state of readiness to repel every lawless attack of our superiors, and to prevent the anarchy and confusion to which ministerial misconduct have evidently paved the way; it is to defend the liberties of the subject, and to enable your Honour, and those in office under you, to administer the just government of this colony. Your Honour cannot but see the sudden transition of this capital, from a state of tumults occasioned by hostilities committed against their brethren, to tranquillity and good order, as the consequence of our appointment. It is our ardent wish, Sir, that the same tranquillity and good order may be permanent; we look forward, therefore, with deep con-

cern, at the expected arrival of troops from Great Britain, an event which will probably be attended with innumerable mischiefs; their presence will undoubtedly revive the resentment of our inhabitants, as the repeatedly avowed design of subjugating the colonies by military force; mutual jealousies may break out into reciprocal violence; thousands will in that case be poured in upon us from our counties and the neighbouring colonies, who, we are well assured, have resolved to prevent this city from being reduced to the present deplorable situation of Boston: thus, instead of being a secure garrison-town and place of arms, as is vainly suspected by some, the streets of New York may be deluged with blood. Such a destructive evil we are well assured your Honour will do every thing in your power to avert. Permit us then, Sir, to beseech you to apply to General Gage for orders that such troops as may arrive from Great Britain or Ireland, shall not land or encamp in this city and county; and in case of their arrival before your Honour shall receive the General's answer, solicit their commanding officer to the same purpose.

Give us leave, Sir, to conclude by assuring you, that we are determined to improve that confidence with which our constituents have honoured us, in strengthening the hand of the civil magistrate, in every lawful measure calculated to promote the peace and just rule of this metropolis, and consistent with that jealous attention which, above all things, we are bound to pay to the violated rights of America.

We are, Sir,

With the greatest respect,

Your Honour's most humble servant,

(Signed) HENRY REMSEN, D. C.

Ordered unanimously by the committee.

To which his Excellency returned the following answer:

Gentlemen,

I have the best authority to assure you, that our most gracious sovereign, and both houses of parliament, have declared their readiness to afford every just and reasonable indulgence to the colonies, whenever they should make a proper application on the ground of any real grievances they may have to complain of.

This declaration has been followed by a resolution of the House of Commons, which it was expected would have manifested the justice and moderation of parliament, and a disposition to comply with every wish of the subjects in America.—They offer to forbear every kind of taxation or assessment on America, except such as are necessary for the regulation of commerce; and only require, that the colonies should make provision by such ways and means, as are best suited to their respective circumstances, for contributing a proportion to the common defence of the empire, and for

the support of their own civil government, and the administration of justice. His Majesty's ministers did not doubt this temper in parliament would meet with such a return, on the part of the colonies, as would lead to a happy issue of the present disputes, and to a re-establishment of the public tranquility, on grounds of equity, justice, and moderation.—Is it not then to be lamented as the most unfortunate event, that the patience of the people was exhausted at the moment of this prospect of a peaceable and happy accomplishment of all their wishes? Will not those in whom they now confide, yet endeavour to obtain it? Must this country, till now, happy and flourishing beyond parallel, be involved in the dreadful calamities ever attendant on civil war, while there remains one possible means untried, by which so great, so cruel an evil might be averted?

You tell me, Gentlemen, that the people have lost all confidence in the ordinary officers of government, and that they have cast their eyes upon you for advice and direction. I cannot divest myself of the most affectionate concern for the welfare, the peace and prosperity of the people over whom I have so long presided as the immediate representative of their august sovereign; with whom I have lived the term of a long life, and among whom I leave all that is dear and valuable to me. I am impelled by my duty, and a most zealous attachment to the interest and safety of this people, to exhort you not to irritate the present enraged state of their minds, nor suffer them to plunge into labyrinths, from whence they can neither advance nor retreat, but through blood and desolation.

His Majesty's ministers have, in the strongest terms, expressed the satisfaction with which the King received the assurance of the loyalty and affection of his faithful subjects in this government, and of their ardent desire for a permanent reconciliation with the mother country. I cannot then conceive upon what grounds a suspicion is entertained, that the city of New York is to be reduced to the present situation of Boston: I have not had the least intimation, that any regular troops were destined for this province. It is proper that General Gage should know your sentiments on this subject, and I shall embrace the first opportunity of communicating your request to him; at the same time I think there is reason to suspect, that this report has been invented to facilitate the introduction of an armed force from Connecticut, which, I am told, is meditated.—Will not the apprehension of such a design rouse you, Gentlemen, and every virtuous citizen, to avert, by every means in your power, a measure so degrading, so dangerous to the honour, the freedom of this colony?—I have beheld, with inexpressible anxiety, the state of tumults and disorder which raged in the metropolis of this province, and I am sorry that a recent instance since your appointment, re-
vives

vives the threatening prospect of insecurity to which the inhabitants are reduced. I exhort you to carry into effect the assurances you give me, that you are determined to improve that confidence which the people have honoured you in, in strengthening the hands of the civil magistrates.—Let this be done immediately, and with impartial firmness on every occasion, that the houses, persons, and property of your fellow citizens may not be attacked and insulted with impunity, and every degree of domestic security and happiness fapped to the foundation.

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

NEW-JERSEY, May 19.

To his Excellency WILLIAM FRANKLIN, Esq.

Captain-General, Governor and Commander in Chief in and over his Majesty's Colony of Nova-Cosarea, or New Jersey, and Territories thereon depending in America, Chancellor and Vice-Admiral of the same, &c.

The humble Address of the Representatives of the said Colony, in General Assembly convened.

May it please your Excellency,

WE, his Majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, the representatives of the colony of New-Jersey, in General Assembly convened, have taken under our consideration your Excellency's speech at the opening of the session, together with the resolution of the House of Commons accompanying the same, containing a proposition for accommodating of the unhappy differences at present subsisting between our parent country and the colonies.

As the Continental Congress is now sitting to consider of the present critical situation of American affairs, and as this House has already appointed Delegates for that purpose, we should have been glad that your Excellency had postponed the present meeting, until their opinion could be had upon the resolution now offered for our consideration, and to which we have no doubt that a proper attention will be paid; more especially as we cannot suppose you to entertain a suspicion that the present House has the least design to desert the common cause, in which all America appears to be both deeply interested and firmly united, so far as separately, and without the advice of a body in which all are represented, to adopt a measure of so much importance.—Until this opinion is known, we can only give your Excellency our present sentiments, being fully of opinion that we shall pay all proper respect to, and abide by, the united voice of the Congress on the present occasion.

Your Excellency is pleased to tell us, that this resolution “has had a variety of interpretations

put on it”—“that scarcely any have seen it in its proper light”—and you proceed to give us that explanation of the design and occasion, which you apprehend will enable us and our constituents to judge how far the plan it contains ought to be acquiesced in, and what steps it may be prudent to take in the present situation. We confess that your Excellency has put a construction on the proposition which appears to us to be new, and if we could be of the opinion that the resolution “holds no proposition beyond the avowal of the justice, the equity, and the propriety of subjects of the same state, contributing according to their abilities and situation to the public burden,” and did not convey to us the idea of submitting the disposal of all our property to others in whom we have no choice, it is more than probable that we should gladly embrace the opportunity of settling this unhappy dispute.

Most assemblies on the continent have, at various times, acknowledged and declared to the world their willingness, not only to defray the charge of the administration of justice and the support of the civil government, but also to contribute, as they have hitherto done, when constitutionally called upon, to every reasonable and necessary expence, for the defence, protection, and security of the whole British empire; and this colony in particular hath always complied with his Majesty's requisitions for those purposes: and we do now assure your Excellency, that we shall always be ready, according to our abilities, and to the utmost of our power, to maintain the interests of his Majesty and of our parent state. If then your Excellency's construction be right, and if a proposal “of this nature” will, as you are pleased to inform us, be received by his Majesty with every possible indulgence, we have hopes that the declaration we now make will be looked on by his Majesty and his ministers, not only to be similar to what is required from us, but also to be a “basis of a negotiation” on which the present differences may be accommodated—an event which we most ardently wish for.

We have considered the resolution of the House of Commons—We would not wish to come to a determination that might be justly called precipitate, in the present alarming situation of affairs—But, if we mistake not, this resolution contains no new proposal: it appears to us to be the same with one made to the colonies the year preceding the passing of the late Stamp Act; at least it is not materially different therefrom. America then did not comply with it; and though we are sincerely disposed to make use of all proper means to obtain the favour of his Majesty and the Parliament of Great Britain, yet we cannot, in our present opinion, comply with a proposition which we really apprehend to give up the privileges of freemen; nor do we want any time to consider whether we shall submit to that, which, in our

apprehension, will reduce us and our constituents to a state little better than that of slavery.

By the resolution now offered, if assented to, we think we shall be to all intents and purposes, as fully and effectually taxed by our fellow-subjects in Great Britain, where we have not any representation, as by any of the late acts of the British parliament, under which we have been aggrieved—of which we have complained—and from which we have prayed to be relieved, and that too in a much greater degree, perhaps, than by all those acts put together. We cannot consent to subject the property of our constituents to be taken away for services and uses, of the propriety of which we have no right to judge, while to us are only left the ways and means of raising the money. We have always thought and contended that we had a right to dispose of our property ourselves, and we have always cheerfully yielded our assistance to his Majesty in that way, when the exigencies of affairs required us so to do, and he has condescended to ask it from us. It is the freedom of granting, as well as the mode of raising monies, which this house cannot voluntarily part with, without betraying the just rights of the constitution. The present resolution seems to require us to raise a proportion which the parliament of Great Britain may at any time think fit to grant. At this time we cannot form any judgment, either of the extent of the proposition, or of the consequences in which the good people of the colony may be involved by our assent to a provision so indeterminate; for it appears to us to be impossible to judge what proportion or share the people can bear, until we know what situation they will be in when any sum is intended to be raised, upon the whole, though sincerely desirous to give every mark of duty and attachment to the King, and to shew all due reverence to the parliament of our parent state, we cannot, consistent with our real sentiments, and the trust reposed in us, assent to a proposal big with consequences destructive to the public welfare; and hope that the justice of our parent country will not permit us to be driven into a situation, the prospect of which fills us with anxiety and horror.

There may be much truth in the observation, "that mankind generally act, not according to right, but according to present interest, and most according to present passion:" yet we trust that our conduct, on the present occasion, is neither influenced by the one nor the other; and we persuade ourselves that your Excellency is so well acquainted with the people you govern, that it is quite unnecessary for us to make use of any means to convince you of the injustice of the charge, "that the Americans have deeper views, and mean to throw off all dependance on Great Britain, and to get rid of every controul of their legislature."

We heartily pray that the supreme disposer of events, in whose hand are the hearts of all men, influence our sovereign, his ministry and the parliament; so as to induce them to put a stop to the effusion of the blood of the colonists, who wish always to look upon their fellow-subjects in Britain as their brethren, and are really desirous to promote their interest and happiness upon any reasonable terms: and it will give us great pleasure to find your Excellency amongst those who, by just and proper representations of the dispositions of the inhabitants of these colonies, shall assist in settling of the present unhappy differences.

By order of the House,
CORTLAND SKINNER, Speaker.

House of Assembly, May 19, 1775.

His Excellency's answer.

Gentlemen,

I have done my duty. I lost no time in laying before you the propositions I had received for an amicable accommodation of the present unhappy differences. I gave you as full and candid an explanation of them as I was authorized or enabled to do. Whether those propositions, or my explanation of them, did or did not contain anything new is but little to the purpose. The question is, whether they ought or ought not to be approved, either in whole or in part, or be made the ground of a negotiation; and whether, in the latter case, every assembly on the continent ought not to take some active measures to effect an end so desirable. In stating the matter to you, I could have no suspicion that you did not think yourselves competent to the business, and were necessarily to wait the determination of another body. It was but the last session that you assured me, that you would not "suffer any of the rights vested in you by the constitution, to be wrested out of your hands by any person or persons whatsoever." I shall forbear to point out the inconsistency of this address with that declaration. Nor shall I aim to convince you of the wrong ideas you have formed of those propositions. Were they ever so rightly understood, or ever so well approved by you, yet, to judge by your own declarations, it could be of no avail. The times are indeed greatly altered. I shall be happy to see some proper attempts to mend them. My representations and endeavours, from the first commencement of this unnatural dispute to this day, have not been, nor shall they ever be wanting towards effecting a reconciliation. I am persuaded that if a disposition of this sort is manifested, and the proper steps are pursued by those who have it in their power to take the lead in this important affair on the part of America, it may be easily accomplished to mutual satisfaction. His Majesty,

Majesty, I am sure, would wish to avoid the shedding of the blood of his Americans, as much as that of his British subjects. They must be all equally dear to him, if they are equally dutiful. The Americans in general have been, and I hope will ever prove, as well disposed to his Majesty and his family as the subjects of any other part of his dominions.

Philadelphia, May 6, 1775.

Monday last the General Assembly of this Province met here pursuant to adjournment.

A message from the Governor to the Assembly.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE ordered the Secretary to lay before you a resolution entered into by the British House of Commons, the 20th of February last, relative to the unhappy differences subsisting between our mother country and her American colonies. You will perceive by this resolve, not only a strong disposition manifested by that august body to remove the causes, which have given rise to the discontents and complaints of his Majesty's subjects in the colonies, and the dreadful impending evils likely to ensue from them, but that they have pointed out the terms, on which they think it just and reasonable a final accommodation should be grounded.

Let me earnestly entreat you, gentlemen, to weigh and consider this plan of reconciliation held forth and offered by the parent to her children, with that temper, calmness and deliberation that the importance of the subject, and the present critical situation of affairs demand. Give me leave to observe, that the colonies, amidst all those complaints, which a jealousy of their liberties has occasioned, have never denied the justice or equity of their contributing towards the burthens of the mother country, to whose protection and care they owe not only their present opulence, but even their very existence. On the contrary, every state and representation of their supposed grievances, that I have seen, avows the propriety of such a measure, and their willingness to comply with it.

The dispute then appears to me to be brought to this point;—Whether the redress of any grievances the colonists have reason to complain of shall precede, or be postponed to the settlement of that just proportion, which America should bear towards the common support and defence of the whole British empire.

You have, in the resolution of the House of Commons, which I have authority to tell you is entirely approved by his Majesty, a solemn declaration that an exemption from any duty, tax or assessment, present or future, except such duties as may be expedient for the regulation of com-

merce, shall be the immediate consequence of proposals on the part of any of the colony legislatures, accepted by his Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament, to make provision according to their respective circumstances, for contributing their proportion to the common defence, and the support of the civil government of each colony.

I will not do to you so much injustice, gentlemen, as to suppose you can desire a better security for the inviolable performance of this engagement, than the resolve itself, and his Majesty's approbation of it gives you.

As you are the first assembly on the continent to whom this resolution has been communicated, much depends on the moderation and wisdom of your councils, and you will be deservedly revered to the latest posterity, if, by any possible means, you can be instrumental in restoring the public tranquillity, and rescuing both countries from the dreadful calamities of a civil war.

May 2, 1775.

JOHN PENN.

The Resolution of the House of Commons.

Lundæ 20 die Feb. 1775.

The House in a committee on the American papers. Motion made, and question proposed,

That it is the opinion of this committee, that when the general council and assembly, or general court of any of his Majesty's provinces or colonies in America, shall propose to make provision, according to the condition, circumstance, or situation of such province or colony, for contributing their proportion to the common defence, (such proportion to be raised under the authority of the general court, or general assembly of such province or colony, and disposable by parliament) and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government, and the administration of justice in such province or colony, it will be proper if such proposal shall be approved by his Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear in respect of such province or colony to lay any duty, tax, or assessment, or to impose any farther duty, tax or assessment, except only such duties as it may be expedient to continue to levy or impose, for the regulation of commerce; the net produce of the duties last mentioned, to be carried to the account of such province or colony respectively.

[The answer of the assembly, in which they were unanimous, is in page 63.]

New-Port, (Rhode-Island) May 8. Lord Dartmouth's letter, so much talked of by the Tories, as being moderate, &c. amounts to no less than this, that the colonies shall grant as much money annually as the King, Lords, and Commons, shall think proper to demand; and this sum

sum is to be at the disposal of parliament, so that the money of the colonies may be applied for enslaving them. The same very mild letter, with which the Tories are so well satisfied, denies the colonies the least claim of right; so that it seems there are some in England who have the same opinion of the King, Lords, and Commons, as some here, viz. "That the King, Lords, and Commons, are the same upon earth, as God Almighty is in Heaven." The words quoted, are the very identical expressions of certain persons in this town.

From the New-York Journal.

Newport, May 22. The people of New-Jersey have taken possession of the treasury of that province, in which was the amount of between twenty and thirty thousand pounds; which money is to be appropriated to the payment of the troops now raised in that province for the defence of the liberties of America.

Worcester, May 17. A great number of Governor Hutchinson's letters have lately fallen into the hands of our people. A Correspondent at Roxbury has favoured us with the following extract from one of them to Gen. Gage, then at New-York, dated at Boston, July 20, 1770. "It appears to me to be a matter of great importance to his Majesty's general service, and to the real interest of the colonies, that the discord beginning between New-York and us should be encouraged: I wrote some time ago to Mr. Colden upon this subject, but he rather declared concerning himself in it; he certainly has a strange aversion, which nothing but the confederacy against Great Britain could have conquered: this has too much the appearance of Machiavelian policy; but it is justifiable, as it has the most obvious tendency to save the colonies ruining themselves, as well as preventing them destroying the mother country. If Pennsylvania could be brought to take part with New-York, I think the business would be done. I must beg the favour of you not to let this letter come under any other than your own observation."

IN the New England Chronicle, or Essex Gazette, of June the first, 1775, is the following article:

"On the sixth of January, 1773, Thomas Hutchinson, Esq; late Governor of the Massachusetts Bay, made a speech at the opening of the General Court, in support of the claim of parliament to make laws binding in the colonies in all cases whatever."

On the 23d of August following, as appears by his letter book, in his own hand writing, ready to be produced, he writes as follows to Mr. Secretary Pownall, on that subject.—"From conversation with Dr. Johnston of Connecticut, as

well as with the gentlemen of New York, with whom I was upon a treaty at Hartford, I have all the reason that can be to conclude, that the controversy between me and the assembly has already been of service to the cause of government, in those two colonies; and that more has been done to prevent a claim to independency upon any constitutional principle, than has ever been done before."

And on the 21st of the same month, he writes to another gentleman in London as follows:—

"I should not do myself justice, if I did not tell you, that I have all the reason that can be, to suppose the controversy between me and the two houses will have a good effect in the other colonies! When I was at Hartford, Dr. Johnston assured me, 'he had never seen the right of parliament so unanswerably supported before.'"

[See more of Governor Hutchinson's letters, page 95.]

RECAPITULATION.

In 1763, several resolutions were agreed to in grand committee of the House of Commons, relative to the propriety of America being obliged to contribute a proportion towards the public burthens, incurred by the late heavy and expensive war. In pursuance of which a bill was brought in the following session, for levying certain stamp duties in that country. On this occasion, petitions were presented from almost all parts of America against the tax, couched in the most dutiful, mild, and obedient terms, it is possible to conceive. What was the consequence? The Americans were taxed unheard, and the reason assigned was, that petitions are never permitted to be received or heard against a money bill. So it precisely happened when Charles Townshend laid on the duties in 1767, on tea, paper, painters colours, and glass. Again, on the partial repeal in 1770, when the duty on tea was only left standing. But this doctrine was, I presume, carried to a length in 1767, considering the circumstances, not to be paralleled in the English annals. The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Charles Townshend) having, contrary to the sentiments of the First Lord of the Treasury, (the Duke of Grafton) carried the revenue act through the House of Commons; when it came up to the other House, his Grace opposed it; but he was answered, that the Lords never interfered in a money bill; that if they should, it would occasion a breach of the first magnitude between both Houses, and that the consequences might be fatal in the first instance to the ministry. On this his Grace submitted.

From the PENNSYLVANIA PACKET of May 8.

Williamsburg, Virginia, April 22.

LAST Thursday night Capt. Collins, with a party of men belonging to the Magdalen armed schooner, by command of Lord Dunmore, came

came to this city from Burwell's Ferry, and privately removed out of the magazine, and carried on board the said schooner about 20 barrels of gunpowder belonging to this colony. The inhabitants were alarmed with the intelligence yesterday morning, the common-hall assembled, and the following address was presented to the Governor:

To his Excellency the Right Honourable John Earl of Dunmore, his Majesty's Lieutenant, Governor General, and Commander in Chief of Virginia.

The humble Address of the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Common Council of the city of Williamsburg.

"My Lord,

"We his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Common Council of the city of Williamsburg, in common hall assembled, humbly beg leave to represent to your Excellency, that the inhabitants of this city were this morning exceedingly alarmed by a report, that a large quantity of gunpowder was in the preceding night, while they were sleeping in their beds, removed from the public magazine in this city, and conveyed under an escort of marines on board one of his Majesty's armed vessels, lying at a ferry on James river.

"We beg leave to represent to your Excellency, that as this magazine was erected at the public expence of this colony, and appropriated to the safe keeping of such ammunition as should be there lodged from time to time, for the protection and security of the country, by arming thereof such of the militia as might be necessary in cases of invasions and insurrections, they humbly conceive it to be the only proper repository to be resorted to in times of imminent danger.

"We farther beg leave to inform your Excellency, that, from various reports at present prevailing in different parts of the country, we have too much reason to believe, that some wicked and designing persons have instilled the most diabolical notions into the minds of our slaves, and that therefore the utmost attention to our internal security is become the more necessary.

"The circumstances of this city, my Lord, we consider as peculiar and critical. The inhabitants, from the situation of the magazine in the midst of their city, have, for a long tract of time, been exposed to all those dangers which have happened in many countries, from explosions and other accidents. They have, from time to time, thought it incumbent on them to guard their magazine. For their security they have, for some time past, judged it necessary to keep strong patrols on foot; in their present circumstances then, to have the chief and necessary means of their defence removed, cannot but be extremely alarming. Considering ourselves as guardians of

the city, we therefore humbly desire to be informed by your excellency, upon what motives, and for what particular purpose, the powder has been carried off in such a manner: and we earnestly intreat your Excellency to order it to be immediately returned to the magazine."

To which his Excellency returned this verbal answer.

"THAT hearing of an insurrection in a neighbouring county, he had removed the powder from the magazine, where he did not think it secure, to a place of perfect security; and that, upon his word and honour, whenever it was wanted on any insurrection, it should be delivered in half an hour; that he had removed it in the night time to prevent any alarm, and that Capt. Collins had his express commands for the part he had acted; he was surprized to hear the people were under arms on this occasion, and, that he should not think it prudent to put powder into their hands in such a situation."

"At a general meeting of the freeholders of Mecklenburg county, convened at the courthouse, on the 8th of May 1775.

Resolved unanimously, that the removal of the gunpowder out of the public magazine, by express order of Lord Dunmore, is truly alarming; and that his excuse for such conduct, in his answer to the address of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the city of Williamsburgh, is unsatisfactory and evasive, and he has thereby forfeited all title to the confidence of the good people of this colony.

ISAAC HOLMES, clerk.

RICHMOND COUNTY, May 25, 1775.

In Committee, LANDON CARTER, Esq; in the chair.

AS his Majesty's council have judged it proper to publish an admonitory address to the community at large, we should think ourselves wanting in respect to the deliberations of that honourable board, not to consider it with the strictest attention. We have done so accordingly; and as we find that the matter of the address is not only exceptionable, but are farther informed, that it is industriously circulated among the people, together with a proposition lately made in the House of Commons by Lord North, which covers the most insidious and dangerous views, under an artful guise of wisdom, humanity, and peace, we should be wanting in a much higher duty to ourselves, and our constituents, should we fail to animadvert on both with freedom and decency. We cannot, then, but think,

1. That the mild professions of regard for the prosperity and welfare of this country, in the first part of the address, are inconsistent with the passionate expressions of detestation and abhorrence for that spirit in the people, by which alone the liberties

liberties of this country can be secured. We confess we are entire strangers to any licentious and ungovernable spirit prevailing. If the honourable gentlemen mean to brand the late commotions with these appellations, we are compelled to observe, that no person can so unjustly and uncharitably construe them, unless he entirely turn aside from the violent and provoking measures which justify them; for it cannot be expected that the people should continue quiet when every violence is offered to their privileges and prosperity, or that they should tamely suffer the foundation of their constitution to be overturned by a too scrupulous adherence to its form.

2. That their inviting and exhorting us to mild and constitutional modes of application clearly implies, that they esteem our former proceedings in this respect violent and irregular. The justice of this charge we leave to be decided by the world; who are in possession, and who have given ample testimony in favour of the many suppliant, wise, and firm applications, which have been addressed to the several branches of the British legislature:

3. We allow all due weight to the pledges of their friendship, and the honourable council among us; and we hope that their integrity may ever be an effectual antidote to the influence of that servile and baneful spirit which we are authorised (by the explicit declarations of many independent and respectable members of both Houses of Parliament) to say, prevail extremely in this age, with men in office.

With respect to the proposition of Lord North above-mentioned, insultingly called by ministerial tools the *olive branch*, we are of opinion that it offers no kind of redress (even if the colonies should submit) of any one of the many grievances under which they now labour; for in the only instance in which a seeming redress is proposed (that of taxation) the Parliament of Great Britain is to settle the *quantum* to be raised by each colony, and the application thereof, the colonies determining only on the mode of levying.

This by no means is a relief to them, but in fact puts them in a worse situation than ever, as they thereby will fully acknowledge the absolute power of the British Parliament, and we are still to have the sword hang over our heads, ready to fall on such as shall in any instance disoblige the minister, or refuse to obey his dictates. Lord North himself declared his intention was only to divide the colonies, and thereby the more easily subdue them. The selecting our Governor Pownall's speech alone, approving the motion, when so many excellent speeches were made exposing the measure, and setting its treachery and absurdity in a clear and evident light, is a certain proof of the design in the King's officers here to mislead the good people of this colony.

By order of the committee,

LE ROY PEACHY, clerk.

From the Virginia Gazette, June 1, 1775.

At a meeting of the committee of Loudoun County, held at Leefburgh, on Friday May 26, 1775.

Present, Francis Peyton, Esq; Josias Clapham, Thomas Lewis, Anthony Russell, John Thomas, George Johnston, Thomas Shore, James Lane, Jacob Reed, Leven Powell, William Smith, Robert Jamison, Hardage Lane, and John Lewis, gentlemen.

THE committee taking into consideration the conduct of the Governor relative to the powder, which was by his express orders taken secretly out of the public magazine, belonging to this colony, in the night of the 20th ult. and carried on board the Magdalin schooner.

Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that his Lordship, by this and other parts of his conduct, which have lately transpired, has not only forfeited the confidence of the good people of this colony, but that he may be justly esteemed an enemy to America; and that as well his excuse published in his proclamation of the 4th instant, as his verbal answer to the address presented him on that occasion by the city of Williamsburg, are unsatisfactory, and evasive, and reflect, in our opinion, great dishonour on the general assembly and inhabitants of this colony; as from the latter, a suspicion may be easily deduced, that the representatives of the people are not competent judges of the place wherein arms and ammunition, intended for the defence of the colony, may be safely lodged, and that the inhabitants (unlike other subjects) cannot, in prudence, be trusted with the means necessary for their protection from insurrections, or even invasions: so in the former a very heavy charge is exhibited against the best men among us of seducing their fellow subjects from their duty and allegiance; a charge, we are confident, not founded in reality, and which, we believe, is construed out of the discharge of that duty, which every good man is under, to point out to his weaker countrymen, in the day of public trial, the part they should act, and explain, on constitutional principles, the nature of their allegiance, the ground of which, we fervently pray, may never be removed, whose force we desire may never with reason be relaxed, but yet may be subservient to considerations of superior regard.

The committee being informed by some of the officers who commanded the troops of this county, that marched on the above occasion, that the reason of their marching no farther than Fredericksburg was their having received repeated requests from the Hon. Peyton Randolph, Esq; to return home, assuring them that the peaceable citizens of Williamsburg were under no apprehension of danger, either in their persons or properties, that the public treasury and records were perfectly safe, and that there was no necessity for their proceeding any farther, three of the other delegates appointed to the

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the continental congress, the only civil power we know of in this great struggle for liberty, being of the same opinion.

Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that under such circumstances we approve the conduct of the said officers and troops.

Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that we cordially approve the conduct of our countrymen, captain Patrick Henry, and the other volunteers of Hanover county, who marched under him, in making reprisals on the King's property for the trespass committed as aforesaid; and that we are determined to hazard all the blessings of this life rather than suffer the smallest injury offered to their persons or estates, on this account, to pass unrewarded with its equal punishment.

Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that it be recommended to the representatives of this county, as the opinion of this committee, that they by no means agree to the reprisals, taken as aforesaid, being returned.

Ordered, that the clerk transmit immediately a copy of the preceding resolves to the printers of the Virginia and Pennsylvania Gazettes, to be published.

By order of the committee,

GEORGE JOHNSTON, clerk.

Williamsburgh, June 2.

At a meeting of the committee of Westmoreland county, at the court-house, the 23d day of May, 1775, present the Reverend Thomas Smith, chairman, and fifteen other members of the said committee.

This committee having taken into consideration the address of the citizens of Williamsburgh, presented to his Excellency the Governor, on the 21st day of April last past, and his Excellency's verbal answer thereto, as also his Lordship's speech to the council the 2d of May, and the proclamation issued on the next day, in consequence of the advice given him by a majority of the said council, look upon themselves as indispensably bound to declare their sentiments thereon, as well to expose the inimical measures of men in high office, for a long time steadily pursued against the just rights of a loyal people, as to take off the odium they have endeavoured, by some late proceedings, to fix upon this colony.

The seizing the powder, confessedly placed in the magazine for the defence and protection of this colony, by order of his Excellency the Governor, was a step by no means to be justified, even upon the supposition of its being lodged there from on board a man of war, as his Lordship has in his proclamation asserted; although, in his verbal answer to the address of the citizens of Williamsburgh, he has tacitly acknowledged the powder to belong to the country, by agreeing to deliver it

up, that is, the same powder they demand as the country's; and we have been informed, that the country had powder in the magazine, which cannot now be found there. We therefore consider the removing the powder privately, and when that part of the country was, as his Lordship confesses, in a very critical situation, to be a part of that cruel and determined plan of a wicked administration to enslave the colonies, by first depriving them of the means of resistance; and do resolve,

1. That the dissatisfaction discovered by the people of this country, and late commotions raised in some parts thereof, proceeded, not as his Lordship, in his proclamation, has injuriously and inimically charged, from a disaffection to his Majesty's government, or to a design of changing the form thereof, but from a well-grounded alarm occasioned altogether by the Governor's late conduct, which clearly evinced his steady pursuit of the before-mentioned ministerial plan to enslave us.

2. That so much of his Excellency's proclamation which declares, "the real grievances of the colony can be only obtained by loyal and constitutional applications," is an insult to the understanding of mankind, inasmuch as it is notorious, that this, and the other colonies upon this continent, have repeatedly heretofore made those applications, which have ever been treated with contumely; and as his Lordship, since the late unhappy differences between Great Britain and the colonies have subsisted, hath deprived us of the constitutional mode of application, by refusing to have an assembly.

3. That so far from endeavouring or desiring to subvert our ancient, and to erect a new form of government, we will, at the risque of our lives and fortunes, support and defend it as it existed, and was exercised, until the year 1763; and that his Lordship, by misrepresenting the good people of this colony, as well in his letter to the British minister as in his late proclamation, hath justly forfeited their confidence.

4. That his Majesty's council, who advised the proclamation before-mentioned, have not acted as they were bound to do from their station in government; which ought to have led them to be mediators between the first magistrate and the people, rather than to join in fixing an unjust and cruel stigma on their fellow subjects.

5. That the thanks of this committee are justly due to the delegates of the late continental congress, and to the delegates from this colony particularly, for their prudent, wise, and active conduct, in asserting the liberties of America; and that the design of government, which, in some instances, we are informed has already been carried into execution, to deprive them of all offices, civil and military tends manifestly to disturb the minds of the people in general; and that we consider every person advising such a measure, or who shall ac-

cept of any office or preferment, of which any of the noble asserters of American liberty have been deprived, as an enemy to his country.

Ordered, That the clerk transmit a copy of the foregoing resolutions to the printer, as soon as conveniently may be, in order that the same may be published in the Gazette. (A true copy.)

JAMES DAVENPORT, Clerk.

At a meeting of a special committee for the county of Prince William, held at the house of Thomas Young, in the town of Dumfries, on Monday the 22d of May, 1775.

P R E S E N T,

Foucher Tebbs, Esq. in the chair; William Grayson, Thomas Blackburn, Henry Lee, Andrew Leitch, Richard Graham, William Brent, John Brett, John M'Millian, Henry Peyton, John Peyton, Hugh Brent, James Tiptot, Lynaugh Helm, William Tebbs, Thomas Atwell, William Carr, Jesse Ewell, and Cuthbert Harrison, gentlemen of the committee.

A proclamation by his Excellency Lord Dunmore, with the advice of his Majesty's council, having appeared in the public papers, charging a certain Patrick Henry, and his followers, with rebellious practices, for extorting from the Receiver General, the sum of 330l. in satisfaction for the powder his Lordship thought proper to remove from the public magazine in Williamsburgh, this committee, having taken the said transaction, into their serious consideration, and it appearing to them, from the address of the corporation of the city of Williamsburgh, on the removal of the powder, wherein a claim is made, as restitution is required, and no right in government by his Excellency at that time alledged, which we conceive he would naturally and necessarily have done if any such had existed, and having also been informed, from respectable authority, that assurances had been given to several gentlemen in Williamsburgh, by his Lordship, that if no disturbances were raised, the powder should be returned; for these, and other reasons which might be given, they are of opinion that the powder removed from the public magazine in Williamsburgh did of right belong to this colony.

This committee being farther of opinion, that the late violent and hostile proceedings of his Majesty's troops in the Massachusetts Bay, in attempting to seize the military stores of that colony, would have justified reprisals of a much greater magnitude.

Resolved therefore unanimously, That the thanks of this committee are justly due to Capt. Patrick Henry, and the Gentlemen volunteers who attended him, for their proper and spirited conduct on that alarming occasion.

(Signed by order)

EVAN WILLIAMS, Clerk.

Williamsburgh, June 2.

Last Tuesday evening the Hon. Peyton Randolph, Esq. escorted all the way from Ruffin's ferry by a troop of 36 of the Williamsburgh volunteers, and met, a little way out of town by the rest of the company, arrived safe at his house in this city, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, from the general congress at Philadelphia; and next morning they presented him with the following address, as a tender of their best services at this dangerous and alarming period:

To the Hon. PEYTON RANDOLPH, Esq.

"SIR,

"We the members of the volunteer company in Williamsburgh, embodied to support the constitutional rights and liberties of America, are exceedingly alarmed to hear, from report, that the same malevolent demons, from whom have originated all the evils of America, are now exerting their utmost treachery, to ensnare your life and safety. The friends of liberty, and mankind, have never escaped the fury of arbitrary despots. No wonder then that you should be selected, as a proper victim to be sacrificed to the malice of the present administration.

"Permit us, therefore, attached to you by the noble ties of gratitude and fellow citizens, to entreat you in the warmest manner, to be particularly attentive to your own safety, as you regard the interests of this country. We now proffer to you our services, to be exerted at the expence of every thing a free man ought to hold dear, as you may think most expedient, in defence of your person, and constitutional liberty, and will most cheerfully hazard our lives, in the protection of one who has so often encountered every danger and difficulty in the service of his countrymen. May heaven grant you long to live, the father of your country, and the friend to freedom and humanity!"

To which he was pleased to return the following Answer:

"Gentlemen,

"The affection you have expressed for me demands the warmest returns of gratitude. I feel, very sensibly, the happiness resulting from the kind attention of my worthy fellow citizens to my security and welfare. Your apprehensions for my personal safety, arise from reports which, I hope, have no foundation. Such unjust and arbitrary proceedings would bring on the authors of them, the resentment and indignation of every honest man in the British empire. I shall endeavour to deserve the esteem you have expressed on this occasion, and shall think it the greatest misfortune that can attend me, if ever my future conduct should give you any reason to be displeased with the testimony you have now offered of your approbation."

WILLIAMS.

WILLIAMSBURGH, June 9.

Early yesterday morning the Right Hon. the Earl of Dunmore, with his lady and family, Capt. Edward Foy, and some of his Lordship's domestics, left this city, and are gone on board the Fowey man of war, lying at York town. His Lordship's reasons for this precipitate retreat are contained in the following Message, which he left behind him, and was the same day communicated to the Hon. the House of Burgesses.

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses:

Being now fully persuaded that my person, and those of my family likewise, are in constant danger of falling sacrifices to the blind and unmeasurable fury which has so unaccountably seized upon the minds and understanding of great numbers of the people; and apprehending that at length some of them may work themselves up to that pitch of daringnefs and atrociousness as to fall upon me in the defenceless state in which they know I am in the city of Williamsburgh, and perpetrate acts that would plunge this country into the most horrid calamities, and render the breach with the mother-country irreparable; I have thought it prudent for myself, and serviceable for the country, that I remove to a place of safety; conformable to which I have fixed my residence, for the present, on board his Majesty's ship the Fowey, lying at York. It is not my intention to give the least interruption to the sitting of the Assembly, but I hope they will proceed in the great business which they have before them with diligence and effect. I shall take care to make the access to me so easy and safe, that the necessary communication between me and the House may be attended with the least inconvenience possible; and I thought it would be more agreeable to the House to send to me, from time to time, some of their Members, as occasion shall require, than to be all put to the trouble of moving to be nearer me.

I hope the House will see my proceedings on this occasion as they were really meant, and I beg them to be assured, that I shall now be as ready to attend to all the duties of my office as I was before; and that I am perfectly disposed to contribute all in my power, if opportunity be given me, to restore that harmony, the interruption of which is likely to cost so dear to the repose, as well as to the comfort, of every individual.

DUNMORE.

The Governor's Message being read, the whole House immediately resolved themselves into a Committee, to take the same under their consideration; and, after some time spent therein, a number of the Members were appointed to draw up an Address to his Excellency, in answer to his Message, which being prepared, read, and approved by the

House, as also concurred in by his Majesty's Council, a deputation of two of that honourable Board, and four gentlemen of the House of Burgesses, were directed to wait upon his Excellency with the same this morning at York, of which the following is a copy:

To his Excellency the Right Hon. John Earl of Dunmore, his Majesty's Lieutenant, Governor-General, and Commander in Chief of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia.

The joint Address of the Council and House of Burgesses,

My Lord,

We, his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Council and the Burgesses of Virginia, assure your Excellency, that it is with the greatest concern we find, by your message to us, that your Lordship entertains any suspicions of the personal security of yourself or family, as we can by no means suppose any of his Majesty's subjects in this colony would meditate a crime so horrid and atrocious as you seem to apprehend.

We are fearful the step your Lordship hath taken, in removing from the seat of government, may conduce to a continuance of that great uneasiness which hath of late so unhappily prevailed in this country. We cannot but express our concern, that your Lordship did not think proper to communicate the ground of your uneasiness to us, as, from our zeal and attachment to the preservation of order and good government, we should have judged it our indispensable duty to have endeavoured to remove every cause of disquietude. In proof of the great respect we shall ever pay to the representative of our most gracious Sovereign, and to remove, to the utmost of our power, your Lordship's apprehensions, we assure your Lordship that we will cheerfully concur in any measure that may be proposed proper to the security of yourself and family. It is with much anxiety we consider the very disagreeable situation of your Lordship's most amiable lady and family, and should think ourselves happy in being able to restore their perfect tranquillity, by removing all their fears. We cannot, my Lord, but approve your intention of not giving the least interruption to the important affairs on which we are now assembled, and it is with pleasure we receive your Lordship's assurance of your disposition to establish that harmony so essential to the repose and comfort of every individual; but we must beg leave to observe to your Lordship, how impracticable it will be to carry on the business of this session with any tolerable degree of propriety, or with that dispatch the advanced season of the year requires, whilst your Lordship is so far removed from us, and so inconveniently situated. We therefore earnestly entreat your Lordship that you will be pleased to return, with your lady and family, to the palace; which

we are persuaded will give the greatest satisfaction, and be the most likely means of quieting the minds of the people.

The gentlemen appointed to wait on the Governor arrived at the capital between one and two o'clock, and delivered this verbal message from his Excellency, "That, as the subject of their address was of the utmost concern to himself and family, he would take time to consider, and return an answer in writing, after he had maturely deliberated upon its contents." His Lordship behaved with the utmost politeness, and held a very friendly conference with the Deputies.

The Governor's Answer to the joint Address of the Hon. the Council and the House of Burgesses, in consequence of the Message which his Excellency left behind him, upon his retreat on board the Fowey Man of War.

Gentlemen of the Council, Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses.

In answer to your joint Address, presented by your Deputies yesterday, I acquaint you, that it appears to me the commotions among the people, and their menaces and threats (an enumeration of which I forbear, out of tenderness) have been of such public notoriety, that you must suppose many of his Majesty's subjects in this colony, whether they meditated or not, have at least manifested, such an inveteracy as justifies my suspicion that they would not hesitate to commit a crime, which, horrid and atrocious as it is, I had just ground to apprehend. And when the disposition which the House of Burgesses have shewn towards me, the returns they have made to the respect and civility which I have been forward to offer to them, the countenance they have given to the violent and disorderly proceedings of the people, his Majesty's magazine having been forced and rifled in the presence of some of the Members of the House of Burgesses, and, by the information of the Committee the House appointed to inspect the magazine, no other endeavours have been used than to prevail on the people to return the arms taken out, but not to commit the persons in whose possession they were found, in order that they might be brought to the punishment due to so heinous an offence, no less against the peace and good order of the country, than the dignity and authority of the King; when a body of men assembled in the city of Williamsburgh, not only to the knowledge but with the approbation of every body, for the avowed purpose of attacking a party of the King's forces, which, without the least foundation, it was reported were marching to my protection, and which, if true, ought to have been approved and aided, not opposed and insulted, by all good and loyal subjects; when especially the House of Burgesses, or a committee of the House (which is the same) has ventured upon a step fraught with the most alarming consequences, in ordering and ap-

pointing guards, without ever consulting me, to mount in the city of Williamsburgh, as is pretended, to protect the magazine, but which may well be doubted, as there then remained nothing therein which required being guarded; but if otherwise, this step nevertheless shews a design to usurp the executive power, which, if it be persisted in, subverts the constitution: I say, when these circumstances are duly considered, I may submit it to your own judgment whether I could reasonably expect any good effect from communicating the ground of my uneasiness to you.

But as you are pleased, gentlemen, now to assure me, that you will cheerfully concur in any measure that may be proposed proper for the security of myself and family, I leave to your own consideration whether that can be effected any otherwise than by reinstating me in the full powers of my office, as his Majesty's representative, by opening the courts of justice, and restoring the energy of the laws, which is all the security requisite for all parties; by disarming all independent companies, or other bodies of men raised and acting in defiance of lawful authority, and by obliging those who have taken any of his Majesty's public store of arms to deliver them up immediately; and, what is not less essential than any thing, by your own example, and every means in your power, abolishing that spirit of persecution, which, to the disgrace of humanity, now reigns, and pursues with menaces and acts of oppression, all persons who differ from the multitude in political opinion, or are attached from principles and duty to the service of their King and government; by which means, the deluded people never hearing but the disfigured side of a story, their minds are continually kept in that ferment which subjects them for ever to be imposed upon, and leads to the commission of any desperate act, and endangers the general safety. For the more speedy accomplishment of these ends, and the great object and necessary business of the sessions, I shall have no objection to your adjourning to the town of York; where I will meet you, and remain with you till your business be finished.

With respect to your entreaty that I should return to the palace, as the most likely means of quieting the minds of the people, I must represent to you, that, unless there be among you a sincere and active desire to seize this opportunity, now offered to you by Parliament, of establishing the freedom of your country upon a fixed and known foundation, and of uniting yourselves with your fellow-subjects of Great Britain in one common bond of interest and mutual assistance, my return to Williamsburgh would be as fruitless to the people, as possibly it might be dangerous to myself. But if your proceedings manifest that happy disposition, which is to be desired ardently by every good friend to this, as well as the mother country, I assure you, in the warmth

of my heart, that I will return, with the greatest joy, and shall consider it as the most fortunate event of my life, if you give me an opportunity to be an instrument of promoting your happiness, and a mediator between you and the supreme authority, to obtain for you every explanation of your doubts, and the fullest conviction of the sincerity of their desire to confirm to you the undisturbed enjoyment of your rights and liberty; and I shall be well pleased, by bringing my family back again, that you should have such a pledge of my attachment to this country, and of my wishes to cultivate a close and lasting intimacy with the inhabitants.

June 10, 1775.

DUNMORE.

To his Excellency the Right Hon. John Earl of Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, &c. &c.

My Lord,

We his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects the Burgesses of Virginia, now met in General Assembly, have taken into our consideration the joint Address of the two Houses of Parliament, his Majesty's Answer, and the Resolution of the Commons, which your Lordship has been pleased to lay before us. Wishing nothing so sincerely as the perpetual continuance of that brotherly love which we bear to our fellow-subjects of Great Britain, and still continuing to hope and believe that they do not approve the measures which have so long oppressed their brethren in America, we were pleased to receive your Lordship's notification, that a benevolent tender had at length been made by the British House of Commons, towards bringing to a good end our unhappy disputes with the Mother Country. Next to the possession of liberty, my Lord, we should consider such a reconciliation as the greatest of all human blessings. With these dispositions, we entered into consideration of that Resolution; we examined it minutely; we viewed it in every point of light in which we were able to place it, and, with pain and disappointment, we must ultimately declare, it only changes the form of oppression, without lightening its burthen. We cannot, my Lord, close with the terms of that Resolution, for these reasons:

Because the British Parliament has no right to intermeddle with the support of Civil Government in the Colonies. For us, not for them, has Government been instituted here. Agreeable to our ideas, provision has been made for such Officers as we think necessary for the administration of public affairs; and we cannot conceive that any other Legislature has a right to prescribe either the number or pecuniary appointments of our Officers. As a proof that the claim of Parliament, to interfere in the necessary provisions for support of Civil Government, is novel, and of a late date, we take leave to refer to an Act of our Assembly, passed so long since as the 32d year of

the reign of King Charles II. entitled, "An act for raising a public revenue, and for the better support of the government of this his Majesty's colony of Virginia."—This act was brought over by Lord Culpeper, then Governor, under the Great Seal of England, and was enacted in the name of the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the consent of the general assembly.

Because, to render perpetual our exemption from an unjust taxation, we must saddle ourselves with a perpetual tax, adequate to the expectations, and subject to the disposal of parliament alone; whereas, we have a right to give our money, as the parliament do theirs, without coercion, from time to time, as public exigencies may require. We conceive, that we alone are the judges of the condition, circumstances, and situation, of our people, as the parliament are of theirs. It is not merely the mode of raising, but the freedom of granting our money, for which we have contended. Without this, we possess no check on the royal prerogative; and, what must be lamented by dutiful and loyal subjects, we should be stripped of the only means, as well of recommending this country to the favours of our most gracious sovereign, as of strengthening those bands of amity with our fellow-subjects, which we would wish to remain indissoluble.

Because, on our undertaking to grant money, as is proposed, the commons only resolve to forbear levying pecuniary taxes on us; still leaving unrepealed their several acts passed for the purposes of restraining the trade, and altering the form of government of the eastern colonies; extending the boundaries and changing the government and religion of Quebec, enlarging the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty, taking from us the right of trial by jury, and transporting us into other countries, to be tried for criminal offences. Standing armies too are still to be kept among us; and the other numerous grievances, of which ourselves, and sister colonies, separately, and by our representatives, in general congress, have so often complained, are still to continue without redress.

Because, at the very time of requiring from us grants of monies, they are making disposition to invade us with large armaments, by sea and land; which is a style of asking gifts not reconcilable to our freedom. They are also proceedings to a repetition of injury, by passing acts for restraining the commerce and fisheries of the provinces of New England, and for prohibiting the trade of the other colonies with all parts of the world, except the islands of Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies. This seems to bespeak no intention to discontinue the exercise of this usurped power over us in future.

Because, on our agreeing to contribute our proportion towards the common defence, they do not propose

propose to lay open to us a free trade with all the world ; whereas, to us, it appears just that those who bear equally the burthens of government, should equally participate of its benefits. Either be contented with the monopoly of our trade, which brings greater loss to us, and benefit to them, than the amount of our proportional contributions to the common defence ; or, if the latter be preferred, relinquish the former ; and do not propose, by holding both, to exact from us double contributions. Yet we would remind government, that on former emergencies, when called upon as a free people, however cramped by this monopoly, in our resources of wealth, we have liberally contributed to the common defence. Be assured, then, that we shall be generous in future as in past times, disdaining the shackles or proportion, when called to our free station in the general system of the empire.

Because, the proposition now made to us involves the interest of all the other colonies. We are now represented in general congress, by members approved by this house, where our former union, it is hoped, will be so strongly cemented, that no partial applications can produce the slightest departure from the common cause. We consider ourselves as bound in honour, as well as interest, to share one general fate with our sister colonies, and should hold ourselves base deserters of that union to which we have acceded, were we to agree on any measures distinct and apart from them.

There was, indeed, a plan of accommodation offered in Parliament ; which, though not entirely equal to the terms we had a right to ask, yet differed but in few points from what the general congress had held out. Had parliament been disposed sincerely, as we are, to bring about a reconciliation, reasonable men had hoped, that by meeting us on this ground, something might have been done. Lord Chatham's bill, on the report, and the terms of the congress on the other, would have formed a basis for negotiation ; which a spirit of accommodation, on both sides, might perhaps have reconciled. It came recommended, too, from one whose successful experience in the art of government should have ensured to it some attention from those to whom it was rendered. He had shewn to the world, that Great Britain, with her colonies, united firmly under a just and honest government, formed a power which might bid defiance to the most potent enemies. With a change of ministers, however, a total change of measures took place : the component parts of the empire have, from that moment, been falling asunder ; and a total annihilation of its weight, in the political scale of the world, seems justly to be apprehended.

These, my Lord, are our sentiments on this important subject ; which we offer, only, as an individual part of the whole empire. Final deter-

mination we leave to the general congress, now sitting, before whom we shall lay the papers your Lordship has communicated to us. To their wisdom we commit the improvement of this important advance. If it can be wrought into any good we are assured they will do it. To them also we refer the discovery of that proper method of representing our well-founded grievances, which, your Lordship assures us, will meet with the attention and regard so justly due to them. For ourselves we have exhausted every mode of application which our invention could suggest, as proper and promising. We have decently remonstrated with Parliament ; they have added new injuries to the old. We have wearied our King with supplications ; he has not deigned to answer us. We have appealed to the native honour and justice of the British nation ; their efforts in our favour have been hitherto ineffectual. What then remains to be done ? That we commit our injuries to the even-handed justice of that Being who doth no wrong ; earnestly beseeching him to illuminate the councils, and prosper the endeavours, of those to whom America hath confided her hopes ; that, through their wise direction, we may again see, reunited, the blessings of liberty and property, and the most permanent harmony with Great Britain.

June 14, 1775.

On the 16th, about twelve o'clock, the Governor returned the following answer to the address of the Hon. the House of Burgesses, which was presented to him this morning, by delegates, on board the Fowey :

"Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses,

"It is with real concern I can discover nothing in your address that I think manifests the smallest inclination to, or will be productive of, a reconciliation with the mother country."

IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS.

Charles-Town, Wednesday, June 21, 1775.

Ordered,

THAT the Hon. William Henry Drayton, the Honourable Barnard Elliot, Colonel Charles Pinckney, Col. James Parsons, Col. Isaac Motte, Colonel Stephen Bull, Colonel William Moultrie, Major Owen Roberts, Captain Thomas Savage, Captain John Huger, Miles Brewton, Thomas Ferguson, and Gabriel Capers, Esquires, be a deputation to present his Excellency the Governor, the address of this congress.

South Carolina.

To his Excellency the Right Honourable Lord William Campbell, Governor and Commander in Chief over the province aforesaid,
The humble Address and Declaration of the provincial Congress,

May it please your Excellency,
WE his Majesty's loyal subjects, the representatives of the people of this colony, in congress assembled,

assembled, beg leave to disclose to your Excellency the true cause of our present proceedings; not only that upon your arrival among us, you may receive no unfavourable impression of our conduct, but that we may stand justified to the world.

When the ordinary modes of application for redress of grievances, and the usual means of defence against arbitrary impositions have failed, mankind generally have had recourse to those that are extraordinary.—Hence the origin of the continental congress—and hence the present representation of the people in this colony.

It is unnecessary to enumerate the grievances of America—they have been so often represented, that your Excellency cannot be a stranger to them.—Let it therefore suffice to say, that the hands of his Majesty's ministers having long lain heavy—now press with intolerable weight. We declare that no love of innovation—no desire of altering the constitution of government—no lust of independence has had the least influence upon our counsels: but alarmed and roused by a long succession of arbitrary proceedings by wicked administrations—impressed with the greatest apprehension of instigated insurrections—and deeply affected by the commencement of hostilities by the British troops against this continent,—solely for the preservation and defence of our lives, liberties, and properties, we have been impelled to associate and to take up arms.

We sincerely deplore those slanderous informations, and wicked councils, by which his Majesty has been led into measures, which, if persisted in, must inevitably have involved America in all the calamities of a civil war, and rend the British empire. We only desire the secure enjoyment of our invaluable rights, and we wish for nothing more ardently, than a speedy reconciliation with our mother country upon constitutional principles.

Conscious of the justice of our cause, and the integrity of our views, we readily profess our loyal attachment to our Sovereign, his crown, and dignity; and, trusting the event to Providence, we prefer death to slavery.—These things we have thought it our duty to declare, that your Excellency, and through you our august Sovereign—our fellow-subjects—and the whole world—may clearly understand, that our taking up arms, is the result of dire necessity, and in compliance with the first law of nature.

We entreat and trust, that your Excellency will make such a representation of the state of this colony, and of our true motives, as to assure his Majesty, that in the midst of all our complicated distresses, he has no subjects in his wide dominions, who more sincerely desire to testify their loyalty and affection, or who would be more willing to devote their lives and fortunes to his real service.

By order of the provincial congress, at Charles Town, June 20, 1775.

HENRY LAURENS, President.

The deputation being returned, the Hon. Mr. Drayton reported, that they having delivered the address to the Governor, his Excellency was pleased to return the following answer:

"Gentlemen,

"I know of no representatives of the people of this province, except those constitutionally convened in the general assembly; and am incompetent to judge of the disputes which at present unhappily subsist between Great Britain and the American colonies.

"It is impossible, during the short interval since my arrival, that I should have acquired such a knowledge of the state of the province, as to be at present able to make any representation thereupon to his Majesty; but you may be assured no representation shall be ever made by me, but what shall be strictly consistent with truth, and with an earnest endeavour to promote the real happiness and prosperity of the province.

"WILLIAM CAMPBELL."

Published by order of the Congress,
PETER TIMOTHY, Secretary.

The Continental Congress of America, have published the following address to the Canadians.

Philadelphia, June 14.

In Congress, May, 26, 1775

To the oppressed inhabitants of Canada.

"Friends and countrymen,

"**A**LARMED by the designs of an arbitrary ministry to extirpate the rights and liberties of all America, a sense of common danger conspired with the dictates of humanity in urging us to call your attention by our late address to this very important object.

"Since the conclusion of the late war, we have been happy in considering you as fellow sufferers with us. As we were both entitled, by the bounty of an indulgent Creator, to freedom, and being both devoted by the cruel edicts of a despotic administration to common ruin, we perceived the fate of the Protestant and Catholic colonies to be strongly linked together, and therefore invited you to join with us in rejecting with disdain the fetters of slavery, however artfully polished.

"We most sincerely condole with you on the arrival of that day, in the course of which the sun could not shine on a single freeman in all your extensive dominion. Be assured that your unmerited degradation, has engaged the most unfeigned pity of your sister colonies: and we flatter ourselves you will not, by tamely bearing the yoke, suffer that pity to be supplanted by contempt.

"When hardy attempts are made to deprive men of rights bestowed by the Almighty, when avenues are cut through the most solemn compacts, for the admission of despotism; when the plighted faith of government ceases to give security to loyal and dutiful subjects; and when the insidious stratagems and manœuvres of peace be-

come

come more terrible than the most sanguine operations of war, it is high time for them to assert those rights, and with honest indignation oppose the torrent of oppression rushing in upon them.

"By the introduction of your present form of government, or rather form of tyranny, you and your wives and your children are made slaves. You have nothing that you can call your own, and all the fruits of your labour and industry may be taken from you, whenever an avaricious governor and a rapacious council may incline to demand them. You are liable by their edicts, to be transported into foreign countries to fight battles in which you have no interest, and to spill your blood in conflicts, from which neither honour nor emolument can be derived: nay, the enjoyment of your very religion, on the present system depends on a legislature, in which you have no share," and over which you have no controul, and your priests are exposed to expulsion, banishment, and ruin, whenever their wealth and possessions furnish sufficient temptations. They cannot be sure that a virtuous Prince will always fill the throne, and should a wicked or a careless King concur with a wicked ministry, in extracting the treasure and strength of your country, it is impossible to conceive to what variety and to what extremes of wretchedness you may, under the present establishment, be reduced. We are informed you have already been called upon to waste your lives in a contest with us. Should you, by a compliance in this instance, assent to your new establishment, and a war break out with France, your wealth and your sons may be sent to perish in expeditions against their islands in the West Indies.

"It cannot be presumed that these considerations will have no weight with you, or that you are so lost to all sense of honour. We can never believe that the present race of Canadians are so degenerated, as to possess neither the spirit, the gallantry, nor the courage of their ancestors. You certainly will not permit the infamy and disgrace of such pusillanimity to rest on your own heads, and the consequences of it on your children for ever.

"We, for our parts, are determined to live free or not at all, and are resolved that posterity shall never reproach us with having brought slaves into the world.

"Permit us again to repeat, that we are your friends, not your enemies, and be not imposed on by those who may endeavour to create animosities. The taking the fort and military stores at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and the armed vessels on the Lake, was dictated by the great law of self-preservation. They were intended to annoy us, and to cut off that friendly intercourse and communication, which has hitherto subsisted between you and us.—We hope it has given you no uneasiness, and you may rely on our assurances,

that these colonies will pursue no measures whatever, but such as friendship, and a regard for our mutual safety and interest may suggest.

"As our concern for your welfare entitles us to your friendship, we presume you will not, by doing us injury, reduce us to the disagreeable necessity of treating you as enemies.

"We yet entertain hopes of your uniting with us in the defence of common liberty, and there is yet reason to believe, that should we join in imploring the attention of our Sovereign to the unmerited and unparalleled oppressions of his American subjects, he will at length be undeceived, and forbid a licentious ministry any longer to riot in the ruins of the rights of mankind.

"A true copy from the minutes.

"CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary."

Value of the exports from Christmas 1772, to Christmas 1773, from that part of Great Britain called England, to the American provinces, according to the state for parliamentary inspection.

NUMBER I.		£.
CAROLINA	—	344,159
Georgia	—	62,932
New England	—	527,055
New Providence	—	2,132
New York	—	289,214
Pennsylvania	—	426,448
Virginia and Maryland	—	328,904
		1,981,544
Freight, insurance, and profit, at 12 per cent.	—	237,456
		£. 2,219,000

NUMBER II.
Value of the exports from Christmas 1770, to Christmas 1771, and from Christmas 1771, to Christmas 1772.

	1770 to 1771	1771 to 1772
	£.	£.
Carolina	409,169	449,610
Georgia	70,493	92,406
New England	1,420,119	824,830
New Providence	—	1,564
New York	653,621	343,970
Pennsylvania	728,744	507,999
Virginia and Maryland	920,326	793,910
	£. 4,202,472	3,914,199
Freight, insurance, and profit, at 12 per cent.	504,296	361,702
	£. 4,706,768	3,375,901

NUMBER III. The value of Exports for Parliamentary Infpection, from Christmas 1762, to Christmas 1773, (being eleven years) from that part of Great Britain called England, to those American colonies under diffrace.

Colonies filed by the Scotch rebellious.	From Xmas 1765 to Xmas 1763		1764	1765	1766	1767	1768	1769	1770
	£.	s.	£.	s.	£.	s.	£.	s.	£.
Carolina	—	—	250,132	305,808	334,709	296,732	244,093	289,868	306,600
New England	—	—	258,854	459,765	451,299	409,642	406,081	419,797	267,993
New Providence.	—	—	—	2,808	4,227	15,085	14,986	6,752	6,682
New York	—	—	238,560	515,416	382,349	330,829	417,957	482,930	74,918
Pennsylvania	—	—	284,152	435,191	363,368	327,314	371,830	432,107	199,909
Virginia and Maryland	—	—	55,5391	415,192	383,224	372,548	437,628	475,954	488,362
			1,587,089	2,234,180	1,919,176	1,752,150	1,892,575	2,107,408	1,284,464
									1,875,438
									14,652,380
									1,758,297

Total of above eight years exports
Freight, insurance, and profit, at 12 per cent.

See No. I. and II. above } 1 year's export, from Christmas 1770, to Christmas 1771
1 — ditto 1771, — 1772
1 — ditto 1772, — 1773

NUMBER IV. The value of Imports for Parliamentary Infpection, from Christmas 1762, to Christmas 1773, (being eleven years) from that part of Great Britain called England, to those American provinces under diffrace.

Colonies filed by the Scotch rebells.	Xmas 1762 to Xmas 1763.		1764	1765	1766	1767	1768	1769	1770	1771	1772	1773
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
Carolina	282,366	341,727	385,918	291,519	395,027	508,108	387,114	278,907	420,311	425,923	456,511	
New England	74,815	88,157	145,819	141,733	128,207	148,375	129,353	148,011	150,381	126,265	124,622	
New Providence	6,438	4,436	4,871	4,585	4,487	2,523	4,435	6,387	7,837	5,817	3,377	
New York	53,988	53,697	54,959	67,020	61,422	87,115	73,460	69,882	95,875	82,707	76,244	
Pennsylvania	38,228	36,258	25,148	26,851	37,641	59,406	26,111	28,109	31,615	29,133	36,652	
Virginia and Maryland	642,294	559,468	505,671	460,754	437,926	406,048	361,892	435,094	577,848	528,404	589,803	
	1,098,129	1,083,683	1,122,386	992,462	1,106,170	1,211,575	982,371	966,390	1,283,867	1,198,249	1,287,211	

Total of the above eleven years imports
Freight, insurance, and profit, at 12 per cent.
Of which the average for one year is

N U M B E R V.

The value of Exports for Parliamentary Inspection, from Christmas 1762 to Christmas 1773 (being eleven years) from that part of Great Britain called England, to the West Indies.

Names of the several Islands.	From Christmas 1762, to Christmas 1763.		1764	1765	1766	1767	1768	1769	1770	1771	1772	1773
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
Anguilla	—	—	63,136	149,751	142,326	119,740	132,139	151,642	112,533	118,152	116,074	93,323
Antigua	101,574	181,710	191,202	17,715	194,042	145,083	191,601	165,050	203,568	120,011	138,841	148,817
Barbadoes	209,766	10,534	17,715	11,299	12,133	10,526	12,621	9,705	8,645	11,798	10,051	10,051
Bermuda	9,625	16,415	8,656	20,792	30,863	18,411	31,863	34,209	55,612	60,526	43,679	43,679
Dominica	1,264	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Guadaloupe	11,159	65,935	77,673	89,431	89,767	120,419	113,054	136,792	138,431	191,774	102,761	102,761
Grenades	53,118	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Havannah	6,643	456,528	415,624	415,544	467,681	473,146	570,468	558,219	494,888	592,733	683,451	683,451
Jamaica	569,499	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Martinico	12,455	7,532	15,938	26,826	23,071	25,572	23,110	19,297	15,642	23,334	14,974	14,974
Monterrat	15,505	7,934	11,905	18,089	11,875	15,874	10,428	17,307	19,751	18,277	9,181	9,181
Nevis	11,457	6,625	4,800	1,425	882	6,387	2,809	1,069	—	—	—	1,248
St. Croix	1,144	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
St. Eufaulia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
St. Kitts	104,724	98,321	111,357	91,736	106,162	143,739	115,609	96,834	95,442	118,914	62,607	62,607
St. Lucia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
St. Thomas	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
St. Vincent	—	971	1,443	5,325	14,822	24,553	33,720	42,821	35,200	38,361	271	271
Tobago	—	399	546	13	—	485	6,119	19,123	28,610	36,797	30,049	30,049
Tortola	—	2,485	21,171	18,218	27,010	17,746	27,106	16,985	20,969	30,586	26,927	26,927
Spanish West Indies	—	—	113	3,555	7,995	4,694	11,352	9,115	4,301	0,264	—	—
West Indies in general	39,758	1,383	1,673	—	763	3,328	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1,149,591	918,475	1,029,277	1,041,194	1,057,847	1,188,600	1,274,951	1,277,577	1,155,654	1,384,279	1,280,897	1,280,897

Total of the above eleven years Exports
Freight, insurance, and profit, at 12 per cent.

Of which the average for one year is

£. 14,289,364
1,531,003

The value of Imports for Parliamentary Inspection, from Christmas 1762 to Christmas 1773 (being eleven years) from that part of Great Britain called England, to the West Indies.

Names of the several Islands.	From Xmas 1762, to Xmas 1763.		1764	1765	1766	1767	1768	1769	1770	1771	1772	1773
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
Anguilla	2,369	307,392	3,536	3,225	4,117	6,607	3,747	167	180,923	106,351	112,779	
Antigua	180,347	300,213	159,152	390,465	394,727	330,013	232,680	349,102	163,053	210,842	168,682	
Barbadoes	252,537	165	326,688	296,732	219,682	281,461	254,092	283,455	836	525	509	
Bermuda	—	46,211	9,973	3,475	1,417	829	1,744	1,744	170,623	215,667	286,507	
Dominica	—	73,497	66,560	111,649	118,978	203,828	158,543	136,152	—	—	—	
Guadeloupe	412,303	33,551	199,909	264,194	243,618	376,940	307,562	433,421	361,839	492,974	445,041	
Grenades	261,552	5,735	6,451	1,511	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Havannah	249,387	1,076,155	1,023,091	1,201,801	1,243,742	1,215,628	1,266,630	1,274,807	1,361,675	1,483,818	1,286,888	
Jamaica	1,159,023	3,169	24	13	572	66,563	77,653	83,947	63,034	82,873	47,911	
Marinico	344,162	82,966	66,694	71,762	54,960	71,144	40,379	97,152	67,291	82,331	39,299	
Monferrat	59,571	60,652	54,528	74,200	60,660	12,383	18,220	21,356	4,685	24,947	6,706	
Nevis	45,280	8,681	7,089	11,801	10,584	—	—	—	—	—	—	
St. Croix	8,396	917	245,095	96	2,740	301,328	224,096	476	1,406	8,152	5,730	
St. Eustacia	—	283,842	447	581	276,013	891	—	324,287	268,276	302,952	150,512	
St. Kitts	234,981	—	—	—	629	19	—	—	—	—	—	
St. Lucia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
St. Thomas	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
St. Vincent	—	—	4,459	31,028	24,282	35,762	70,772	81,965	123,919	155,182	145,619	
Tobago	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7,091	19,718	20,453	
Torolla	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	41,466	58,111	48,000	
Spanish West Indies	—	41,549	38,972	48,280	48,864	50,443	54,560	43,230	41,466	58,111	48,000	
West Indies in general	—	9,398	11,874	11,601	15,611	34,633	81,494	87,256	39,988	66,659	35,941	
	3,268,479	2,467,485	2,298,039	2,833,198	2,721,220	2,991,472	2,792,172	3,219,126	2,756,552	3,371,102	2,800,577	

Total of the above eleven years Imports
Freight, insurance, and profit, at 12 per cent.

Of which the average for one year is

£. 31,519,418
3,782,330
£. 35,301,758
3,209,250

The following is an exact account of the value of corn imported into England and Scotland since the commencement of the Corn Register Act in 1770, the value of corn exported in each year being first deducted:

	£.
Balance paid for corn in 1771	105,200
in 1772	84,400
in 1773	569,820
in 1774	1,022,230

The year 1775 is likely to exceed 1774, from the very large quantities imported since Christmas last.

The general average price of wheat, barley, and oats in England, by the standard Winchester bushel, has been for the last four years as follows:

	1771	1772	1773	1774
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Wheat, per quarter	47 2	50 8	51 0	52 8
Barley, ditto	25 8	25 4	28 4	28 6
Oats, ditto	16 8	16 2	17 2	17 10

The prices of the finest and coarsest sorts generally exceed and reduce the average as under:

	s. d.
Wheat	4 0 per quarter
Barley	2 0 ditto
Oats	2 0 ditto

From the BOSTON GAZETTE.

MR. EDES,

The Letters and Extracts you are now publishing, will go near to convince the Continent of America, that the late Governor Hutchinson, instead of confining himself to his own Colony, has busily and unweariedly engaged in undermining the common Rights of all, in a Way not well adapted to support the Dignity of his religious Character.

—But to the Evidence—

No. 13.

Boston, 27 Oct. 1769.

Dear Sir,

[Sir Francis Bernard is the

Gentleman addressed.]

OUR merchant subscription goes on, although there are some who refuse to join, yet it is generally supposed the same measures will be used as have been to compel a compliance with the former agreement.—

I am more and more confirmed, that the repeal of the last act will make a difference among our sons of liberty. Many in each colony will be content, whilst others will continue their opposition, EVERY MACHIAVELLIAN POLICY IS TO BE JUSTIFIED, this is the time; and I cannot think there can be any ground for complaint, if every dispute about bounds, or of any other nature, should be suffered to continue, until it be made certain what sort of subjects we intend to be. At New-York they are in full expectation of an American Parliament, upon the plan of the government of Ireland. This would be the strangest policy that ever was heard of. If Ireland could be removed three thousand miles from Britain, it would soon

cease to be under the dominion of the same prince; with still greater reason we may say, it would never submit to parliamentary authority. At the Congress at Albany in 1754, I was in favour of a union of the governments for certain purposes, and I drew the plan which was then accepted; * but if I had imagined such absurd notions of government could ever have entered into the heads of the Americans as are now publicly avowed, I should then have been against any sort of union, as I was for it—I know every thing I write to you of a public nature you communicate to his Lordship [Hillsborough.]

I am with great regard, your most faithful, &c.

No. 21.

Boston, 20 Decemb. 1769.

My dear Sir,

[Sir F. Bernard.]

“ Having wrote at large, by a vessel to Hull, and another to Glasgow, I intend this only to cover the news papers, and to observe to you, &c. I am glad Pennsylvania and the Jerseys have complied with the act of parliament, and made the provision required. N. York, by a change of parties are under more difficulty. The DELANCY's are become the court-party, and though they wish to see the thing done, are afraid suddenly to promote a measure they before opposed. I wish every other government may desert us, and that we may go to quarrelling one government with another.

“ I am, &c.”

Boston, 13 Jan. 1769. (It should have been 1770.)

Mr dear Sir,

[Mr. Secretary Pownall.]

“ I ever was of opinion that the source of all our disorder was an apprehension, that the united opposition of the colonies would bring parliament to any terms, and that whenever it appeared, that at all events parliament would maintain its authority, this opposition would subside. Upon the present prospect it lowers, and every possible means is now used to persuade rather than to compel to persevere in this opposition. But whenever parliament shall determine to make a trial of its strength, I should think it best with great deference, that it should be upon some point altogether unexceptionable. If therefore the duties in the late act so far has been proposed, or wholly, should be repealed, nothing could be more proper, than an act declaring the offence and the penalties of combinations to resist or defeat the operations of acts of parliament that remain in force; for it must strike every common understanding that such combinations are absurd, and contrary to the fundamental principles of government. The great difficulty is to provide some method, for an impartial trial of offences against such as act. The act would at least be a test for a conformity to it. Under the present constitution of all the colonies, all judges and juries being sworn to go according to law, could be refused or neglected upon no other principle, than because the kingdom and the colonies

* This is a mistake. It was Dr. Franklin & Gov. Pownall are

are two distinct governments, and the parliament is not the supreme authority of the whole. Let the attorney general and other officers of the crown, to whom it appertains, be required to see that every offence against the act be vigorously prosecuted, and if any colony at all refuse to adopt it, every measure to cause the return of such colony to a due subjection must be justified, and a new method of trying offences against it may be absolutely necessary. If the council would have joined with me, I should long ago have tried, whether we had not interior strength to suppress them (the confederate merchants.) But if the present combination was entirely at an end; I think it absolutely necessary the sense of the nation should be publicly known, to prevent the like hereafter; and indeed whenever government is feeble, every attempt of this nature is to be guarded against in the first place, and should be crushed in embryo.

"If you think any thing I have wrote deserves my Lord Hillsborough's notice, you will be pleased to communicate it."

Boston, 14 Jan. 1770.

[Addressed to the same Gentleman.]

"I hope I shall receive such instruction by the next packet, as may induce the council to join with me in some measures to break up the confederacy. If they should be induced, it will be from fear of the consequences which may follow upon their refusal."

My dear Sir, *Boston, Feb. 1770.*

"The principle of independence is increasing every day.—I dare say next election there will not be seven counsellors, perhaps not one chose, who are of a different principle. The same principle is spread among the people, and will influence the executive powers of government, and in a short time no juries will be formed, but such as will be governed by it in all their verdicts. It is not much better in the royal governments. One of the council of New-York writes by the last post that nothing can restore America but a Lord Lieutenant and an American Parliament; and however jealous they may be of it in England, yet they will find the spirit of democracy to be so persevering, that they will be obliged at last to come into it. Things appear to me necessary, in the first place, that each colony should be made sensible of the obligation to submit to the supreme legislative authority. In what way parliament will do this, I cannot tell. I know it would have been less difficult to have done it last year than it is this; and I think it will be in proportion more difficult if it be delayed another year. Could any thing be thought of which would answer the purpose of a test or explicit owning the power of parliament without limitation? What if upon the repeal of the late act called the revenue act, another *was to be made* (in short hand) providing that all the members of the council and of the

house, in each colony, at the same time they take the oaths of allegiance, &c. should take the same oath that the governors of the several colonies are required to take, before they enter upon their administration, that they will conform to acts of trade and endeavour the execution of them. I suggest this as matter for consideration, and what is less likely to make a general convulsion in the colonies, and yet may tend to establish parliamentary authority in general in the colonies. (From the short hand to the end of this paragraph, the vowels are all left out, and dots used for vowels in the beginning and ending of words, as in some other letters.)

"I cannot help thinking that this authority might have been preserved entire, if more attention had been given to the colonies. They ought to have been used to acts of parliament every session, some to respect the colonies in general, others particular colonies. The act relative to wills extended to America in general. The land bank act to this colony only. The act restraining paper currency I think extended to the New-England colonies only; but such acts have been rare. Perhaps it is not too late to recover what has been lost by going into this practice now; and if at the beginning of every session a committee was appointed for America, at the same time the committees for grievances, &c. used to be appointed, it would have a good effect. The New-York scheme of a general government, I gave you my opinion upon in a former letter. Besides the objection then made, the vast extent of country from south to north, makes the scheme of one government impracticable. If any thing of this nature should ever be thought advisable, three distinct governments would be the least which could be erected. Canada, Nova-Scotia, and New-England for one; New-York to Virginia inclusive, another; and the Carolinas and the rest of the continent southward, a third. Possibly such provision might be made in an act of parliament which shall constitute these governments, for securing parliamentary authority, (and indeed a submission to the act would be the strongest acknowledgement of that authority) as might countervail all the disadvantages arising from the union of the several governments comprehended in each general government; and by having a nobleman with talents for it, for each of the general governors never to remain above three years, as I think is the case in New-Spain, in a short time a good part of the nobility would have a perfect acquaintance with America, and parliament be better able from time to time to make such provision as shall be necessary.

Penal acts alone would answer the purpose, if the principle could once be established that America is subject to acts of parliament. I do not say that the contrary principle is yet established, but there is a growing tendency to it, and the powers

locks, and the said Miller says his Excellency rebuked him for not taking notice of that circumstance, and the said Dixon said he observed some persons had been in the magazine over night, as he saw many arms lying in the yard of it; and his Excellency then told him, he had ordered the powder to be buried in the magazine yard; for though it was but dust, yet as he understood some persons went into the magazine for arms in the night, with a light, they might set fire to the powder and injure the magazine.

Your committee farther report, that before they proceeded to examine any witnesses, they waited on his Excellency, to request that he would be pleased to direct the keeper of the magazine to give them access thereto, and, having received the keys three days after the first application, they immediately proceeded to inspect the magazine, and found therein nineteen halberts, one hundred and fifty-seven trading guns, in pretty good order, but very indifferent in the kind, fifty-one pewter basons, eight camp kettles, one hundred and eight new muskets without locks, about five hundred and twenty-seven old muskets, the barrels very rusty, and the locks almost useless, twelve hundred cartouch boxes, fifteen hundred cutlasses with scabbards, one hundred and seventy pistol holsters, and one hundred and fifty old pistols, or thereabouts, with and without locks, fifty mallets, two bundles of match rope, two hundred canteens, thirty-five small swords in bad order, one tent and ten poles, one hoghead of powder horns, one hundred and twenty-seven bayonets, and one hundred knapsacks in the smith's shop, and that part of the magazine called the armory; also one half barrel of dust and rotten powder, one half barrel and a quarter of unfitted powder, tolerable good in the powder room, that has no communication with the armory; also five half barrels of loose powder buried in a hole in the magazine yard, the top of which (in quantity about two half barrels) was totally destroyed by the late rains, the rest very damp, but quite sound; this, his Excellency acknowledged to your committee, was buried there by his orders. The deficiency, this committee suppose, is owing to the fifteen half barrels which capt. Collins moved from the magazine, as acknowledged in the Governor's message to this House.

And your committee farther report, that the morning before they entered upon this business, some persons, unknown, had broke into the magazine and taken out arms, part of which, upon the application of some of the members of this House, and other gentlemen, were restored; and finding the respect paid by the people to the members of this House, your committee thought it most likely, to prevent farther depredations, to request some gentlemen of the town to guard the magazine, till application could be made to his Excellency for leave of access thereto, which your committee immediately did, informing his Lordship of the steps they had taken therein, which he did not object to.

That the doors and windows of the magazine now want repairs, which being done, your committee are of opinion that it will be sufficiently secure, it never having proved otherwise since its first erection, now fifty years past, until since the powder was taken by order of the Governor afore-mentioned.

Your committee also proceeded to enquire what arms and ammunition had been, from time to time, deposited in the magazine, and the disbursements thereof, but could obtain no certain information respecting the same, the late keeper being out of the colony, and his predecessor dead; nor can your committee find, although they have examined several persons most like-

ly to be acquainted with such facts, and applied personally to his Majesty's Receiver General for that purpose, that any powder had been lodged in the magazine from on board the Rippon man of war, or any of his Majesty's ships.

His Excellency's Message to the House of Burgesses of the sixth of June.

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses,

The removing, by my order, fifteen half barrels of the King's powder, received from the Rippon man of war, from the public magazine, has, I find, given great uneasiness to the people. I was influenced in this by the best motives; and as I have once ventured, and, if occasion offered, should again venture, my life in the service of this country, I had hopes the most favourable construction would have been put upon my conduct. The magazine was represented to me as a very insecure depository, and, from experience, I find it so; all the arms which have been kept there being now taken away, arms not purchased at the expence of the colony, but sent here by his Majesty from his office of ordnance, of which they bear the mark. But in confidence that you are now met to remove every grievance, and by your wisdom to establish the public tranquility on a sure and firm foundation, I do promise you, that, as soon as I see the magazine in a proper state for securing the powder, and other public stores, I will replace it, and at all times be ready, most willingly, to do every thing, my poor abilities are capable of, for the benefit of this colony, in which I have lived, till of late, in the greatest happiness.

D U N M O R E.

Address of the House of the 17th of June.

To his EXCELLENCY, &c.

My Lord,

We his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Burgesses of Virginia, return your Lordship our sincere thanks for your kind tender of services, expressed in your message to this House of the 6th instant, as also for your Lordship's assurance that you will do every thing in your power to restore the public tranquility, upon a sure and firm foundation. This House, my Lord, have the highest sense of the services you rendered to this country on the late Indian expedition; and, while they reflect on this part of your Lordship's conduct, sincerely lament that any event should disturb the happiness which your Lordship is pleased to say you have enjoyed among us. Wishing most ardently for a restoration of that harmony, which subsisted between your Lordship and the people, we have directed an enquiry into the causes of the late disturbances and commotions, which have arisen in some parts of this colony; and we assure your Lordship, that we will proceed to investigate this matter with due attention, and apply, on our parts, remedies the best your abilities can suggest.

THE GOVERNOR'S Answer.

This address, acknowledging the highest sense of the services I rendered to this country on the late Indian expedition, though late, will still, I hope, do credit to the justice of the House of Burgesses.

The confusion the business had been thrown into by his Lordship's removal on board the man of war retarded this address, as well as other matters of great importance.

After giving this answer, his Excellency retired on board the Fowey man of war, from whence he sent a message to the House of Burgesses, containing his reasons for retiring. See the Message, the joint Address of the Assembly, and the Governor's Answer, pages 111, 112, and 113.

JULY 27.

Extract of a letter from Port-Glasgow, July 15.

"Sunday arrived here from Virginia the Richmond with tobacco, but has brought nothing new, only that Lord Dunmore with his family were still on board the Powey man of war the 19th of June, and that every thing was in the utmost confusion there and at Maryland, they being firmly resolved to stand out to the last in defence of their liberties, and that the non-exportation to Britain is to take place the 20th July."

Providence, June 3. The committee of this town have appointed a person to act as post-master here, as also a post-rider under the direction and controul of said committee, until the legislature of this colony, or the Continental Congress, shall be pleased to make other regulations and appointments.

Last week the company of the train of artillery, lately raised here, all well accoutered, with four excellent field pieces, marched to join the American army near Boston; they made a very military appearance, and are, without exception, as complete a body of men as any in the King's dominions.

The other companies raised here, and in the adjacent towns, as also several from the south counties, all able bodied men, and well armed, have marched to the American camp.

Several companies of the Connecticut forces have also passed through this town, to join their brethren.

Twelve pieces of battering cannon 18 and 24 pounders, with a quantity of ordnance stores, were sent from hence to the American camp a few days, since,

Philadelphia, June 9, 1775. Yesterday morning the three battalions of this city and liberties, consisting of 1500 men, the artillery company of 150 (with two twelve and four six pound brass field-pieces) a troop of light-horse, several companies of light-infantry, rangers, and riflemen, in the whole about 2000 men, marched to the Common, and having joined in brigade, went through the manual exercise, firing, and manœuvres, (with a dexterity scarcely to have been expected from such short practice) in the presence of the Honourable Members of the Continental Congress, and several thousand spectators, among whom were a great number of the most respectable inhabitants of this city.

Williamsburgh, Virginia, June 19. The Hon. John Hancock, Esq; of the province of Massachusetts's Bay, is appointed President of the Congress at Philadelphia, in the absence of the Hon. Peyton Randolph, Esq; our worthy speaker, who is now attending his duty in the General Assembly of this colony."

R

JULY 28.

Part of a genuine letter from Boston, dated June 23, 1775, brought by the Caribæus.

An account of the late action on Bunker's Hill, at the back of Charlestown, you will have in General Gage's and General Howe's letters. I will only tell you, that General Howe was sent out with two thousand five hundred men, or better, to dislodge a body of our troops on Bunker's hill. When the troops had begun their march, the ships threw carcasses into Charlestown, and have burned it entirely. It was a pretty town! But now, there is not one house standing? It is nothing but a heap of ruins. Let this dispute end which way it will, though you never can conquer us, this once fair and opulent province is corps, presently followed. Dr. Warren, who commanded upon this hill, and who had not quite four thousand men, thought the whole army was coming, and without the least disorder, or even being pursued a single step, left Bunker's Hill, and went to another hill about half a mile further, where he has remained ever since, without the least disturbance. General Howe had better than two thirds of his men killed and wounded. Believe me, you cannot succeed in this mad and wicked attempt to conquer. Every hill will be disputed with you, and every inch of ground. Two more such actions will destroy your army. We can afford to lose ten men to your one; and have three times your number, at last. We are informed, you intend to bombard and burn our seaports. You may. But we will destroy the light houses and beacons; and in the first high wind, all your men of war will be wrecked on our coast.

It is said General Gage, in his letter to Lord Gage, commends the bravery and intrepidity of the Americans in very high terms; and that General Howe, in his letter to Lord Howe, does the same.

It is confidently asserted, the King's troops have lost upwards of three hundred by desertion.

All accounts say, the Americans behaved exceedingly well in the late action.

Fifteen thousand Stands of Arms were shipped last week at the Tower for Quebec, in order to arm the Roman Catholics of that Province. This measure, to reduce the other Provinces, Lord North avowed in the House of Commons last winter. See the Parliamentary Register, page 483. And Mr. Harley, has the contract for cloathing them,

Observations on the Government account of the late action near Charles Town.

THERE are two sorts of persons who always persevere uniformly and without shame in one

one unvaried line of conduct, regardless of the contempt and detestation of mankind. The sorts I mean, are the thorough virtuous, and that thorough scoundrel.

To one of these classes most evidently belong the ministers who *settled* the account which they have given us in last Tuesday's Gazette.

The action near Boston happened on the "17th of June." Yet General Gage's letter is dated (*eight days after*) on the "25th of June."

By this letter it appears that it has cost one thousand and sixty four of the troops killed and wounded, to destroy a redoubt thrown up only the over night, i. e. on the 16th of June.

The loss of the Provincials, the letter says, "must have been *considerable*." Yet, *eight days after* the action, the General, though completely victorious, can tell us only of "one hundred" buried, and "thirty" wounded.

But "they carried off great numbers during the time of action." Did they so? That is no great sign of flight, confusion, and defeat.

But—"they buried them in holes."—Really! Why, are our soldiers buried in the air?

But the King's troops were "under every disadvantage."—So truly it seems. For, in the same letter we are told, "that they had a proportion of field artillery, and landed on the Peninsula without opposition, and formed as soon as landed, under the protection of some ships of war, armed vessels, and boats; by whose fire the rebels were kept within their works."

But, "this action has shewn the superiority of the King's troops."—Has it indeed? How?—Why, they (with a proportion of field artillery, and with the assistance of ships, armed vessels, and boats, and with the encouragement of certain and speedy reinforcement if necessary) attacked and defeated above *three times* their own numbers."—What *three times* their own numbers? Of whom, pray? Of French or Spanish Regulars?—No, of the Americans.—Of the Americans! What, of those dastardly, hypocritical cowards, who (Lord Sandwich knows) do not *feel bold* enough to dare to look a soldier in the face!—Of those undisciplined and spiritless Yankees, who were to be driven from one end of the continent to another with a single regiment! What, of those skulking assassins, who can only fire at a distance from behind stone walls and hedges! "Good God!—Was it necessary to defeat these fellows that the troops should be "spirited" by the example of General Howe, assisted by General Clinton! And can it be, that "Lieutenant Colonel Nesbit, Abercombie, and Clarke; Majors Butler, Williams, Bruce, Spendlove, Smelt, Mitchell, Pitcairne, and

Short," should be forced to exert themselves *remarkably* against such poltroons!—Is it possible that this could be an affair in which "the valour of the British officers and soldiers in general was as conspicuous as at any time whatever." And notwithstanding all this, that "the success in great measure should be attributed to the firmness and gallantry of General Pigot."

Good God! is it come to this at last? Can the Regulars with all these exertions, only defeat *three times* their own number of undisciplined cowards; and that too at the expence of 1064 (that is, more than one half) killed and wounded out of something above 2000?

Is every redoubt which the Americans can throw up in a short summer night, to be demolished at this expence.

How many such victories can we bear?

Alas! When I read, in the General's letter, the regular and formidable preparations for an attack,—“ten companies of the granadiers, ten of light infantry, with the 5th, 38th, 43d, and 52d battalions, with a proportion of field artillery, under the command of Major General Howe and Brigadier General Pigot,” and these “landed on the Peninsula under the protection of ships of war, armed vessels, and boats;” and their dreadful fire:—When I had read this, I concluded that the next lines would inform me of the immediate and precipitate flight of the Yankees. Judge then of my surprise, when I read that (instead of being at all dismayed or struck with the *Sandwich-Panic*) “large columns” of these cowards “were seen pouring in to their assistance.”

Well, but then comes “an application for the troops to be reinforced with some companies of light infantry and grenades, the 47th battalion and the 1st battalion of marines.”—They will certainly, thought I, scamper away now.—Alas! No. They stay and fight.—And to complete my astonishment, I cannot find in General Gage's letter, where our troops were when he wrote; nor what became of them after the action; whether they are returned to Boston, or have ventured to encamp without the town; what prisoners they have taken; what advantages (besides five pieces of cannon) result from this bloody action; whether the war is now at an end; or what the troops propose to do next.

To be serious, I am for my own part convinced that the event of this execrable dragooning is decided; and that, before winter, there will not be a single soldier of Lord Bute's and Lord Mansfield's mercenary troops left upon the continent of America.

With what consolation those noble Lords will wipe

wipe away the tears of the widow and orphans (as well English as American) which these bloody *Stuart* measures have occasioned, I cannot tell; but I know that my eyes will gush out with joy when they see the authors of our domestic miseries receive (what I believe they will soon receive) their just reward.

Further Observations.

I HAVE the highest idea of General Howe's military character, yet cannot help wondering how he came to suffer the Provincials to escape, and even carry off their dead when drove from their strong lines; for I conceive it very easy to have destroyed the whole body, after dislodging them so suddenly from their intrenchments, *if Mr. Gage is suffered to tell the story right*: I can't help observing also, that I never before heard of so many men, in proportion to the number, being killed and wounded from redoubts made in four hours, and from six pieces of cannon only in those redoubts to oppose above one hundred pieces. *I therefore suspect that the disagreeable scene is not unfolded.*—

One or both of the following conclusions must be drawn from this narration. The Americans are either the cleverest fellows in the world at making strong lines in three or four hours, or the most desperate enemy in defending them; for by Mr. Gage's account they killed and wounded near half his army in marching up about three hundred yards under a complete train of artillery, and all the fire of the navy to cover them, which, by this account, is a new instance of successful defence, from one night's labour. Ha, Gad! by this rule the Americans will put our whole army into the grave or hospitals, in three or four nights work and an hour's fire in each morning. I do not remember precisely, but am apt to believe, that there were not so many officers killed and wounded at the battle of Minden, though the English regiments sustained the force of the whole French army for a considerable time. A six-gun battery, the production of a night's digging, had there been ten-thousand men to protect it, could never have made such havoc against a vast train of artillery, and the irresistible fire of our ships, which would sweep all before them, from every acre of that peninsula. But the true story is not told.—A Methodist Secretary and a Scotch Printer, can do more than other people—they can pay off the sins of omission and commission of the day, by a long prayer at night, and thus settle accounts between God and the people in an hour's devotion.

From the NEW YORK GAZETTE.

NEW YORK, JUNE 26, 1775.

Last night arrived an express from the provin-

cial camp, near Boston, with the following interesting account of an engagement at Charles Town, between about 3000 of the regulars, and about half the number of provincials, on Saturday the 17th instant.

On Friday night, June 16, 1500 of the provincials went to Bunker's-Hill in order to intrench there, and continued intrenching until Saturday ten o'clock, when two thousand regulars marched out of Boston, landed in Charles Town, and plundering it of all its valuable effects, set fire to it in ten different places at once; then dividing their army, one part of it marched up in the front of the provincials intrenchment, and began to attack the provincials at long shot: the other part of the army marched round the town of Charles Town, under cover of the smoke occasioned by the fire of the town. The provincial centries discovered the regulars marching upon their left wing; upon notice of this, given by the centry to the Connecticut forces posted on that wing, Captain Nolton of Ashford, with 400 of the said forces, immediately repaired to and galled up a post and rail fence, and carrying the posts and rails to another fence, put them together for a breast work. Captain Nolton gave orders to the men not to fire until the enemy were got within fifteen rods, and then not until the word was given: at the word being given the enemy fell surprisingly.

It was thought by the spectators who stood at a distance, that our men did great execution. The action continued about two hours when the regulars on the right wing were put in confusion, and gave way. The Connecticut troops closely pursued them, and were on the point of pushing their bayonets, when orders were received from General Pomeroy, for those who had been in action two hours to fall back, and their places to be supplied by fresh forces. These orders being mistaken for a direction to retreat, our troops on the right wing began a general retreat, which was handed to the left, the principal place of action, where Captains Nolton, Chester, Clark, and Putnam, had forced the enemy to give way, and retire before them for some considerable distance; and being warmly pursued, the enemy were with difficulty persuaded to retire; but the right wing, by mistaking the orders, having already retired, the left, to avoid being encircled, were obliged to retreat also with the main body. They retreated with precipitation across the causeways to Winter-Hill, in which they were exposed to the fire of the enemy from their shipping and floating batteries. We sustained our principal loss in passing the causeway: the enemy pursued our troops to Winter-Hill, where the Provincials

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being reinforced by Gen. Putnam, renewed the battle with great spirit, repulsed the enemy with great slaughter, and pursued them till they got under cover of their cannon from their shipping, when the enemy retreated to Bunker's-Hill, and the Provincials to Winter-Hill, where after entrenching and erecting batteries, they on Monday began to fire upon the Regulars on Bunker's-Hill, and on the ships and floating batteries in the harbour when the express came away. The number of Provincials killed, is between 40 and 70, and 140 wounded; of the Connecticut troops, 16 were killed: No officer among them was either killed or wounded, except Lieut. Grosvener, who was wounded in the hand: A Colonel, or Lieut. Colonel of the New Hampshire forces, is among the dead. It is also said, that Doctor Warren is undoubtedly among the slain. The provincials lost three iron six pounders, some intrenching tools and knapsacks. The number of Regulars that first attacked the Provincials on Bunker's-Hill was not less than 2000. The number of Provincials was only 1500, who, it is supposed, would soon have gained a complete victory, had it not been for the unhappy mistake already mentioned. The regulars were afterwards reinforced with 1000 men. It is uncertain how great a number of the enemy were killed or wounded; but it was supposed by spectators who saw the whole action, that there could not be less than 4 or 500 killed. Mr. Gardner, who got out of Boston on Sunday evening, says, that there were 500 wounded men brought into that place the morning before he came out.

This account was taken from Capt. Elijah Hide, of Lebanon, who was a spectator on Winter-Hill during the whole action.

From the QUEBEC GAZETTE of June 15.

By his Excellency GUY CARLETON, Captain-General and Governor in Chief in and over the Province of QUEBEC, and the Territories depending thereon in America, Vice-Admiral of the same, and Major-General of his Majesty's Forces, commanding the Northern District, &c. &c. &c.

A. P R O C L A M A T I O N.

WHEREAS a rebellion prevails in many of his Majesty's colonies in America, and particularly in some of the neighbouring ones; and whereas many of the said rebels have with an armed force made incursions of late into this province, attacking and carrying away from thence a party of his Majesty's troops, together with a parcel of stores and a vessel belonging to his Majesty, and are at

present actually invading this province with arms in a traitorous and hostile manner, to the great terror of his Majesty's subjects, and in open defiance of his laws and government, falsely and maliciously giving out, by themselves and their abettors, that the motives for so doing, are to prevent the inhabitants of this Province from being taxed and oppressed by government, together with divers other false and seditious reports, tending to inflame the minds of the people and alienate them from his Majesty: To the end, therefore, that so treasonable an invasion may be soon defeated, that all such traitors with their said abettors may be speedily brought to justice, and the public peace and tranquillity of this Province again restored, which the ordinary course of the civil law is at present unable to effect, I have thought fit to issue this Proclamation, hereby declaring that, until the aforesaid good purpose can be attained, I shall, in virtue of the powers and authority to me given by his Majesty, execute Martial Law, and cause the same to be executed throughout this Province, and to that end I shall order the militia within the same to be forthwith raised; but as a sufficient number of commissions to the several officers thereof cannot be immediately made out, I shall in the meantime direct all those having any militia commissions from the Hon. Thomas Gage, the Hon. James Murray, Ralph Burton, and Frederick Haldimand, Esqrs. heretofore his Majesty's Governors in this province, or either of them, to obey the same, and execute the powers therein mentioned, until they shall receive orders from me to the contrary; and I do accordingly in his Majesty's name hereby require and command all his subjects in this province, and others whom it may concern, on pain of disobedience, to be aiding and assisting to such commissioned officers, and others who are or may be commissioned by me, in the execution of their said commissions for his Majesty's service.

Given under my hand and seal of arms at Montreal, this 9th day of June, one thousand seven hundred and seventy five, in the fifteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign, Lord George the Third, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth.

GUY CARLETON.

By his Excellency's command, H. T. CROMAHE.

By the above proclamation it appears, that the province of Canada is not a little behind the other colonies in a spirited contention against the lawless views and principles of the present despotic ministry.

JULY

JULY 31.

*Extract of a letter from Portsmouth, New England,
July 12.*

"A few days ago about 30 or 40 men, from on board the Scarborough man of war, in this harbour, came on shore at Fort William and Mary, and tore down great part of the breastworks, and did other damage.

"The day before this attempt the Scarborough took two vessels, loaded with corn, pork, rye, &c. from Long-island; which were for the relief of this place, as the inhabitants are in great want of provisions, and notwithstanding the most prudent application of the principal gentlemen of this town, the Captain refused to release them.

"This uncommon exertion of arbitrary power immediately alarmed the inhabitants, and the committee of safety having met, a memorial was by their approbation presented to the Governor and Council, who took every prudent method in their power to pacify the people, and to obtain a release of the captures. His Excellency repaired on board the Scarborough, and informed the Captain that the provisions were the property of some of the inhabitants who had before contracted for the same; but the only answer he could obtain was "that Adm. Graves and the General had forwarded orders to take every provision vessel that should be met with on every station, and to send them forthwith to Boston for the supply of the army and navy." Capt. Barclay, the Commander of the Scarborough, informed two of the committee at Fort William and Mary, that his orders were such, he must even take all vessels with salt or molasses, they being a species of provision, and send them to Boston."

The following is a copy of an address, unanimously agreed to and presented by the English merchants at Quebec to his Excellency General Carleton; a similar one was at the same time presented by the French, as also from the inhabitants of Montreal; so that the Provincials will be disappointed in their expectations of any assistance from that quarter.

To his Excellency Guy Carleton, Esq; Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of Quebec, &c. &c. &c.

S I R,

"AS it has been found necessary to withdraw his Majesty's troops from this garrison, we the subscribers think it our duty, in the present situation of affairs, to offer our service in protecting the King's magazines, as well as our own property in this place; and we do therefore humbly intreat your Excellency to order the militia of Quebec to be embodied, and to ap-

point such officers for the purposes of protecting his Majesty's subjects here, as to you may seem expedient; Having the honour to be his Majesty's most faithful subjects, and your Excellency's most

Obedient humble servants."

Quebec, June 28, 1775.

On July 28, express arrived from Lord Grantham, at Madrid, with an account of the operations and return of the Spanish fleet. On the 8th instant the Spanish fleet appeared before Algiers, but did not attempt to bombard the town; they failed past the town, and a little way above it landed eight thousand of their troops, and ALL their provisions, expecting to have a long siege. Next day appeared a prodigious large army of Moors, Blacks, &c. who, though almost undisciplined, attacked them with such vigour and bravery, that they killed 800 Spaniards, and wounded 2000; this slaughter obliged the Spaniards to re-embark, which they did in such precipitation, they left their provisions behind them. The Admiral consulted what was best to be done; and as they had no provisions on board, it was resolved to return to Carthage.

AUGUST 1.

From the PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE,

Philadelphia, June 21. The Hon. Congress have appointed George Washington, Esq; of Virginia, Generalissimo of the American forces.

Extract of a genuine letter from an Officer on board one of the King's ships at Boston, to his friend in London, dated June 23, 1775.

"On the evening of the 16th we were informed that the Provincials were erecting a battery on the Heights near Charles-Town, and that they intended from thence to bombard the town of Boston; early on the 17th we were alarmed with an account that they had been at work upon it all night, and had nearly completed it; we were immediately ordered to land some battalions, and in the mean time our great guns were fired against those who appeared to be busily employed at the battery; whether our shot did not reach far enough to create any confusion among them, or it was owing to their resolution, I cannot say; but certain it is, that the moment they discovered the landing of our troops, they formed in order of battle; and so far from retreating as we expected, they marched towards us with the utmost coolness and regularity. Nothing could exceed the panic and apparent dislike of most of the King's troops to enter into this engagement; even at the landing several attempted to run away, and five actually took to their heels, in order to join the Americans, but were presently brought back, and

and two of them were immediately hung up in *terrorem* to the rest. They for the most part openly express a dislike to the service in which they are engaged, and nothing but the fear of military punishment prevents their daily deserting. The Generals perceiving the strength and order of the Provincials, ordered a reinforcement to join the troops already landed, but before they came up the cannonading on both sides began. The Provincials poured down like a torrent, and fought like men who had no care for their persons; they disputed every inch of ground, and their numbers were far superior to ours. The King's troops gave way several times, and it required the utmost efforts of the Generals to rally them; at the beginning of the engagement many of them absolutely turned their backs, not expecting so hot a fire from the Americans; the latter feigned a retreat, in order as we suppose to draw our troops after them, and by that means to cut them in pieces; and we are informed that General Ward had a reserve of upwards of 4000 men for that purpose; the King's troops concluding that the Americans quitted the field through fear, pursued them under that apprehension, but did not proceed far enough to be convinced, by that fatal experience, which was, as we hear, designed for them, of their mistake.

"Our troops are sickly, and a great number are afflicted with the scurvy, occasioned by the want of fresh provisions. I heartily wish myself with you and the rest of my friends, and the first opportunity that offers I will sell out and return, for at the best only disgrace can arise in the service of such a cause as that in which we are engaged. The Americans are not those poltroons I myself was once taught to believe them to be; they are men of liberal and noble sentiments, and their very characteristic is the love of liberty; and though I am an officer under the King of Great Britain, I tacitly admire their resolution and perseverance against the present oppressive measures of the British Government."

AUGUST 2.

A letter from Philadelphia, dated June 13, reports, that Major Skeen (who was made prisoner upon his landing at Philadelphia, from England, in his way to Crown Point, of which he was appointed Governor) saw, from a window, the militia of that city exercise before the Congress, and that he was so astonished at their excellent discipline, and formidable appearance, that in spite of his prejudices, he could not forbear exclaiming in the following words—"Well, if the Angel Gabriel had descended from Heaven, and reported to me what I now behold, I could scarcely have believed it."

Letters from Québec, by the Elliot, Captain Squires, who is arrived at Milford, gives an account, that all is in confusion there; that the Governor is greatly disappointed in his intention of raising a body of militia to go to the assistance of General Gage; for they declared they were willing to defend their own territories, but would never be aiding and assisting government to carry into execution their oppressive and arbitrary laws against America.

General Gage and Admiral Graves, it is said, have differed.

The regiments from Ireland ordered to America are, the 17th, 27th, 28th, 46th, and 55th, with four Companies of Artillery from Woolwich.

The wounded in Boston suffer exceedingly by the want of fresh provisions; and, more, by the want of proper accommodations in the hospitals, which are exceedingly ill provided with necessaries—no bedding, &c. &c.

Military people cannot help expressing their surprise, that there is no mention of missing in the Gazette account of the late action near Charles-Town. No general officer, they say, ever made a return after such an action, without mentioning the *missing*. The omission is accounted for, when it is recollected, that the account published, is not in General Gage's words.

AUGUST 4.

On the 27th of June the Regulars from Boston Neck began firing upon the little town of Roxbury, which they continued about twelve hours, and set it on fire in two or three places. The Provincials put out the fires. The Regulars reconnoitred the Hill, but found it too strong to risk an attack upon it. Therefore all offensive measures on the part of the Regulars (or Lord Bute's troops, as the Americans call them) are laid aside for the present.

The killed, wounded, and missing of the King's troops in the late action at Charles Town, are seventeen hundred.

Sixteen hundred of the King's troops, sick and wounded in the three actions at Concord, Hog Island, and Charles Town, are in the hospitals at Boston.

General Lee is appointed by the Continental Congress in America, a Major General in their service.

Major Gates, who served in the King's army all last war, but soon after the last infamous peace was disgusted, sold out, and went to America, where he purchased an estate in Virginia, is by the American Congress appointed Adjutant General of America. He is esteemed a good officer,
Colonel

Colonel Washington is appointed Commander in Chief of the American army.

On the 26th of June last Colonel Washington and Major Gates, with one thousand horse, passed through New York on their march to the camp before Boston. At Philadelphia and New York they were joined by two thousand volunteers on foot, who directly began their march with them, provided with all military necessaries. Five hundred rifle men marched some weeks before from Virginia, and have taken the back way (through Cumberland county) as a more expeditious rout to Boston.

The fishermen of Salem, Cape Anne, &c. who were formerly employed in the fishery, are, in resentment for being deprived of their usual subsistence, now in arms, and in the provincial camp before Boston, all volunteers, to the number of four thousand and upwards.

The small boats employed in the fishery are all carried to a considerable distance up the country, as is all the hemp, turpentine, &c. &c.

The Provincials have erected a battery upon Dorchester Point, from which they can and will play upon Boston.

General Gage is coming home. Ministers are now throwing all the blame upon him, by way of screening themselves.—*This is an old trick.*

Colonel Pigot is also coming home: And it is said that Admiral Graves is coming home, and that Commodore Shulldham, who is going to America with more ships, is to have the command on that station.

Colonel Pigot is coming home, on account of being appointed Colonel of the 15th regiment, late Sir C. H. Thompson's, who resigned it for that purpose.

It is said that General Burgoyne has written to administration, desiring to be recalled, and that cave has been given.

Twenty thousand stand of arms were shipped yesterday morning at the Tower for America.

Extract of a letter from Philadelphia, June 20.

"We hear that the Congress intend to make two proposals to the following effect:

"First, That they will submit to an absolute restriction of their trade for the benefit of Great Britain, upon condition that nothing further shall be required of them, it being in their opinion a more advantageous offer than any other they can make to the mother country. Or,

"Second, That it shall be agreed between Great Britain and the colonies, that the latter shall raise her full, equal, and just proportion of revenue for the support of the whole empire, in a similar manner as the assessment is upon Scotland:—That if England raises 20,000l. for every

40,000l. levied on Scotland, so America will bear her share. On this system the colonies cannot be taxed one farthing without Great Britain paying also a like proportion. In consideration of this, all restraints on the American trade to be taken off.

"One of these proposals must be accepted, or arms will be the alternative. Col. Washington, on his appointment to be Commander in Chief, refused any stipulated salary, saying, he would not receive one farthing more than his expences. One thousand rifle men are raised by order of the Congress; Pennsylvania sends 400, Maryland 200, and Virginia 400. Col. Ward, of New-England, is second in command; and Gates (formerly Major in his Majesty's service) is Adjutant General."

AUGUST 5.

An Extract from a letter, dated Philadelphia, June 20, 1775.

"However anxious the Americans are to preserve their allegiance sacred and inviolate, they are also as solicitous and determined to submit to no infringement on their constitutional rights; for this reason solely they have taken arms to oppose the despotic system of an infamous Administration, and the grand Congress in this City are accordingly making every necessary preparation to act with vigour.

"As the scene of action is at present far removed from hence, it is thought they will shortly adjourn to, or depute a Council to sit at, Hartford, in Connecticut.

"They have passed a vote to strike off two millions of dollars, 7s. 6d. our currency, to answer present exigencies. Col. George Washington, a Delegate from Virginia, is, at the particular request of the people in New England, and with the unanimous consent of the Congress, appointed Commander in Chief of the Continental forces, with a handsome salary per annum. The commission he received with pleasure, but positively refused any pay, requiring only a reimbursement of his actual expences. Colonel Ward (who, I find, is universally esteemed, and well known to be a good officer) is second in command, and Mr. Gates (formerly a Major in the King's service) is Adjutant General. Col. L——e would not have refused a command, but the Congress did not choose to trust him on account of his professing a personal dislike to the King; but I think it is probable, if there should be no hopes of an accommodation, that his military knowledge will induce them to give him a commission.

The Captains are allowed 20 dol. per M.

Lieutenants and Ensigns 13

Non-

Non-commissioned officers 8
Privates 6

" Although the petition presented to his Majesty last Fall was treated with contempt, nevertheless the Congress have determined to try one more, which they are now preparing, and I suppose will be forwarded as soon as its importance will permit. It is confessedly said, and I have reason to think the report is well founded, that they intend to make two proposals to the following effect.

" First, They will submit to a parliamentary restriction of their trade, but to no commercial duties, for the purpose of raising a revenue. In consideration of which, to be totally exempt from all taxation by the British Legislature.

" It is thought by them that the absolute controul of their trade would prove more beneficial to Britain than any other mode of contribution; but if nothing else than a revenue will please, they will.

" Secondly, Consent and agree, that whenever a grant is made by the people in England and Scotland, they will also give a full, equal, and just proportion towards the support of the whole empire; upon condition of a free and uninterrupted trade, as enjoyed by the subjects in Britain.

" One of these proposals must be considered of as a groundwork for an accommodation, or arms will be the alternative. It is generally thought that the Congress will concur with the Act of Parliament, and stop all exports from and after the 20th of July. I am much easier than when I last wrote to you about the article of ammunition, being now satisfied by the plan adopted that we shall have full sufficient to act offensively.

" The Congress have ordered one thousand more marksmen, or, as we call them, rifle-men, to be raised, viz. 400 in Pennsylvania, 400 in Virginia, 200 in Maryland. These men are to be divided in small parties, and scattered through the army, for the purpose of removing the officers; the good consequences of which are too obvious to need pointing out: A party of these men at a late review on a quick advance, placed their balls in poles of seven inches diameter, fixed up for the purpose, at the distance of two hundred and fifty yards.

" It is amazing to see the spirit of the Germans among us. Thousands of them have served as soldiers in their own country. They speak with infinite pleasure of sacrificing their lives and property for the preservation of liberty, which they know full well how to value from its deprivation by despotic Princes.

" The Quakers, naturally fond of their interest, could not bear the thought of having their

property taken from them without their consent, and have therefore taken arms, notwithstanding the public testimony, which was really the work of about thirty of their elders. There are whole companies of that society daily under arms; in particular the light infantry company of the first battalion in this City is composed of them, in an uniform of light blue and buff."

A private letter from a person of considerable property and consequence in Philadelphia, has this remarkable passage in it: " The country gentlemen of England have been so short-sighted, they supported the idea of an American taxation, upon a superficial notion, they should thereby ease themselves. If ever we should agree with Great Britain (which cannot be till the King thinks proper to change his ministers) what think you of this proposal, as a *sine qua non*, that we will lay a land tax upon our land in proportion to yours, for the current year? The minister will always keep your land tax high in order to get the more from us. Your country gentlemen will be treated as they deserve, and our agriculture will not be injured. It is a pity the present race of country gentlemen in England are not acquainted with the sources which made their country opulent, their estates increase in value, and the means of preserving both. Parliament do great injustice to the nation, and the ministers to the King."

From the ESSEX GAZETTE of June 22. Printed at S A L E M.

Our troops continue in high spirits; they are fortifying a very high hill about a mile and a half from this town, and within cannon shot of the enemy on Bunker Hill.

AUGUST 8.

From the NEW YORK GAZETTE of July 3.

Providence, Rhode Island, June 27. On the 14th instant, his Honour the Deputy Governor sent the following letter to Capt. Wallace, Commander of his Majesty's ship *Rose*, at Newport:

" SIR, *East Greenwich, June 14.*

" Long have the good people of this colony been oppressed by your conduct in interrupting their lawful trade, and preventing the importation of the provisions necessary for their subsistence. The acts of the British parliament, already filled with restrictions of trade, oppressive in the highest degree, seem by you to be thought too lenient. Not controuled by those you affect to call your masters, you have detained the persons, and taken away the property of his Majesty's American subjects, without any warrant from the acts of trade, by which you have greatly impeded the intercourse between this and the other colonies,

ties, as well as between the different parts of this colony. The inhabitants expecting the interposition of the lawful authority of the colony, have borne these outrages with a patience almost criminal; and the legislature have heard their complaints; and in consequence of an act passed by the General Assembly this day, I demand of you the reason of your conduct towards the inhabitants of this colony, in stopping and retaining their vessels; and I also demand of you that you immediately restore the two packets belonging to some inhabitants of the town of Providence, and all other vessels belonging to the inhabitants of this colony, which you have taken, and unjustly detained. So long as you remain in the colony, and demean yourself as becomes your office, you may depend upon the protection of the laws, and every assistance for promoting the publick service in my power: and you may also be assured that the whole power of this colony will be exerted to secure the persons and properties of the inhabitants against every lawless invader. An immediate answer is requested to this letter. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

NICHOLAS COOKE, D. Governor.

Capt. Wallace immediately returned the following answer to Nicholas Cooke, Esq.

His Majesty's ship Rose, Rhode-Island, June 14.

"S IR,

"I have received your letter of the 14th instant: Although I am unacquainted with you, or what station you act in, suppose you write in behalf of some body of people; therefore, previous to my giving an answer, I must desire to know, whether or not you, or the people on whose behalf you write, are not in open rebellion, to your lawful Sovereign, and the acts of the British legislature? I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

JAMES WALLACE."

The following is a list of the Field officers appointed for the three battalions of the Philadelphia militia:

First battalion, John Dickenson, Esq; Colonel; John Chevalier, Lieut. Colonel; Jacob Morgan, and William Coats, Majors. Second battalion, Daniel Roberdeaux, Esq; Colonel; Joseph Reed, Esq; Lieutenant Colonel; Dr. John Cox and John Bayard, Majors. Third battalion, John Cadwallader, Esq; Colonel; John Nixon, Lieut. Colonel; Thomas Mifflin and Samuel Meredith, Esqrs. Majors.

New York, June 26. The ship Juliana, Capt. Montgomery, arrived at Sandy Hook, last Saturday night, from London, in which vessel his Excellency our worthy Governor came passenger. He landed at eight o'clock yesterday evening, and was conducted to the house of the Hon.

Hugh Wallace, Esq. by an immense number of the principal people of this city.

New York, July 3. The following address of the Provincial Congress of the colony of New York, was presented on the 26th ult. to his Excellency George Washington, Generalissimo of all the forces in the confederated colonies of America.

"May it please your Excellency,

"At a time when the most loyal of his Majesty's subjects, from a regard to the laws and constitution by which he sits on the throne, feel themselves reduced to the unhappy necessity of taking up arms to defend their dearest rights and privileges; while we deplore the calamities of this divided empire, we rejoice in the appointment of a gentleman, from whose abilities and virtue we are taught to expect both security and peace.

"Confiding in you, Sir, and in the worthy Generals immediately under your command, we have the most flattering hopes of success in the glorious struggle for American liberty, and the fullest assurances that whenever this important contest shall be decided by that fondest wish of each American soul, an accommodation with our Mother Country, you will cheerfully resign the important deposit committed into your hands, and re-assume the character of our worthiest citizen.

By Order,

June 26. P. V. B. LIVINGSTON, President.

To the above address his Excellency returned the following answer:

"Gentlemen, at the same time that with you I deplore the unhappy necessity of such an appointment, as that with which I am now honoured, I cannot but feel sentiments of the highest gratitude for this affecting instance of distinction and regard.

"May your warmest wishes be realized in the success of America, at this important and interesting period; and be assured, that every exertion of my worthy colleagues and myself, will be equally extended to the re-establishment of peace and harmony, between the Mother Country and these colonies: as to the fatal but necessary operations of war, when we assumed the soldier, we did not lay aside the citizen, and we shall most sincerely rejoice with you, in that happy hour, when the establishment of American liberty, on the most firm and solid foundations, shall enable us to return to our private stations, in the bosom of a free, peaceful, and happy country.

G. WASHINGTON."

On Monday last General Washington, with his suite, attended by the several New-York military companies, and likewise by a troop of gentlemen of

of the Philadelphia light horse, commanded by Capt. Markoe, and a number of the inhabitants of this city, set out for the Provincial camp at Cambridge, near Boston. The General rested that night at Kingsbridge, and the next morning proceeded on his journey. The troop returned to this city the next evening, and departed hence for Philadelphia the Thursday following.

Since our last, nine transports with troops, of the second embarkation from Cork, have arrived at Sandy Hook, and agreeable to orders there received, sailed last Friday for Boston, under convoy of his Majesty's ship of war the Nautilus.

The regiments on board the transports are the 22d, 40th, 44th, and 45th.

Admiral Shulldham, who was appointed second in command, is now made Commander in Chief in America, in the room of Admiral Graves, who is recalled. It is not known whether Admiral Byron will have the second post of Commander or not.

Orders are given for the cruisers on the American station to take all ships of what nation soever, which are found within a certain distance of the ports there, which are now shut up.

Government now pay at the amazing high rate of 11s. 6d. per ton per month, for transports to carry troops and stores to America. Two thousand tons were taken up last week, which, at the above rate, amounts to 1150l. per month, and more are taking up daily.

AUGUST 9.

Colonels Vaughan and Massey are appointed Brigadiers to the army in America.

The Staff there consists of General Gage; Major Generals Howe, Clinton, Burgoyne, and Lord Percy.

Brigadiers, Pigot, Jones, Grant, and Prescott. The following is the Staff lately appointed by the Continental Congress:

General and Commander in Chief of all the American forces, George Washington, Esq; of Virginia.

Major Generals, Artemus Ward, Esq; of Massachusetts Bay; Charles Lee, Esq; Philip Schuyler, Esq; of Albany, in New-York Province; Israel Putnam, Esq; of the Massachusetts Bay.

Adjutant General, Horatio Gates, Esq.

General Washington has appointed Thomas Mifflin, Esq; of Philadelphia, to be his Aid de Camp; and Major General Lee has appointed Samuel Griffin, Esq; of Virginia, to be his Aid de Camp.

We are informed that the Provincial Congress have appointed the following gentlemen to be officers in the battalion to be raised in York city and county, viz. Mr. Alexander M' Dougall,

Colonel; Mr. Edward Fleming, Lieutenant Colonel; Mr. Rudolphus Ritzema, Major.

By a ship just arrived at Greenock, there are letters from Boston, dated June 27. Nothing new had then happened, and both armies were entrenched.

AUGUST 10.

Philadelphia, June 9. The following paragraphs are taken from the Pennsylvania Mercury:

The ladies in Bristol township have evidenced a laudable regard to the interest of their country. At their own expence they have furnished the regiment of that county with a suit of colours and drums, and are now making a collection to supply muskets to such of the men as are not able to supply themselves. We hear the lady, who was appointed to present the colours to the regiment, gave in charge to the soldiers, never to desert the colours of the ladies, if they ever wished that the ladies should lift under their banners.

The spirit of opposition to the arbitrary and tyrannical acts of the Ministry and Parliament of Britain, hath diffused itself so universally throughout this Province, that the people, even to its most extended frontiers, are indefatigable in training themselves to military discipline.—The aged, as well as the young, daily march out under the banners of Liberty, and discover a determined resolution to maintain her cause even until death.—In the town of Reading, in Berks county, there had been some time past three companies formed, and very forward in their exercise; since, however, we are well informed, a fourth company have associated under the name of the Old Man's company. It consists of about eighty Germans of the age of forty and upwards. Many of them have been in the military service in Germany. The person who, at their first assembling, led them to the field, is 97 years of age, has been 40 years in the regular service, and in 17 pitched battles, and the drummer is 84. In lieu of a cockade, they wear in their hats a black crape, as expressive of their sorrow for the mournful events which have occasioned them, at their late time of life, to take arms against our brethren, in order to preserve that liberty which they left their native country to enjoy.

Extract of a letter from Newport, Rhode Island, June 10.

"Last Saturday, it being reported that two American vessels of force were lying in Narraganset Bay, Capt. Wallace, of the Rose, Capt. Ay-scough, of the Swan, and a tender, came to sail, and first beat out within about two miles of the Light-house, when they bore away, and ran up the river as far as Conanicut Point, and took a peep down Narraganset Bay; but not discovering any

any vessels, they returned to their station in the harbour. While they were on this short and unsuccessful cruise, a number of people boarded and carried off five vessels, which those men of war had taken, and left riding in the road."

Many persons have been at a loss to account for Lord Dunmore's late conduct, but we have authority to say, that the true reason of his Lordship's retiring on board the Fowey man of war, was an express he received from General Gage by the Otter sloop of war, which was dispatched on the 7th of June, to acquaint him of his intention of publishing the proclamation which appeared on the 12th, that he might secure himself from being seized and detained as a hostage in the hands of the Americans in case of the apprehension of Messrs Adams and Hancock.

AUGUST 11.

The following is a translation of the account of the late action between the Spaniards and Algerines, published by authority at Madrid.

Madrid, July 17. Our armament, which was assembled at Carthegena, was to have sailed June 1, to attempt a *coup de main* against Algiers, to put a period to the piracies of that regency in our seas; but was detained by contrary winds to the end of that month.

The fleet being then arrived off Algiers, Don Pedro Castejon, who had the command of it with Count O'Reilly, General of the land forces, agreed to remain in the Bay till such time as circumstances should favour a debarkation. In the mean time they found that the Regency, taking advantage of the retardment of the fleet, and not knowing its destination, had prepared for a vigorous defence. In order to divert the attention of the enemy from the place where the debarkation was proposed to be made, orders were given for the St. Joseph and the L'Orient to make a false attack on two forts, and some redoubts, which was executed with great exactness; but the St. Joseph having her principal cable cut by a ball, was driven by the current near a battery of the enemy, in which she greatly suffered in her hull and masts.

The place of debarkation being fixed, and the time favourable, the two Generals gave the necessary orders for landing, which was on the 8th, at four in the morning. For this purpose seven columns of small vessels were formed, which were covered by the ships of war; and a body of 8000 men was landed at a proper place, a league and half from the coast of the Levant, which was executed in the best order, with profound silence, and the greatest readiness. The remainder of the army followed with the greatest celerity imaginable, and were all landed in four hours time.

Though the number of the enemy which opposed our troops from all parts was immense, they

would certainly have possessed themselves of an advantageous post upon an eminence, if our first body, animated by an inconsiderate ardor and an impetuosity of courage, had not, contrary to the express orders of the General, engaged the enemy too soon; so that the second body, scarcely landed, had no other part to take than immediately to march to sustain them, and endeavour with them to seize the post, or retire together in the best order possible; the action, however, soon became general, and continued for the remainder of the day.

Our troops finding themselves extremely fatigued from the heat of the weather, as well as from being in continual action for thirteen hours, without any hopes of rendering their prospect practicable, Count O'Reilly, in concert with the other Generals, resolved to re-embark the whole army, which was happily executed the same night, together with the artillery, ammunition, carriages, &c.

The two Commanders bestow the greatest eulogiums on the union, intrepidity and resolution, with which all the officers, both by sea and land, as well as the soldiers and sailors, conducted themselves in all the above complicated operations; and are convinced that they should have absolutely had the most happy and complete success, had not the first body of troops, by their ill-timed courage, prematurely commenced the attack as before mentioned.

The loss of the Moors on this occasion was very considerable: ours amounts to 600 killed, among whom are the Marquis de Romana, Camp-Marshal, and Don Jerome Capmani, Lieutenant Colonel. Our number wounded is 1800, the greater part slightly. Among these are Lieut. Don Antonio Ricardos; the Count d'Alalto and Don Louis Urbina, Camp-Marshals; Count Fernan Nunez, Count del Montijo, and the Marquis de Villena, Brigadiers; Colonel Don Augustin Villena; Lieutenant Colonel Don Pedro de Gorostiza; and the four Aides de Camp of the General in Chief, viz. Don Felix Musquiz, Don Joachim d'Oquando, Don Antonio Cornel, and Don Francis Saavedra; also twelve out of the sixteen Engineers that were landed. With respect to the marine we have learnt that on board the St. Joseph there were three men killed and nineteen slightly wounded; among the latter are the Commandant Don Manuel Varena, the second Captain, Don Juan Moreno, and the Lieutenant of the ship, Don Joachim Luzan.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman at Stockbridge, (Massachusetts Bay) to a gentleman in the Congress at Philadelphia, dated June 22.

"A firm foundation now turns up to view,
\$ 2 for

for the influence of the Stockbridge Indians among the six nations, and matters stand well with the Canadian Indians. If I had time, I would relate to you every particular of what befel the messengers of our Indians to the Six Nations, and the Canadian Indians. To be short, they were taken and bound by the Regulars, and carried into Montreal, where, by a Court Martial, they were condemned to be hanged, for a slight suspicion that they were sent to engage the Indians to fall upon the Regulars. This event turned much to our advantage, and has fully fixed the minds of the Indians there against the Regulars. High threatening words passed between the General and the Indian Sachems, who were raised far and near on the occasion, and a wonderful spirit of benevolence appeared towards the young men that were taken by the Indians there. They told them, in the strongest terms, "That they would take their place; they would die for them." The whole story is very affecting. The Indian Sachems told the General, "You have offered us money to fight for you, but we would not take it, as we would have nothing to do with your quarrel, but now we shall know who are our enemies. If you think it best for you to hang these our brothers that came a great way to see us, do it, but remember, we shall not forget it." Upon these threatenings they thought it best to let their prisoners go, who got away with some difficulty. The Canadian Indians farther told our Indians, "That if they did fight at all, they would fight against the Regulars, for they did not like them."

when men of such a stamp as Mr. Burgoyne and Mr. Howe, can be seduced into so impious and nefarious a service by the artifice of a wicked and insidious court and cabinet. You, Sir, must be sensible that these epithets are not unjustly severe. You have yourself experienced the wickedness and treachery of this court and cabinet. You cannot but recollect their manœuvres in your own select committee, and the treatment yourself as president received from these abandoned men. You cannot but recollect the black business of St. Vincent's, by an opposition to which you acquired the highest and most deserved honour. I shall not trouble you with my opinion of the right of taxing America without her own consent, as I am afraid, from what I have seen of your speeches, that you have already formed your creed upon this article: but I will boldly affirm, had this right been established by a thousand statutes, had America admitted it from time immemorial, it would be the duty of every good Englishman to exert his utmost to divert parliament of this right, as it must inevitably work the subversion of the whole empire. The malady under which the state labours is indisputably derived from the inadequate representation of the subject, and the vast pecuniary influence of the crown. To add to this pecuniary influence and incompetency of representation, is to insure and precipitate our destruction. To wish any addition can scarcely enter the heart of a citizen who has the least spark of public virtue, and who is at the same time capable of seeing consequences the most immediate. I appeal, Sir, to your own conscience, to your experience and knowledge of our court and parliament; and I request you to lay your hand upon your heart; and then answer with your usual integrity and frankness, whether on the supposition America should be abject enough to submit to the terms imposed, you think a single guinea raised upon her would be applied to the purpose (as it is ostentatiously held out to deceive the people at home) of easing the mother country? Or whether you are not convinced that the whole they could extract would be applied solely to heap still further the enormous fund for corruption which the crown already possesses, and of which a most diabolical use is made. On these principles I say, Sir, every good Englishman, abstracted of all regard for America, must oppose her being taxed by the British parliament; for my own part I am convinced that no argument (not totally abhorrent from the spirit of liberty and the British constitution) can be produced in support of this right. But it would be impertinent to trouble you upon a subject which has been so amply, and in my opinion, so fully discussed. I find by a speech given as your's in the public papers, that it was by the King's positive command you

A Genuine Copy of General LEE's Letter to General BURGOYNE, upon his arrival in Boston. [General LEE served in Portugal under General BURGOYNE last War.]

Philadelphia, June 7, 1775.

My dear Sir,

WE have had twenty different accounts of your arrival at Boston, which have been regularly contradicted the next morning; but as I now find it certain that you are arrived, I shall not delay a single instant addressing myself to you. It is a duty I owe to the friendship I have long and sincerely professed for you; a friendship to which you have the strongest claims from the first moments of our acquaintance. There is no man from whom I have received so many testimonies of esteem and affection; there is no man whose esteem and affection could, in my opinion, have done me greater honour. I entreat and conjure you, therefore, my dear Sir, to impute these lines not to a petulant itch of scribbling, but to the most unfeigned solicitude for the future tranquillity of your mind, and for your reputation. I sincerely lament the insatiation of the times,

you embarked in this service. I am somewhat pleased that it is not an office of your own seeking, tho', at the same time, I must confess that it is very alarming to every virtuous citizen, when he sees men of sense and integrity, (because of a certain profession) lay it down as a rule implicitly to obey the mandates of a court, be they ever so flagitious. It furnishes, in my opinion, the best arguments for the total reduction of the army. But I am running into a tedious essay, whereas I ought to confine myself to the main design and purpose of this letter, which is to guard you and your colleagues from those prejudices which the same miscreants, who have infatuated General Gage, and still surround him, will labour to instil into you against a brave, loyal, and most deserving people. The avenues of truth will be shut up to you. I assert, Sir, that even General Gage will deceive you, as he has deceived himself; I do not say he will do so designedly. I do not think him capable; but his mind is so totally poisoned, and his understanding so blinded by the society of fools and knaves, that he no longer is capable of discerning facts as manifest as the noon-day sun. I assert, Sir, that he is ignorant; that he has from the beginning been consummately ignorant of the principles, temper, disposition, and force of the Colonies; I assert, Sir, that his letters to the Ministry, at least such as the public have seen, are one continued tissue of misrepresentation, injustice, and tortured inferences from misstated facts. I affirm, Sir, that he has taken no pains to inform himself of the truth; that he has never conversed with a man who has had the courage or honesty to tell him the truth.

I am apprehensive that you and your colleagues may fall into the same trap, and it is the apprehension that you may be inconsiderately hurried by the vigour and activity you possess, into measures which may be fatal to many innocent individuals, may hereafter wound your own feelings, and which cannot possibly serve the cause of those who sent you; this has prompted me to address these lines to you.—I most devoutly wish that your industry, valour, and military talents, may be reserved for a more honourable and virtuous service against the natural enemies of your country, (to whom our Court are so basely complacent) and not be wasted in ineffectual attempts to reduce to the wretchedest state of servitude, the most meritorious part of your fellow-subjects. I say, Sir, that any attempts to accomplish this purpose must be ineffectual. You cannot possibly succeed. No man is better acquainted with the state of this continent than myself. I have ran through almost the whole colonies, from the north to the south, and from the south to the north. I have conversed with all or-

ders of men, from the first estated gentlemen to the lowest planters and farmers, and can assure you that the same spirit animates the whole. Not less than an hundred and fifty thousand gentlemen, yeomen, and farmers, are now in arms, determined to preserve their liberties or perish. As to the idea that the Americans are deficient in courage, it is too ridiculous and glaringly false to deserve a serious refutation. I never could conceive upon what this notion was founded. I served several campaigns in America last war, and cannot recollect a single instance of ill behaviour in the Provincials, where the regulars acquitted themselves well. Indeed we well remember some instances of the reverse, particularly where the late Colonel Grant (he who lately pledged himself for the general cowardice of America) ran away with a large body of his own regiment, and was saved from destruction by the valour of a few Virginians. Such preposterous arguments are only proper for the R——s and S——s, from whose mouths never issued, and to whose breasts truth and decency are utter strangers. You will much oblige me in communicating this letter to General Howe, to whom I could wish it should be in some measure addressed, as well as to yourself. Mr. Howe is a man for whom I have ever had the highest love and reverence. I have honoured him for his own connections, but above all for his admirable talents and good qualities. I have courted his acquaintance and friendship, not only as a pleasure, but as an ornament; I flattered myself that I had obtained it. Gracious God! is it possible that Mr. Howe should be prevailed upon to accept of such an office! That the brother of him, to whose memory the much injured people of Boston erected a monument, should be employed as one of the instruments of their destruction! But the fashion of the times it seems is such, as renders it impossible that he should avoid it. The commands of our most gracious Sovereign are to cancel all moral obligations, to sanctify every action, even those that the Satrap of an Eastern despot would start at. I shall now beg leave to say a few words with respect to myself and the part I act. I was bred up from my infancy in the highest veneration for the liberties of mankind in general. What I have seen of Courts and Princes convinces me, that power cannot be lodged in worse hands than in theirs; and of all courts I am persuaded that our's is the most corrupt and hostile to the rights of humanity. I am convinced that a regular plan has been laid (indeed every act since the present accession evinces it) to abolish even the shadow of Liberty from amongst us. It was not the demolition of the tea, it was not any other particular act of the Bostonians, or of the other provinces which

which constituted their crimes ; but it is the noble spirit of liberty manifestly pervading the whole continent, which has rendered them the object of ministerial and royal vengeance. Had they been notoriously of another disposition, had they been *homines ad servitutinem paratos*, they might have made as free with the property of the East India Company as the felonious N—— himself, with impunity. But the Lord of Saint James's, and their mercenaries of St. Stephen well know, that as long as the free spirit of this great continent remains unsubdued, the progress they can make in their scheme of universal despotism will be but trifling. Hence it is that they wage inexorable war against America. In short, this is the last asylum of persecuted Liberty. Here should the machinations and fury of her enemies prevail, that bright goddess must fly off from the face of the earth, and leave not a trace behind. These, Sir, are my principles ; this is my persuasion, and consequently I am determined to act. I have now, Sir, only to entreat, that whatever measures you pursue, whether those which your real friends (myself amongst them) would wish, or unfortunately those which our accursed misrulers shall dictate, you will still believe me to be personally, with the greatest sincerity and affection,

Your's, &c.

C. L E E.

A Copy of General BURGOYNE's Answer to General LEE, dated July 8, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

WHEN we were last together in service, I should not have thought it within the vicissitudes of human affairs that we should meet at any time, or in any sense, as foes. The letter you have honoured me with, and my own feelings, continue to prove we are still far from being personally such.

I claim no merit from the attentions you so kindly remember in the early periods of our acquaintance, but as they manifest how much it was my pride to be known to be your friend ; nor have I departed from the duties of that character, when, I will not scruple to say, it has been almost general offence to maintain it : I mean since the violent part you have taken in the commotions of the Colonies.

It would exceed the limits and the propriety of our present correspondence to argue at full the great cause in which we are engaged. But anxious to preserve a consistent and ingenuous character, and jealous, I confess, of having the part I sustain imputed to such motives as you intimate, I will state to you as concisely as I can the principles upon which, not voluntarily, but most conscientiously I undertook it.

I have, like you, entertained from infancy a veneration of public liberty. I have likewise regarded the British constitution as the best safeguard of that blessing to be found in the history of mankind.

The vital principle of the constitution, in which it moves and has its being, is the supremacy of the King and Parliament ; a compound, indefinite, indefeasible power, coeval with the origin of the empire, and co-extensive over all its parts.

I am no stranger to the doctrines of Mr. Locke, and other of the best advocates for the rights of mankind, upon the compacts always implied between the governing and governed, and the right of resistance in the latter, when the compact shall be so violated as to leave no other means of redress. I look with reverence almost amounting to idolatry upon those immortal Whigs who adopted and applied such doctrine during part of the reign of Charles the 1st. and in that of James the 2d.

Should corruption pervade the three estates of the realm, so as to pervert the great ends for which they were instituted, and make the power vested in them for the good of the whole people operate, like an abuse of the prerogative of the Crown, to general oppression, I am ready to acknowledge that the same doctrine of resistance applies as forcibly against the abuses of the collective body of power, as against those of the Crown, or either of the other component branches separately : Still always understood that no other means of redress can be obtained : A case, I contend, much more difficult to suppose when it relates to the whole than when it relates to parts.

But in all cases that have existed or can be conceived, I hold that resistance, to be justifiable, must be directed against the usurpation or undue exercise of power ; and that it is most criminal when directed against any power itself inherent in the constitution.

And here you will immediately discern why I drew a line in the allusion I made above to the reign of Charles I. Towards the close of it, the true principle of resistance was changed, and a new system of government projected accordingly. The patriots, previous to the Long Parliament, and during great part of it, as well as the glorious Revolutionists of 1688, resisted to vindicate and restore the constitution ; the Republicans resisted to subvert it.

Now, Sir, lay your hand upon your heart, as you have enjoined me to do on mine, and tell me to which of these purposes do the proceedings of America tend ?

Is it the weight of taxes imposed, and the impossibility

possibility of relief after a due representation of her burthen, that has induced her to take Arms? Or is it a denial of the rights of British legislation to impose them, and consequently a struggle for total independency? For the idea of power that can tax externally, and not internally, and all the sophistry that attends it, though it may catch the weakness and the prejudice of the multitude in a speech or pamphlet, it is too preposterous to weigh seriously with a man of your understanding; and I am confident you will admit the case to be fairly put. Is it then from a relief of taxes, or from the controul of Parliament "in all cases whatsoever" we are in war? If for the former, the quarrel is at an end; there is not a man of sense and information in America who does not know it is in the power of the Colonies to put an end to the exercise of taxation immediately, and for ever. I boldly assert it, because sense and information will also suggest to every man, that it can never be the interest of Britain, after her late experience, to make another trial.

But if the other ground is taken, and it is intended to wrest from Great Britain a link of that substantial, and, I hope, perpetual chain, by which the empire holds—think it not a Ministerial Mandate; think it not mere professional ardour; think it not a prejudice against a part of our fellow-subjects, that induces men of integrity, and among such you have done me the honour to class me, to act with vigour; but be assured it is a conviction that the whole of our political system depends upon the preservation of its great and essential parts distinctly, and no part is so great and essential as supremacy of legislation.—It is a conviction, that as a King of England never appears in so glorious a light as when he employs the executive powers of the State to maintain the laws; so in the present exertions of that power, his Majesty is particularly entitled to our zeal and grateful obedience, not only as soldiers but as citizens.

These principles, depend upon it, actuate the army and fleet throughout: And let me at the same time add, there are few, if any, gentlemen among us who would have drawn his sword in the cause of slavery.

But why do I bind myself to the navy and army? The sentiments I have touched are those of the great bulk of the nation. I appeal to the landed men who have so long borne burthens for America; I appeal to those trading towns who are sufferers by the dispute, and the city of London at the head of them, notwithstanding the Petitions and Remonstrances which the arts of party and faction have extorted from some individuals; and last, because least in your favour, I appeal to the majorities in the Houses of Par-

liament upon American questions this Session. The most licentious news writers want assurance to call these majorities Ministerial; much less will you give them that name, when you impartially examine the characters that compose them—Men of the most independent principles and fortunes, and many of them professedly in opposition to the Court in the general line of their conduct.

Among other supporters of British rights against American claims, I will not speak positively, but I firmly believe, I may name the man of whose integrity you have the highest opinion, and whose friendship is nearest your heart—I mean Lord Thanet, from whom my Aid de Camp has a letter for you, and also one from Sir Charles Davers: I do not isolate them, because the writers, little imagining how difficult your conduct would render our intercourse, desired they might be delivered to your own hands.

For this purpose, as well as to renew "the rights of fellowship," I wish to see you; and above all, I should find an interview happy, if it should induce such explanations as might tend to their consequences to peace. I feel in common with all around me, for the unhappy bulk of this country: they foresee not the distress that is impending over them. I know Great Britain is ready to open her arms upon the first overture of accommodation; I know she is equally resolute to maintain her original rights; and if the war proceeds, your one hundred and fifty thousand men will not be a match for her power.

The place I would propose for our meeting is the house upon Boston Neck, just within our advanced centries, called Brown's House.—I will obtain authority to give my parole of honour for your safe return. I shall expect the same on your part, that no insult be offered to me. If this plan is agreeable to you, name your day and hour. At all events, accept a sincere return of the assurances with which you honour me, and believe me, in all personal considerations, affectionately yours.

P. S. I obeyed your commands to Generals Howe and Clinton. I also communicated your letter and my answer to Lord Percy. They all join me in compliments, and authorize me to assure you they do the same in principle.

A Copy of General LEE's Letter, declining the Interview proposed by General BURGOYNE.

Cambridge, Head Quarters, July 11.

GENERAL LEE's compliments to General BURGOYNE. Would be extremely happy in the interview he so kindly proposed. But as he perceives that General Burgoyne has already made

made up his mind on this great subject; and as it is impossible that he [Gen. Lee,] should ever alter his opinion, he is apprehensive that the interview might create those jealousies and suspicions so natural to a people struggling in the dearest of all causes, that of their liberty, property, wives, children, and their future generation. He must, therefore, defer the happiness of embracing a man whom he most sincerely loves, until the subversion of the present tyrannical Ministry and system, which he is persuaded must be in a few months, as he knows Great Britain cannot stand the contest. He begs General Burgoyne will send the letters which his Aid de Camp has for him. If Gardiner is his Aid de Camp, he desires his love to him.

The following is a DECLARATION by the REPRESENTATIVES of the UNITED COLONIES of NORTH AMERICA, now met in GENERAL CONGRESS at PHILADELPHIA, setting forth the Causes and Necessity of their taking up ARMS.

IF it was possible for men who exercise their reason to believe, that the Divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and an unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom as the objects of a legal domination, never rightfully resistible, however severe and oppressive, the inhabitants of these Colonies might at least require from the Parliament of Great Britain some evidence, that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body. But a reverence for our Great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that Government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end. The legislature of Great Britain however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for a power not only unjustifiable, but which they they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom, and desperate of success in any mode of contest, where regard should be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these Colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms.—Yet, however blinded that assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so to slight justice and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound by obligations of respect to the rest of the world, to make known the justice of our cause.

Our forefathers, inhabitants of the island of Great Britain, left their native land, to seek on these shores a residence for civil and religious freedom. At the expence of their blood, at the hazard of their fortunes, without the least charge to the country from which they removed, by unceasing labour, and an unconquerable spirit, they effected settlements in the distant and inhospitable wilds of America, then filled with numerous and warlike nations of barbarians. Societies of governments, vested with perfect legislatures, were formed under charters from the Crown, and an harmonious intercourse was established between the Colonies and the Kingdom from which they derived their origin. The mutual benefits of this union became in a short time so extraordinary, as to excite astonishment. It is universally confessed, that the amazing increase of the wealth, strength, and navigation of the realm, arose from this source; and the Minister who so wisely and successfully directed the measures of Great Britain in the late war, publicly declared, that these Colonies enabled her to triumph over her enemies.—Towards the conclusion of that war it pleased our Sovereign to make a change in his councils.—From that fatal moment the affairs of the British Empire began to fall into confusion, and gradually sliding from the summit of glorious prosperity, to which they had been advanced by the virtues and abilities of one man, are at length distracted by the convulsions that now shake it to its deepest foundation. The new ministry finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace, and of then subduing her faithful friends.

These devoted Colonies were judged to be in such a state, as to present victories without bloodshed, and all the easy emoluments of statuteable plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and respectful behaviour from the beginning of Colonization, their dutiful, zealous, and useful services during the war though so recently and amply acknowledged in the most honourable manner by his Majesty, by the late King, and by Parliament, could not save them from the meditated innovations. Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project, and assuming a new power over them, have, in the course of eleven years, given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt concerning the effects of acquiescence under it. They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property. Statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of Courts of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty

miralty beyond their antient limits, for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable privilege of trial by Jury in cases affecting both life and property; for suspending the legislature of one of the Colonies; for interdicting all Commerce of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government, established by charter, and secured by acts of its own legislature solemnly confirmed by the Crown; for exempting the "Murderers" of Colonists from legal trial, and, in effect, from punishment; for erecting in a neighbouring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great-Britain and America, a despotism dangerous to our very existence; and for quartering soldiers upon the Colonists in time of profound peace. It has also been resolved in Parliament, that Colonists charged with committing certain offences, shall be transported to England to be tried,

But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one statute it is declared, that Parliament can "of right make laws to bind us in all cases whatsoever." What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? Not a single man of those who assume it, is chosen by us, or is subject to our controul or influence; but on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws; and an American revenue, if not diverted from the offensive purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens in proportion, as they increase ours. We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We for ten years incessantly and ineffectually besieged the Throne as supplicants; we reasoned, we remonstrated with Parliament in the most mild and decent language. But administration, sensible that we should regard these oppressive measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them. The indignation of the Americans was roused it is true; but it was the indignation of a virtuous, loyal, and affectionate people. A Congress of Delegates from the United Colonies was assembled at Philadelphia, on the 5th day of last September. We resolved again to offer an humble and dutiful Petition to the King, and also addressed our fellow-subjects of Great-Britain. We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure; we have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourse with our fellow-subjects, as the last peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation upon earth should supplant our attachment to liberty. This we flattered ourselves was the ultimate step of the controversy; but the subsequent events have shewn, how vain is this hope of finding moderation in our enemies,

Several threatening expressions against the Colonies were inserted in his Majesty's speech.

Our petition, though we were told it was a decent one, that his Majesty had been pleased to receive it graciously, and to promise laying it before his Parliament, was huddled into both Houses amongst a bundle of American papers, and there neglected. The Lords and Commons in their address, in the month of February, said, that "a rebellion at that time actually existed within the Province of Massachusetts Bay; and that those concerned in it, had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combination and engagements, entered into by his Majesty's subjects in several of the other Colonies; and therefore they besought his Majesty that he would take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature." Soon after the commercial intercourse of whole Colonies, with foreign countries and with each other, was cut off by an act of Parliament; by another, several of them were entirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coasts, on which they always depended for their subsistence; and large reinforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to General Gage.

Fruitless were all the entreaties, arguments and eloquence of an illustrious band of the most distinguished Peers and Commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to stay or even to mitigate the heedless fury with which these accumulated and unexampled outrages were hurried on. Equally fruitless was the interference of the City of London, of Bristol, and many other respectable towns, in our favour. Parliament adopted an insidious manœuvre, calculated to divide us, to establish a perpetual auction of taxations, where colony should bid against colony, all of them uninformed what ransom should redeem their lives, and thus to extort from us at the point of the bayonet, the unknown sums that should be sufficient to gratify, if possible to gratify, ministerial rapacity, with the miserable indulgence left to us of raising in our own mode the prescribed tribute. What terms more rigid and humiliating could have been dictated by remorseless victors to conquered enemies? In our circumstances, to accept them would be to deserve them.

Soon after the intelligence of these proceedings arrived on this continent, General Gage, who in the course of the last year had taken possession of the town of Bolton, in the province of Massachusetts-Bay, and still occupied it as a garrison, on the 19th day of April sent out from that place a large detachment of his army, who made an unprovoked assault on the inhabitants of the said province, at the town of Lexington, as appears by the affidavits of a great number of persons, some of whom were officers and soldiers of that detachment,

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ment, murdered eight of the inhabitants, and wounded many others. From thence the troops proceeded in warlike array to the town of Concord, where they set upon another party of the inhabitants of the same province, killing several, and wounded more, until compelled to retreat by the country people suddenly assembled to repel this cruel aggression. Hostilities thus commenced by the British troops, have been since prosecuted by them without regard to faith or reputation. The inhabitants of Boston being confined within that town by the General their Governor, and having in order to procure their dismissal entered into a treaty with him, it was stipulated that the said inhabitants, having deposited their arms with their own Magistrates, should have liberty to depart, taking with them their other effects. They accordingly delivered up their arms; but in open violation of honour, in defiance of the obligation of treaties, which even savage nations esteem sacred, the Governor ordered the arms deposited as aforesaid, that they might be preserved for their owners, to be seized by a body of soldiers; detained the greatest part of the inhabitants in the town, and compelled the few who were permitted to retire to leave their most valuable effects behind.

By this perfidy wives are separated from their husbands, children from their parents, the aged and sick from their relations and friends, who wish to attend and comfort them; and those who have been used to live in plenty, and even elegance, are reduced to deplorable distress.

The General, farther emulating his ministerial masters, by a proclamation, bearing date on the 12th day of June, after venting the grossest falsehoods and calumnies against the good people of these colonies, proceeds to "declare them all, either by name or description, to be rebels, and traitors, to supersede the course of the common law, and instead thereof to publish and order the use and exercise of the law martial."—His troops have butchered our countrymen; have wantonly burnt Charles Town, besides a considerable number of houses in other places; our ships and vessels are seized; the necessary supplies of provisions are intercepted, and he is exerting his utmost power to spread destruction and devastation around him.

We have received certain intelligence, that General Carleton, the Governor of Canada, is instigating the people of that province and the Indians to fall upon us; and we have but too much reason to apprehend, that schemes have been formed to excite domestic enemies against us. In brief, a part of these colonies now feels, and all them are sure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of administration can inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, sword and famine.

We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated Ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honour, justice and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

Our cause is just: our union is perfect: our internal resources are great, and if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of divine favour towards us, that his Providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operations, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves. With hearts fortified with these animating reflections, we most solemnly before God and the world declare, that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers, which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties, being with one mind resolved to die freemen rather than to live slaves.

Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them, that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them. We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent states. We fight not for glory or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation, or even suspicion of offence. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death.

In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birthright, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it; for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part

part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.

With an humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the Universe, we most devoutly implore his divine goodness to conduct us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war.

By Order of CONGRESS,

JOHN HANCOCK, PRESIDENT.

Attested,

CHARLES THOMPSON, SECRETARY,
Philadelphia, July 6, 1775.

*The TWELVE UNITED COLONIES, by their
DELEGATES in CONGRESS, to the INHABITANTS of GREAT-BRITAIN.*

Friends, Countrymen, and Brethren,

BY these, and by every other appellation that each other, we entreat your serious attention to this our second attempt to prevent their dissolution. Remembrance of former friendships, pride in the glorious achievements of our common ancestors, and affection for the heirs of their virtues, have hitherto preserved our mutual connection. But when that friendship is violated by the grossest injuries, when the pride of ancestry becomes our reproach; and we are no otherwise allied than as tyrants and slaves, when reduced to the melancholy alternative of renouncing your favour or our freedom, can we hesitate about the choice? Let the spirit of Britons determine.

In a former address we asserted our rights, and stated the injuries we had then received. We hoped that the mention of our wrongs would have roused that honest indignation which has slept too long for your honour, or the welfare of the empire. But we have not been permitted to entertain this pleasing expectation; every day brought an accumulation of injuries, and the invention of the Ministry has been constantly exercised in adding to the calamities of your American brethren.

After the most valuable right of legislation was infringed, when the powers assumed by your Parliament, in which we are not represented, and from our local and other circumstances cannot properly be represented, rendered our property precarious. After being denied that mode of trial to which we have long been indebted for the safety of our persons, and the preservation of our liberties, after being in many instances divested of those laws, which were transmitted to US by our common ancestors, and subjected to an arbitrary code, compiled under the auspices of Ro-

man tyrants, after annulling those charters which encouraged our predecessors to brave death and danger in every shape on unknown seas, in deserts unexplored, amidst barbarous and inhospitable nations! when, without the form of trial, without a public accusation, whole Colonies were condemned, their trade destroyed, their inhabitants impoverished. When soldiers were encouraged to embroil their hands in the blood of Americans by offers of impunity; when new modes of trial were instituted for the ruin of the accused, where the charge carried with it the horrors of conviction; when a despotic government was established in a neighbouring Province, and its limits extended to every one of our frontiers, we little imagined that any thing could be added to this black catalogue of unprovoked injuries; but we have unhappily been deceived; and the late measures of the British Ministry fully convince us, that their object is the reduction of these Colonies to slavery and ruin.

To confirm this assertion, let us recall your attention to the affairs of America since our last address; let us combat the calumnies of our enemies, and let us warn you of the dangers that threaten you in our destruction. Many of your fellow-subjects, whose situation deprived them of other support, drew their maintenance from the sea; but the deprivation of our liberty being insufficient to satisfy the resentment of our enemies, the horrors of famine were superadded, and a British Parliament, who, in better times, were the protectors of innocence, and the patrons of humanity, have, without distinction of age or sex, robbed thousands of the food which they were accustomed to draw from that inexhaustible source, placed in their neighbourhood by the benevolent Creator.

Another act of your legislature shuts our ports, and prohibits our trade with any but those states from whom the great law of self-preservation renders it absolutely necessary we should at present withhold our commerce. But this act (whatever may have been its design) we consider rather as injurious to your opulence than our interest. All our commerce terminates with you; and the wealth we procure from other nations is soon exchanged for your superfluities. Our remittances must then cease with our trade, and our refinements with our affluence. We trust, however, that laws which deprive us of every blessing but a foil that teems with the necessities of life, and that liberty which renders the enjoyment of them secure, will not relax our vigour in their defence.

We might here observe on the cruelty and inconsistency of those, who, while they publicly brand us with reproachful and unworthy epithets, endeavour to deprive us of the means of defence.

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and by their interposition with foreign powers, to deliver us to the lawless ravages of a merciless soldiery. But happily we are not without resources; and though the timid and humiliating applications of a British ministry should prevail with foreign nations, yet industry, prompted by necessity, will not leave us without the necessary supplies.

We could wish to go no further—and, not to wound the ear of humanity, leave untold those rigorous acts of oppression which are daily exercised in the town of Boston, did we not hope, that by disclaiming their deeds and punishing the perpetrators, you would shortly vindicate the honour of the British name, and re-establish the violated laws of justice.

That once populous, flourishing and commercial town is now garrisoned by an army sent not to protect but to enslave its inhabitants. The civil government is overturned, and a military despotism erected upon its ruins. Without law, without right, powers are assumed unknown to the constitution—private property is unjustly invaded—the inhabitants, daily subjected to the licentiousness of the soldiery, are forbid to remove in defiance of their natural rights, in violation of the most solemn compact—or if, after long and wearisome solicitation, a pass is procured, their effects are detained, and even those who are most favoured have no alternative but poverty or slavery. The distress of many thousand people, wantonly deprived of the necessary of life, is a subjection which we would not wish to enlarge.

Yet we cannot but observe, that a British fleet (unjustified even by acts of your legislature) are daily employed in ruining our commerce, seizing our ships, and depriving whole communities of their daily bread. Nor will a regard for your honour permit us to be silent, while British troops sully your glory, by actions which the most inveterate enmity will not palliate among civilized nations; the wanton and unnecessary destruction of Charlestown, a large, ancient, and once populous town, just before deserted by its inhabitants, who had fled to avoid the fury of your soldiery.

If you still retain those sentiments of compassion by which Britons have ever been distinguished. If the humanity which tempered the valour of our common ancestors has not degenerated into cruelty, you will lament the miseries of their descendants.

To what are we to attribute this treatment? If to any secret principle of the constitution, let it be mentioned. Let us learn that the Government we have long revered is not without its defects, and that while it gives freedom to a part, it necessarily enslaves the remainder of the empire. If such a principle exists, why for ages has

it ceased to operate? Why at this time is it called into action? Can no reason be assigned for this conduct? Or must it be resolved into wanton exercise of arbitrary power? And shall the descendants of Britons tamely submit to this? No, Sirs! we never will: While we revere the memory of our gallant and virtuous ancestors, we never can surrender those glorious privileges, for which they fought, bled and conquered. Admit that your fleets could destroy our towns, and ravage our sea-coasts; these are inconsiderable objects, things of no moment to men whose bosoms glow with the ardour of liberty. We can retire beyond the reach of our navy, and without any sensible diminution of the necessities of life, enjoy a luxury which from that period you will want; *the luxury of being free.*

We know the force of your arms; and was it called forth in the cause of justice and your country, we might dread the exertion. But will Britons fight under the banners of tyranny? Will they counteract the labours, and disgrace the victories of their ancestors? Will they forge chains for their posterity? If they descend to this unworthy task, will their swords retain their edge, their arms their accustomed vigour?—Britons can never become the instruments of oppression, till they lose the spirit of freedom, by which alone they are invincible.

Our enemies charge us with sedition: In what does it consist? In our refusal to submit to unwarrantable acts of injustice and cruelty? If so, shew us a period in your history, in which you have not been equally seditious.

We are accused of aiming at independence: But how is this accusation supported? By the allegations of your Ministers, not by our actions. —Abused, insulted, and contemned, what steps have we pursued to obtain redress? We have carried our dutiful petitions to the Throne; we have applied to your justice for relief; we have retrenched our luxury, and withheld our trade.

The advantages of our commerce were designed as a compensation for your protection: When you ceased to protect, for what were we to compensate?

What has been the success of our endeavours? The clemency of our Sovereign is unhappily diverted; our petitions are treated with indignity; our prayers answered by insults. Our application to you remains unnoticed, and leaves us the melancholy apprehension of your wanting either the will, or the powers, to assist us.

Even under these circumstances, what measures have we taken that betray a desire of independence? Have we called in the aid of those foreign powers, who are the rivals of your grandeur? When your troops were few and defenceless

less, did we take advantage of their distress and expel them our towns? Or have we permitted them to fortify, to receive new aid, and to acquire additional strength?

Let not your enemies and ours persuade you, that in this we are influenced by fear, or any other unworthy motive. The lives of Britons are still dear to us. They are the children of our parents; an uninterrupted intercourse of mutual benefits had knit the bonds of friendship. When hostilities were commenced, when on a late occasion we were wantonly attacked by your troops, though we repelled their assaults, and returned their blows, yet we lamented the wounds they obliged us to give; nor have we yet learned to rejoice at a victory over Englishmen.

As we wish not to colour our actions, or disguise our thoughts, we shall, in the simple language of truth, avow the measures we have pursued, the motives upon which we have acted, and our future designs.

When our late petition to the Throne produced no other effect than fresh injuries, and votes of your legislature, calculated to justify every severity; when your fleets and your armies were prepared to wrest from us our property, to rob us of our liberties or our lives; when the hostile attempts of General Gage evinced his designs, we levied armies for our security and defence; when the powers vested in the Governor of Canada, gave us reason to apprehend danger from that quarter, and we had frequent intimations that a cruel and savage enemy was to be let loose upon the defenceless inhabitants of our frontiers, we took such measures as prudence dictated, as necessity will justify. We possessed ourselves of Crown Point and Ticonderoga. Yet give us leave most solemnly to assure you, that we have not yet lost sight of the object we have ever had in view, a reconciliation with you on constitutional principles; and a restoration of that friendly intercourse, which, to the advantage of both, we till lately maintained.

The inhabitants of this country apply themselves chiefly to agriculture and commerce. As their fashions and manners are similar to yours, your markets must afford them the conveniences and luxuries for which they exchange the produce of their labours. The wealth of this extended continent centers with you; and our trade is so regulated, as to be subservient only to your interest. You are too reasonable to expect that by taxes (in addition to this) we should contribute to your expence; to believe, after diverting the fountain, that the streams can flow with unabated force.

It has been said that we refuse to submit to the restrictions on our commerce. From whence is

this inference drawn? Not from our words: we having repeatedly declared the contrary; and we again profess our submission to the several acts of trade and navigation passed before the year 1763; trusting nevertheless in the equity and justice of Parliament, that such of them as, upon cool and impartial consideration, shall appear to have imposed unnecessary or grievous restrictions, will, at some happier period, be repealed or altered: And we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British Parliament as shall be restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members, excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America without their consent.

It is alleged that we contribute nothing to the common defence; to this we answer, that the advantages which Great Britain receives from the monopoly of our trade, far exceeds our proportion of the expence necessary for that purpose. But should these advantages be inadequate thereto, let the restriction on the trade be removed, and we will cheerfully contribute such proportion when constitutionally required.

It is a fundamental principle of the British constitution, that every man should have at least a representative share in the formation of those laws by which he is bound. Were it otherwise, the regulation of our internal police by a British parliament, who are, and ever will be, unacquainted with our local circumstances, must be always inconvenient, and frequently oppressive, working our wrong without yielding any possible advantage to you.

A plan of accommodation (as it has been absurdly called) has been proposed by your ministers to our respective assemblies. Were this proposal free from every other objection but that which arises from the time of the offer, it would not be unexceptionable. Can men deliberate with the bayonet at their breast? Can they treat with freedom while their towns are sacked; when daily instances of injustice and oppression disturb the slower operations of reason?

If this proposal is really such as you should offer and we accept, why was it delayed till the nation was put to useless expence, and we were reduced to our present melancholy situations? If it holds forth nothing, why was it proposed? Unless indeed to deceive you into a belief that we were unwilling to listen to any terms of accommodation. But what is submitted to our consideration? We contend for the disposal of our property; we are told that our demand is unreasonable;

able; that our Assemblies may indeed collect our money, but that they must at the same time offer, not what your exigencies or ours may require, but so much as shall be deemed sufficient to satisfy the desires of a minister, and enable him to provide for favourites and dependants (a recurrence to your own Treasury will convince you how little of the money already extorted from us has been applied to the relief of your burthens.) To suppose that we would thus grasp the shadow and give up the substance, is adding insult to injuries.

We have, nevertheless, again presented an humble and dutiful petition to our Sovereign; and to remove every imputation of obduracy, have requested his Majesty to direct some mode by which the united applications of his faithful colonists may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation. We are willing to treat on such terms as can alone render an accommodation lasting; and we flatter ourselves, that our pacific endeavours will be attended with a removal of the troops; a repeal of those laws, of the operation of which we complain on the one part, and a dissolution of our army and commercial associations on the other.

Yet conclude not from this that we propose to surrender our property into the hands of your Ministry, or vest your Parliament with a power which may terminate in our destruction. The great bulwarks of our constitution we have desired to maintain by every temperate, by every peaceable means; but your Ministers, equal foes to British and American freedom, have added to their former oppressions an attempt to reduce us by the sword to a base and abject submission. On the sword therefore we are compelled to rely for protection, though should victory declare in your favour, yet men trained up to arms from their infancy, and animated by the love of liberty, will afford neither a cheap or easy conquest. Of this at least we are assured, that our struggles will be glorious, our success certain, since even in death we shall find that freedom which in life you forbid us to enjoy.

Let us now ask what advantages are to attend our reduction? The trade of a ruined and desolate country is always inconsiderable; its revenue trifling; the expence of subjecting and retaining it in subjection certain and inevitable. What then remains but the gratifications of an ill-judged pride, or the hope of rendering us subservient to designs on your liberty.

Soldiers who have sheathed their swords in the bowels of their American brethren, will not draw them with more reluctance against you. When too late you may lament the loss of that freedom, which we exhort you, while still in your power, to preserve.

On the other hand, should you prove unsuccessful; should that connection which we most ardently wish to maintain be dissolved; should your Ministers exhaust your treasures; waste the blood of your countrymen in vain attempts on our liberty, do they not deliver you weak and defenceless to your natural enemies?

Since thence your liberty must be the price of your victories, your ruin of your defeat, what blind fatality can urge you to a pursuit destructive of all that Britons hold dear!

If you have no regard to the connection that has for ages subsisted between us; if you have forgot the wounds we received fighting by your side for the extension of the empire; if our commerce is an object below your consideration; if justice and humanity have lost their influence on hearts, still motives are not wanting to excite your indignation at the measures now pursued; your wealth, your honour, your liberty are at stake.

Notwithstanding the distress to which we are reduced, we sometimes forget our own afflictions to anticipate and sympathize in yours. We grieve that rash and inconsiderate councils should precipitate the destruction of an empire, which has been the envy and admiration of ages; and call God to witness! that we would part with our property, endanger our lives, and sacrifice every thing but liberty to redeem you from ruin.

A cloud hangs over your heads and ours; ere this reaches you, it may probably have burst upon us; let us then (before the remembrance of former kindness is obliterated) once more repeat those appellations which are ever grateful in our ears. Let us entreat Heaven to avert our ruin, and the destruction that threatens our friends, brethren, and countrymen on the other side of the Atlantic.

By Order of the Congress,
JOHN HANCOCK, President.

Attested by

CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary.

Philadelphia, July 8, 1775.

AUGUST 12.

From the PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE of July 5.

Philadelphia, in Assembly June 29. The House taking into consideration, that many of the good people of this province are conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms, do hereby earnestly recommend to the associators for the defence of their country, and others, that they bear a tender and brotherly regard towards this class of their fellow-subjects and countrymen; and to these conscientious people it is also recommended, that they cheerfully assist, in proportion to their abilities, such persons as cannot spend both time and

and substance in the service of their country without great injury to themselves and families.

Resolved, That the sum of 20l. be paid for every 100 Wt. of good, merchantable saltpetre, that shall be made and manufactured in this province, and delivered to the undermentioned Committee, within the space of three months from this time; and that the sum of 15l. be paid for every 100 Wt. of good, merchantable saltpetre, that shall be made and manufactured in this province, and delivered to said Committee within three months next following, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity.

Committee, John Dickenson, Michael Swoope, William Thomson, George Gray, John Montgomery, Thomas Willing, Henry Wynkoop, Edward Biddle, Benjamin Franklin, Anthony Wayne, William Edmonds, Daniel Roberdeau, Benjamin Bartholomew, Bernard Dougherty, John Cadwallader, George Rofs, Samuel Hunter, Andrew Allen, Owen Biddle, Francis Johnston, Richard Reily, Samuel Morris, jun. Robert Morris, Thomas Wharton, jun. Robert White.

CHARLES MOORE, Clerk of the Assembly.

From the VIRGINIA GAZETTE.

Norfolk, July 5. The commission from the Congress, to General Washington, we are informed, is addressed in these words: "To our beloved brother George Washington, Esq; Captain General and Commander in Chief of all the forces of the United Colonies."

From the NEW-YORK GAZETTE.

New-York: In Provincial Congress, July 5. Resolved, That no vessel now in port, nor any that may hereafter arrive, belonging to any port in Great Britain or Ireland, or the Islands of Jersey or Guernsey, which send vessels to the Newfoundland fishery, be permitted to load any bread or flour, beef or pork, unless the property of those articles be in some merchant or inhabitant of this colony, and not intended for Newfoundland, until it shall be otherwise ordered by this or the Continental Congress.

JOHN M'KESSON, Sec.

New-York, July 6. Last Sunday General Clinton sent from his camp on Bunker's Hill a flag to our's on Prospect-Hill (within reach of a 24 pounder from each other) with letters from our prisoners, informing that they had lost six of the number of the wounded, and that they are treated tenderly, and taken care of by army or town surgeons, or both as they chuse; and a means of communication, on like occasions, is settled between the two armies, both of which are throwing up works to secure themselves against each other.

New-York, June 26. The Provincial Congress of New Jersey have advised and recommended,

that each Township or Corporation in that Province immediately raise a company of 80 men each, with one Captain, two Lieutenants, and one Ensign, &c. To defray such expence as may attend the same, the sum of 10,000l. is to be levied.

For raising this money, persons are to be appointed by the Committees in each town; all certainties to be rated 1-5th less than by the Act of Assembly for settling the quotas of taxes for each county; and lands and other articles to be as that act directs.

WILLIAM PATERSON, Secretary.

Kingslon, Jamaica, May 27. On Wednesday last a clergyman was executed on the Parade in this town for coining.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in the township of Rygate, on Connecticut river, to his father in New Jersey, dated June 20.

"The Indian and Canadian war is all vanished. We have had positive accounts from many of the Indian tribes, who are certainly applied to by Governor Carleton to distress the settlements, but they say they have received no offence from the people, so will not make war with them. The French say it is a war of our own raising, and they will have no part in it."

AUGUST 14.

The following is a list of the forces intended to do duty in America early in the spring of 1776, exclusive of officers, artillery, and marines. There are to be thirty-one battalions, to consist of twelve companies each, sixty rank and file per company, making in the whole 22,320 rank and file, viz. 4th regiment, Hodgson's; 5th, Percy's; 6th, Sir Wm. Boothby's, now at St. Vincent's; 7th, Lord R. Bertie's; 8th, Armitrong's; 10th, Sanford's; 14th, Keppel's; 15th, Pigot's; 16th, Gilsborn's; 17th, Monckton's, now under orders; 22d, Gage's; 23d, Howe's; 26th, Scott's; 27th and 28th, Massey's and Earle's, both under orders; 35th, Fletcher's; 37th, Coote's; 38th, Lord Blaney's; 40th, Sir R. Hamilton's; 42d, Lord John Murray's; 43d, Cary's; 44th, Abercromby's; 45th, Haviland's; 46th, Vaughan's, now under orders; 47th, Carleton's; 49th, Maitland's; 52d, Clavering's; 55th, Lord Cavan's, now under orders; 63d, Grant's; 64th, Tornay's; 65th, Urmlston's. The 18th and 59th are to come home.

AUGUST 15.

From the SOUTH CAROLINA GAZETTE, In Provincial Congress, Charles-Town, Wednesday, June 21, 1775.

"Whereas the inhabitants of Poole, a seaport in the English Channel, lost to all sense of honour,

honour, humanity, and gratitude, have, by their late petition to parliament, manifested themselves not only inimical to America, but desirous to add to the heavy oppressions under which the unfortunate and virtuous inhabitants of the four New-England governments labour, in consequence of their laudable conduct in defence of the liberties of America and of mankind : to testify our just resentment of so base and cruel a conduct in the inhabitants of Poole, it is hereby resolved, That this colony will not use or employ any shipping belonging to that port, or owned by any inhabitant there, or carry on any transactions, or hold any communication with that people.

PETER TIMOTHY, Secretary.

In Provincial Congress, Charles-Town, Thursday, June 22.

“ Resolved, that all absentees holding estates in this colony, except the sick, those above 60, and those under 21 years of age, ought forthwith to return to this colony.

“ Resolved, That no persons holding estates in this colony, ought to withdraw from its service, without giving good and sufficient reasons for so doing to this Congress, or, during its recess, to the General Committee.

PETER TIMOTHY, Secretary.

Charles-Town, June 23. The Provincial Congress broke up yesterday, after having spent three weeks, Sundays not excepted, in deliberating on the present unhappy state of public affairs.

Extract of a letter from Bristol, Aug. 12.

“ Yesterday arrived here the Commerce, Capt. Rice, from Philadelphia, who brings advices so late as the 9th of July, in which not a word is mentioned of another engagement between our troops and the Provincials near Boston ; on the contrary, matters at present are rather quiet, so that the accounts that have been propagated of another battle, very fatal to our troops, may now be pronounced entirely void of undation.”

Yesterday a merchant of this City received a letter from Bristol, which gives an account that the Barbadoes packet, is arrived there from Philadelphia in 32 days, and brought over Governor Penn. who has with him an humble petition from the Congress to be presented to his Majesty ; and also some proposals for putting a stop to the further effusion of blood. The packet sailed from Philadelphia the 12th of July, at which time all things remained quiet at Boston, and it was thought would continue so till his Majesty's pleasure be known touching the prayer of the said petition and proposals. It is added, that the Regulars and Provincials were both intrenched when the packet came away, one waiting for a reinforcement, and the other for an answer to the petition, &c.

By the KING,
A PROCLAMATION,
For suppressing Rebellion and Sedition.
“ GEORGE R.

WHEREAS many of our subjects in divers parts of our Colonies and Plantations in North-America, misled by dangerous and ill-designing men, and forgetting the allegiance which they owe to the power that has protected and sustained them, after various disorderly acts committed in disturbance of the public peace, to the obstruction of lawful commerce, and to the oppression of our loyal subjects carrying on the same, have at length proceeded to an open and avowed Rebellion, by arraying themselves in hostile manner, to withstand the execution of the law, and traitorously preparing, ordering, and levying war against us : And whereas there is reason to apprehend that such Rebellion hath been much promoted and encouraged by the traitorous correspondence, counsels, and comfort of divers wicked and desperate persons within this realm : To the end therefore that none of our subjects may neglect or violate their duty through ignorance thereof, or through any doubt of the protection which the law will afford to their loyalty and zeal, we have thought fit, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation, hereby declaring, that not only all our officers, civil and military, are obliged to exert their utmost endeavours to suppress such Rebellion, and to bring the traitors to justice ; but that all our subjects of this realm, and the dominions thereunto belonging, are bound by law to be aiding and assisting in the suppression of such Rebellion, and to disclose and make known all traitorous conspiracies and attempts against us, our Crown and dignity ; and we do accordingly strictly charge and command all our officers, as well civil as military, and all other our obedient and loyal subjects, to use their utmost endeavours to withstand and suppress such Rebellion, and to disclose and make known all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which they shall know to be against us, our Crown and dignity ; and for that purpose, that they transmit to one of our principal Secretaries of State, or other proper officer, due and full information of all persons who shall be found carrying on correspondence with, or in any manner or degree aiding or abetting the persons now in open Arms and Rebellion against our government within any of our Colonies and Plantations in North-America, in order to bring to condign punishment the authors, perpetrators, and abettors of such traitorous designs.

“ Given at our Court at St. James's, the 23d of August 1775, in the fifteenth year of our reign.

GOD save the KING.”

AUGUST 21.

The Georgia Gazette, which arrived on Saturday, dated the 12th of July, brings an account of that province having in a Provincial meeting agreed to all the resolutions of the General Congress in the fullest extent. They addressed the Governor to appoint a day of fasting and prayer, which he complied with, and published a proclamation, ordering the 19th of July to be set apart for that purpose. They then met three successive days to deliberate, and came to many resolutions more spirited than those from any other part of America. They declare, that though their province is not included in any of the oppressive acts lately passed against America, yet they look upon this as an insult rather than a favour, as they say it was done with a view to divide them from their American brethren. They have chosen five Delegates to go to the General Congress; have declared they will receive no goods shipped from England after the 1st of July, and that they will ship nothing from Georgia after the 10th of September; they will also ship nothing to any of the West India Islands, or to any part of America that does not agree to the terms proposed by the General Congress, and hath resolved to abridge themselves of all superfluities, and encourage agriculture, and the breed of sheep as much as possible.

Eight battalions, consisting of 4500 privates, exclusive of officers, are ordered, by the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, to be immediately raised, clothed, and armed, at the expence of that province, and to be quartered in the barracks at Philadelphia.

The four battalions of militia, two companies of rifle men, three companies of artillery (having a proper service of six and twelve brass field pieces) four companies of rangers, and two troops of light horse, belonging to Philadelphia, and commanded by the Colonels *Dickinson*, *Robertson*, &c. and the Captains *Loxley*, *Markoe*, &c. will, with the foregoing provincial regulars, form an army in that city of at least 8000 effective men.

The regiments of militia in the counties of Philadelphia, Chester and Bucks (only) in Pennsylvania, consist of at least twenty thousand infantry and cavalry; who exercise five times a week, and are but one day's march from Philadelphia.

It appears by a return of the number of men training in Pennsylvania, made to the General Assembly of that Province in July last, that it was at least seventy-three thousand.

One thousand rifle men marched the latter end of June from the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, to join General Washington's army near

Boston. They are in the pay of the Continental Congress.

Extract of a letter from Philadelphia, dated July 10, 1775, from a gentleman of consideration and fortune.

"Travel through whatever part of this country you will, you see the inhabitants training, making firelocks, casting mortars, shells and shot, and making saltpetre, in order to keep the gunpowder mills at work during the next autumn and winter. Nothing, indeed, is attended to but preparing to make a defence that will astonish the whole world, and hurl destruction on those who, to preserve themselves in office, have advised measures so fatal both to Britain and America. At least two hundred thousand men are now in arms, and well trained, ready to march whenever wanted for the support of American freedom and property. In short, a spirit of enthusiasm for war is gone forth, that has driven away the fear of death; and magazines of provisions and ammunition, by order of the States General of America (or the Twelve United Colonies) are directed to be made in all proper places, against the next campaign."

Extract of a letter from a gentleman at New York, to his friend at Edinburgh, June 21.

"A worthy young man, an Indian preacher, with three of his tribe, just arrived from the Six Nations, were with me this morning. They are come to wait upon our Provincial Congress, now sitting in this city, with the news that the Indian nations are determined not to act against the colonies. They also inform me that even the Canadian Indians are our friends. The Continental Congress have recommended it in the warmest manner to all the colonies to observe the 20th of next month as a continental fast. A regular army of 70,000 men is to be immediately raised; all ranks of people are in arms. Seventeen regular companies are already formed in this city who have no pay and provide themselves with uniforms, arms and ammunition. Should the unhappy contest continue six months longer, it is very probable that we will have near 200,000 bold resolute men disciplined to as great perfection as any of his Majesty's troops. The Provincial army at present at Boston consists of 20,000 men, and increases daily. General Worcester, the chief commander of the Connecticut troops, is soon to encamp near this city with 2000 men. It is a gross calumny to say, that we are aiming at independency, for our political principles are the same that raised the house of Hanover to the throne; and were your ministers to adopt these principles, we would immediately lay down our arms."

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AUGUST

AUGUST 23.

By the last ships from America, is received a letter from the Synod of Philadelphia and New-York. The following is an abstract of it:—

The Synod of New-York and Philadelphia published a pastoral letter, which was read in the churches under their care on Thursday, June 29, 1775, being the day of the general fast. This letter begins with entreating all ranks of people to acknowledge their sins, and turn from the error of their ways; and “as the whole continent, with hardly any exception, seem determined to defend their rights by force of arms, it becomes the peculiar duty of those who profess a willingness to hazard their lives in the cause of liberty, to be prepared for death, which to many must be a certain, and to every one is a possible or probable event. It is well known to you (otherwise it would be imprudent thus publicly to profess) that we have not been instrumental in inflaming the minds of the people, or urging them to acts of violence and disorder. Perhaps no instance can be given on so interesting a subject, in which political sentiments have been so long and so fully kept from the pulpit, and even malice itself has not charged us with labouring from the press; but things are now come to such a height, that we do not wish to conceal our opinions as men. Suffer us therefore to exhort you, by assuring you, that there is no army so formidable as those who are superior to the fear of death. Let therefore every one who, from generosity of spirit, or benevolence of heart, offers himself as a champion in his country’s cause, be persuaded to reverence the *Lord of Hosts*, and walk in the fear of the *Prince of the Kings of the Earth*, and then he may, with the most unshaken firmness, expect the issue either in death or victory.”

After several other exhortations they offer six advices, which are in substance as follow: “1st. Let every opportunity be taken to express your attachment to King George and the Revolution principles, which seated his family on the British throne. We recommend esteem and reverence for the person of the Prince, who has merited well of his subjects on many accounts, and who has probably been misled into the late and present measures by those about him; neither have we any doubt, that they themselves have been in a great degree deceived by false information from interested persons residing in America—2dly. Be careful to maintain the union which at present subsists in all the colonies, on which the success of every measure depends. In particular, as the Continental Congress now sitting at Philadelphia consists of Delegates chosen in the most free and unbiassed manner by the body of the people, let them not only be treated with respect,

and encouraged in their difficult service; not only let your prayers be offered up to God for his direction in their proceedings, but adhere firmly to their resolutions; and let it be seen that they are able to bring out the whole strength of this vast country to carry them into execution. 3dly. We earnestly beseech all societies to watch over their members, and agreeable to the resolution of the last Continental Congress discourage luxury of living, public diversions, and gaming of all kinds; for if it is undeniable that universal profligacy makes a nation ripe for divine judgment, and is the natural mean of bringing them to ruin, reformation of manners is of the utmost necessity in our present distresses. 4thly. We recommend a regard to public order and peace; as legal proceedings are become difficult, that all persons conscientiously pay their debts, and to the utmost of their power serve one another, so that the evils inseparable from a civil war may not be augmented by wantonness and irregularity. 5thly. We recommend to all ranks, but particularly to those who may be called to action, a spirit of humanity and mercy. The injuries received or supposed in civil war, wound more deeply than those of foreign enemies; it is therefore the more necessary to guard against this abuse, and we recommend that meekness and gentleness of spirit which is the noblest attendant on true valour. The man will fight most bravely who never fights but when it is necessary, and who ceases to fight as soon as the necessity is over. Lastly, We would recommend to all societies, not to content themselves with attending devoutly on fasts, but to continue habitually in prayer, and to have frequent voluntary meetings for solemn intercession with God on the important trial.”

AUGUST 24.

From the NEW YORK GAZETTE of July 15.

Cambridge, July 6. The enemy early in the morning of the last Sabbath, in return for some cannon that they had received from one of our fortresses the afternoon before, began and continued for several hours a heavy fire upon the town of Roxbury, both from the cannon and the mortars. They set one house on fire, which was consumed, and did little other damage.

Hartford, July 10. Friday last the General Assembly of this colony ended the business of the special session at this place. They have ordered two more regiments to be immediately raised in the colony, to consist of 700 men each, exclusive of officers, who are to join the force of the United Colonies of North America, in defence our common and violated rights.

Watertown, July 3. There has been an exchange of cannon almost every day this week past between

between the enemy at Boston Neck and our troops at Roxbury, and yesterday morning about four a very heavy cannonade began, and continued till after eight, but we have not heard of any particulars, saving that the enemy fired two houses near the Burying Ground at Roxbury, by bombs, and that our forces have demolished the house lately occupied by Mr. Brown, of Boston Neck.

Since the battle of the 17th ult. a considerable body of the army have been employed in fortifying Prospect Hill, and other eminences near Charles Town; the former, which is a very fine situation, and in full view of Bunker's Hill, is said to be now rendered almost impregnable. The lines on Winter Hill are carrying on with great vigour, and it is proposed, we are informed, to extend them to those on Prospect Hill. Similar works are carrying on at Roxbury; breast works within about half a mile of the enemies lines have been thrown up across the main street in that town.

On a very high hill, a little distance from the Meeting-house, is erected a strong fortification, within cannon shot of Boston. The above works have been constructed to prevent any excursions the enemy might attempt to make into the country, previous to nearer approaches that may be made for rescuing that unfortunate capital out of the hands of its present unjust, tyrannical invaders.

Watertown, July 5. Capt. Tileston arrived at Newbury last Wednesday, in 21 days from Newfoundland, and informs us, that a greater number of vessels had arrived from Europe for the fishery than usual, as the Colonies were not permitted to fish on the Banks there; but finding they could not procure flour, &c. several vessels returned home before Capt. Tileston sailed, and many more were soon to follow, their voyages being broken up.

AUGUST 25.

A vessel is arrived from Nantucket, which brings letters of the 20th of July, but no account of any engagement. Some soldiers having been sent to get hay and grafs from Long Island for the horses, were surrounded and taken prisoners by the Provincials, who afterwards destroyed the houses there. The light house near Boston, is also destroyed by the Provincials.

From the MASSACHUSETTS GAZETTE of July 20.

Extract of a letter from Newport, Rhode-Island.

"Our town is peaceable and quiet: Upwards of an hundred of the peaceable people have signed an association which makes a noise in the country. Capt. Wallace has released a sloop from Jamaica, and at present seems to shew indulgence to the peaceable."

The Captain of the vessel that brought the above letter, left Newport three days after the date of it, and reported that near 400 had signed the Association.

To all Seafaring People.

This is to give notice, that the light-house on Thatcher's Island (commonly called Cape Anne Lights) and the light house at the entrance of Boston harbour, are burnt and destroyed by the rebels.

And further notice is given, that all sea-faring people be careful that they are not deceived by false lights, which the rebels threaten to hang out, in order to decoy vessels into destruction.

By command of the Admiral,

G. GEFFERINA.

Presson, at Boston, July 20, 1775.

A letter from an officer on board his Majesty's fleet at Boston, after giving an account of the late engagement at Bunker's-Hill, concludes thus: "General Gage was going two or three days after to make another attempt on purpose to open a communication by the Neck to the Southward, but in the time of the preparation, a clergyman (a deserter from the Provincials) delivered himself up, and gave an account that the Provincials had 1600 men strongly intrenched at Roxburgh town, with several mines ready to spring; on which account the expedition was laid aside. Our army, in all attacks, have been great sufferers; and it is the opinion of many, that the Provincials will make an attempt on Boston before the army can be reinforced from Great-Britain."

AUGUST 26.

A letter received from Boston, dated the 18th July, by the Peace and Harmony, Captain Wishart, contains the following intelligence:

"That the principal part of the officers and soldiers, who were wounded on the 17th June, are since dead; owing to the heat of the weather, and the want of fresh provisions, which is likely long to be the case.

"That the troops, having only salt pork, &c. to eat, die very fast. The factory alms-house and work-house are taken up for hospitals; they are continually carrying in the patients, and bringing out dead bodies—That a flux rages among them, of which they die so fast, that great numbers are buried without coffins—They dig trenches (in the burying ground at the South end) long enough to hold 50 or 60 in length, and two in depth, several of these trenches have been already filled.

"That about a week before there was a small skirmish on the Neck, without much loss on either side; the Provincials attacked in the night and
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burnt a house on the Neck, lately occupied by Mr. Brown—this house was used for a guard-house to the troops, and contained various combustibles. From this place it seems to have been the design of the regulars to bombard Roxbury.

“That a few days before the 18th, a number of Provincials in flat bottomed boats (of which they have a great number) went to Long Island, and took about 65 head of horned cattle, 405 sheep and lambs, a great quantity of poultry, and several hogs; they burnt all the hay and every house and out-house on the island, though so near the Castle, and under the mouth of the cannon of two 74 gun ships, and several frigates and schooners, which lay round the island.

“That it was the general opinion, that the town could not hold out three months longer, and that they were in daily expectation the Provincials would rush in upon them.”

Part of a letter from a gentleman at Philadelphia, dated July 3.

“The Indians of the different tribes determine to maintain a neutrality. I conversed an hour on this subject with a gentleman who is now here express from the Indians to the Congress. We have an uncommon year of plenty; and as all exports will soon be cut off we shall have more provisions than we can make use of. The Continental army is to be kept within bounds, and to be increased as re-inforcements arrive from England. I am driven from Boston, from my interest and connections, and have taken refuge in Philadelphia; were, with my numerous family, I meet with many friends. I left my house with its furniture just as I lived in it, a few things excepted.”

A letter from a gentleman of German Town, near Boston, to a gentleman at Bristol, mentions the distress of the country occasioned by the Boston Port bill; and adds “There have been many instances of cruelty of the officers, in putting this act in force; particularly in refusing to let persons save their salt hay from those islands which are in the bounds of Boston harbour and uninhabited; and not suffering the fishermen who go out to catch mackarel, bass, haddock, &c. to carry more salt than they use in one day’s fishing, so that they are obliged to return every evening.”

Advice is received by several merchants in the city, that a ship cleared out at Bristol for Africa with 6000 stand of arms, and a large quantity of gunpowder on board, was lately taken on the Coast of Maryland by one of our men of war, the cargo appearing to be designed for the use of the Americans.

AUGUST 28.

A correspondent informs us, that intelligence has lately been received from Quebec, that the

Canadians have refused to act against the other Americans; and that they had moreover declared, that, if they should resolve to take up arms on this occasion (which they very much wished to avoid, and did, for the present, decline) they should not choose to serve under their former officers (the Knights of the order of Saint Lewis, and the other persons called the Noblesse of Canada) having a disagreeable remembrance of the treatment they formerly received from them, but should choose to have officers appointed over them from the most respectable persons in their own class, the peasantry or yeomanry of the province, or else to be commanded by English officers on half pay, of whom several have been long settled amongst them upon purchases of land in that province. But for the present they declined engaging in this service at all, so as to be obliged to march out of the Province, and act offensively against the other Americans; but declared at the same time that they were ready to defend the Province, to the utmost of their power, against any invasion that the other Americans should make upon it. This was the state of things in that Province on the 17th of last July. This news, our correspondent says, may be depended on.

We also hear that Governor Carleton, being exceedingly disappointed at the refusal of the Canadians to engage in this service, applied to Monsieur Brand, the Popish Bishop of Quebec, to use his spiritual influence and authority over them to induce them to engage in it, by issuing an episcopal mandate for that purpose, to be read by the priests of the several parishes of the province in their respective parish Churches in the time of divine service. But the Bishop prudently declined it, alledging that this was not a proper subject for an episcopal mandate according to the canons of the church of Rome. But he at the same time offered the Governor to write to the several priests of the Province to exhort them to use their endeavours, in the way of private conversation and advice, to persuade the people to engage. And this offer was accepted by the Governor; and the Bishop wrote to the priests accordingly. But it has not produced the desired effect, the people still continuing averse to this dangerous and odious service.

AUGUST 30.

Extract of a letter from General Washington, dated June 30, at Philadelphia, to the independent companies of Fairfax, Prince William, Fauquier, Spotsylvania, and Richmond.

“Gentlemen,

“I am now about to bid adieu to the companies under your respective commands, at least for a while. I have launched into a wide and extensive field, too boundless for my abilities, and far
very

very far, beyond my experience. I am called, by the unanimous voice of the Colonies, to the command of the continental army; an honour I did not aspire to, an honour I was solicitous to avoid, upon a full conviction of my inadequacy to the importance of the service. The partiality of the Congress, however, assisted by a political motive, rendered my reasons unavailing; and I shall to-morrow set out for the camp near Boston. I have only to beg of you, therefore, before I go, (especially as you did me the honour to put your companies under my direction, and know not how soon you may be called upon in Virginia for an exertion of your military skill) by no means to relax in the discipline of your respective companies."

A ship belonging to government, bound for St. Augustine, with gun-powder and ammunition, happened to touch at Charlestown, when the people seized her and carried off the cargo.

By a letter from Bolton, received on Monday, we learn that the bloody flux raged violently in the town through the total want of fresh meat, and that the inhabitants daily fell martyrs to it. General Gage has paid the store-keepers such debts as were due to them by the officers who have died in the late actions.

This year's export of fish from America to Europe, will certainly fall short of the last year's quantity by 600,000 quintals; the usual export was double that amount. Hence Great Britain will feel a loss of near 500,000l. all money gained out of the sea, and which can now never be recovered.

AUGUST 31.

Dublin, August 25

At Guildhall, Dublin, the 17th of July, 1775, being quarter day of the Guild of merchants of the said city, the following resolutions were agreed to:

Resolved unanimously,

That the sincere thanks of this Guild be presented to the Right Hon. the Earl of EFFINGHAM, in testimony of our approbation of his public conduct, particularly exemplified in his refusing to draw that sword, which had been employed to the honour of his country, against the lives and liberties of his fellow-subjects in America; and honestly and spiritedly resigning a commission which he could no longer hold consistent with the principles of a true Englishman, or of a real friend to the interest of Britain.

Resolved,

That the sincere thanks of this Guild be presented to the Right Hon. JOHN WILKES,

Lord Mayor of the city of London, for the essential services which he has rendered his King and country, by his strenuous efforts in the cause of freedom; and for his able, spirited, and judicious defence of the right of the people to petition the throne.

There was to the last resolution a single negative given by a *Scotchman*, who has an employment in our Stamp-office.

Resolved unanimously,

That an address of thanks from the Guild be presented to the several *Peers* who (in support of our constitution, and in opposition to a weak and wicked Administration) *Protested* against the American, restraining bills.—And the following gentlemen were appointed, with the masters and wardens, a committee to prepare the same:

James Napper Tandy,	Samuel Gamble,
Henry Howison,	Samuel Stephens,
Sir Edw. Newenham,	Hugh Crothers,
John Perce,	

Who prepared the following:

We the Masters, Wardens, and Brethren of the Guild of Merchants of the city Dublin in common hall assembled, with the most unfeigned respect, beg leave to offer to your Lordship the just tribute of our thanks for your noble and spirited, though hitherto ineffectual exertions in the cause of liberty and of your country, fully evinced in your opposition to the oppressive and unconstitutional proceedings of a corrupt Administration.

With equal grief and indignation we have for years beheld repeated innovations on the free constitution of these realms, and daily invasions of the dearest rights and immunities of the subject. We have seen with astonishment *Papery* established bylaw in one, and encouraged in every part of the empire in the reign of a *Protestant Prince*; and despotism and arbitrary power promoted by every insidious machination and open violence by the servants of the Crown, in the reign of a Monarch who, from the Throne declared, *he gloried in being a Briton born*; and whose family was called to the Throne of these kingdoms to protect the *Protestant Religion*, and preserve that constitution *inviolable*, for which our ancestors so freely bled, and for the invading of which a tyrant was expelled the Throne.

But while we contemplate with horror the universal ruin and devastation in which the empire is nearly involved by the wicked devices of evil men, we with pleasure survey the steady, incorruptible, and patriotic virtues which adorn you and shield us; while we boast of such a noble band of patriots, while we see
"united

" united in the cause of freedom such a number of the true hereditary guardians of liberty, and of the principles of the glorious *Revolution*, we cannot, we will not despair of seeing once more the valuable constitution of these countries restored to its primitive purity.

" Permit us therefore to offer your Lordship our warmest, our most grateful acknowledgments as Protestants, for your steady opposition to the establishment of popery and slavery in Canada; as freemen for your manly and spirited opposition to the several restraining bills; and your noble efforts in the support of *American liberty*, and in the cause of our suffering and much oppressed brethren and fellow subjects there; and and we have the fullest reliance on your steady perseverance in the same principles which have so strongly endeared you, not only to us, but to every real friend of the British empire and its constituents."

In testimony whereof, we have caused the seal of our corporation to be hereunto affixed this 17th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1775.

(L. S.)

Midsummer Assembly, 21st, July, 1775.

Resolved,

" That the thanks of the Sheriffs and Commons be presented to Lord Effingham, for having chosen gloriously to resign his commission rather than imbrue his hands in the blood of his innocent and oppressed fellow subjects."

Which being enclosed to his Lordship by the proper officer, the following answer was received :

S I R,

" I have been favoured with your letter of the 21st of July last, enclosing the copy of a resolution of the Sheriffs and Commons of the city of Dublin.

" Next to the testimony of a man's own conscience, is, in my opinion, his greatest happiness to have the approbation of the wife and honest among his fellow subjects.

" The former of these can, I think, be no other way enjoyed, than by a strict adherence to those principles, which, at the Revolution, established our civil and religious liberties; and it is easy; Sir, for you to conceive, but beyond my abilities to express what I felt, at my conduct's being judged, by so independent and respectable an assembly as the Sheriffs and Commons of the city of Dublin, deserving of the latter.

" I am with truth and respect,

" SIR,

The Holmes, " Your most obedient,
August 14, 1775. " Humble servant,

" EFFINGHAM."

" Alfred Howard, Esq; Dublin."

Private letters received from Boston, dated July 20, mention that General Gage had made a ge-

neral muster of his army, and had 9000 men fit for the field, exclusive of marines; and the inhabitants of Boston were in expectation every day of another engagement.

S E P T E M B E R 2.

Cambridge, July 6. Last Sabbath came to town from Philadelphia, his Excellency George Washington, Esq; appointed by the Continental Congress General and Commander in Chief of the American forces, and was received with every testimony of respect due to a gentleman of his real worth and elevated dignity. His Excellency was accompanied by the Hon. Charles Lee, Esq; and a number of other gentlemen.

The following addresses have been presented to his Excellency General Washington and the Hon. Major General Lee.

To his Excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq; General and Commander in Chief of the Continental army.

" May it please your Excellency,

" THE Congress of the Massachusetts Colony, impressed with every sentiment of gratitude and respect, beg leave to congratulate you on your safe arrival, and to wish you all imaginable happiness and success in the execution of the important duties of your elevated station. While we applaud that attention to the public good, manifested in your appointment, we equally admire that disinterested virtue and distinguished patriotism, which alone could call you from those enjoyments of domestic life, which a sublime and manly taste, joined with a most affluent fortune, can afford, to hazard your life, and to endure the fatigues of war, in the defence of the rights of mankind, and the good of your country.

" The laudable zeal for the common cause of America, and compassion for the distresses of this Colony, exhibited by the great dispatch made in your journey hither, fully justify the universal satisfaction we have, with pleasure, observed on this occasion; and are promising presages, that the great expectations formed from your personal character, and military abilities, are well founded.

" We wish you may have found such regularity and discipline already established in the army, as may be agreeable to your expectation. The hurry with which it was necessarily collected, and the many disadvantages, arising from a suspension of government, under which we have raised and endeavoured to regulate the forces of this colony, have rendered it a work of time; and though in great measure effected, the completion of so difficult and at the same time, so necessary a task, is

" reserved

" reserved to your Excellency, and we doubt not
 " will be properly considered and attended to.

" We would not presume to prescribe to your
 " Excellency, but supposing you would choose to
 " be informed of the general character of the
 " soldiers who compose this army, beg leave to
 " represent, that the greatest part of them have
 " not before seen service; and although natu-
 " rally brave and of good understanding, yet,
 " for want of experience in military life, have
 " but little knowledge of divers things most es-
 " sential to the preservation of health, and even
 " of life. The youth in the army are not pos-
 " sessed of the absolute necessity of cleanliness in
 " their dress and lodging, continual exercise,
 " and strict temperance, to preserve them from
 " diseases frequently prevailing in camps; espe-
 " cially among those, who, from their child-
 " hood have been used to a laborious life.

" We beg leave to assure you, that this Con-
 " gress will, at all times, be ready to attend to
 " such requisitions as you may have occasion to
 " make to us; and to contribute all the aid in
 " our power to the cause of America and your
 " happiness and ease, in the discharge of the
 " duties of your exalted office.

" We most fervently implore Almighty God,
 " that the blessings of divine providence may rest
 " on you; that your head may be covered in the
 " day of battle; that every necessary assistance
 " may be afforded; and that you may be long
 " continued in life and health, a blessing to man-
 " kind."

HIS EXCELLENCY'S ANSWER.

" GENTLEMEN,

" YOUR kind congratulations on my ap-
 " pointment, and arrival, demand my warmest
 " acknowledgements, and will ever be retained
 " in grateful remembrance.

" In exchanging the enjoyments of domestic
 " life for the duties of my present honourable
 " but arduous station, I only emulate the vir-
 " tue and public spirit of the whole province of
 " Massachusetts Bay, which, with a firmness, and
 " patriotism without example in modern his-
 " tory, has sacrificed all the comforts of social
 " and political life, in support of the rights of
 " mankind, and the welfare of our common
 " country. My highest ambition is, to be the
 " happy instrument of vindicating those rights,
 " and to see this devoted province again restored
 " to peace, liberty, and safety.

" The short space of time which has elapsed
 " since my arrival does not permit me to de-
 " cide upon the state of the army. The course
 " of human affairs forbids an expectation, that
 " troops, formed under such circumstances,
 " should at once possess the order, regularity,

" and discipline of Veterans.—Whatever defi-
 " ciencies there may be, will, I doubt not,
 " soon be made up by the activity and zeal of
 " the officers, and the docility and obedience
 " of the men. These qualities, united with
 " their native bravery and spirit, will afford a
 " happy presage of success, and put a final pe-
 " riod to those distresses which now overwhelm
 " this once happy country.

" I most sincerely thank you, Gentlemen, for
 " your declarations of readiness at all times to
 " assist me in the discharge of the duties of my
 " station: they are so complicated and extended,
 " that I shall need the assistance of every good
 " man, and lover of his country; I therefore re-
 " pose the utmost confidence in your aids. In
 " return for your affectionate wishes to myself,
 " permit me to say, that I earnestly implore that
 " divine Being, in whose hands are all hu-
 " man events, to make you and your constitu-
 " ents as distinguished in private and public hap-
 " piness, as you have been by ministerial op-
 " pression, by private and public distresses.

" GEORGE WASHINGTON."

To the Hon. CHARLES LEE, Esq; Major General of the Continental army.

S I R,

" The Congress of the Massachusetts Colony,
 " possessed of the fullest evidence of your attach-
 " ments to the rights of mankind, and regard to
 " the distresses which America in general, and
 " this colony in particular are involved in, by
 " the impolitic, wicked, and tyrannic system
 " adopted by administration, and pursued with
 " relentless and savage fury, do, with pleasure,
 " embrace this opportunity to express the great
 " satisfaction and gratitude they feel on your ap-
 " pointment as a Major General in the Ameri-
 " can army.

" We sincerely congratulate you on your safe
 " arrival here, and wish you all possible hap-
 " piness and success in the execution of so impor-
 " tant a trust. We admire and respect the charac-
 " ter of a man who, disregarding the allurements
 " of profit and distinction his merits might
 " procure, engages in the cause of mankind, in
 " defence of the injured, and relief of the op-
 " pressed. From your character, from your great
 " abilities and military experience, united with
 " those of the Commander in Chief, under the
 " smiles of Providence, we flatter ourselves with
 " the prospect of discipline and order, success
 " and victory.

" Be assured, Sir, that it will give us great
 " pleasure to be able to contribute to your happi-
 " ness. May the favours and blessings of Heaven
 " attend you. May divine Providence guard and
 " protect you, conduct you in the paths of ho-

" nour

"nour and virtue, grant you the rewards of the brave and virtuous, the applauses of mankind, and the approbation of your own conscience, and eternal happiness hereafter."

His Honour's Answer.

"To the Gentlemen of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts."

"GENTLEMEN,

"NOTHING can be so flattering to me as the good opinion and approbation of the Delegates of a free and uncorrupt people. I was educated in the highest reverence for the rights of mankind, and have acquired by a long acquaintance a most particular regard for the people of America. You may depend therefore, Gentlemen, on my zeal and integrity—I can promise you nothing from my abilities. God Almighty grant us success equal to the righteousness of the cause. I thank you, Gentlemen, for an address which does me so much honour, and shall labour to deserve it."

PHILADELPHIA.

Extract of a letter from the camp at Cambridge, July 11.

"On Sunday we had a trumpeter out from Boston, with a long letter from General Burgoyne to General Lee, on the American dispute, in answer to one Lee had formerly wrote him, and a note he sent in from hence; it is in the Parliamentary strain; but wishes exceedingly an accommodation could be proposed, as he has a great affection for America, &c. and concludes with requesting an interview; it was proposed to the general officers, and to the Provincial Congress, but they inclined against it, as it had given rise to suspicions and jealousies among the men, who are ignorant that a politeness of this kind one hour, is quite consistent with cutting throats the next.

"We have just heard that our men have surprised and burnt the only remaining advanced post on the Neck, where the enemy could have a guard house;—and also that five large ships, seemingly full of men, have sailed out of Boston this morning, but for what purpose we cannot learn."

Extract of a letter from the same place, July 8.

"Yesterday our troops set fire to the ministerial troops guard house on the Neck, which they effected in the following manner: the night before, a number of our brave troops brought down two field pieces from Roxbury to the Neck; a few concealed themselves in the grass, not far from the house, with combustibles ready, whenever the signal was given, to execute their part (which was on firing the field pieces.) A little before day light our people discharged the cannon, and

shot through the guard house, upon which the guard ran out; our people, who lay in ambush, ran in, set it on fire, and went off with a musket, two bayonets, and a halbert.—The Regulars perceiving the house to be on fire, returned to extinguish it, but in vain, the few who concerted this scheme got a reinforcement, and plied them with small arms till the house was consumed."

At a meeting of the officers of the military association for the city and liberties of Philadelphia, held at Carpenters Hall, July 12, 1775.

Resolved, That this body invite the committees of the city and liberties and county of Philadelphia, and the officers of the several battalions in the said county, to meet together with this body at the College-Hall, in this city, on next Saturday week, at nine o'clock in the morning, to take under consideration the late resolves of the Hon. House of Assembly of this province, relative to the appointment of minutemen; and that the Secretary be directed to publish this resolve in the English and German news papers. Published by order,

RICHARD PETERS, Sec.

Extract of a letter from Charlestown, South Carolina, June 29.

"Our place has more the appearance of a garrison town than a mart of trade; one company keeps guard all day, and two every night; in our situation we cannot be too watchful, and may require much strength, for our negroes have all high notions of their liberty, and we lately learn by intercepted letters and other ways, that there have been endeavours to set the Indians on us. Mr. Stuart, the Superintendent of Indian affairs is accused of being the person who has forwarded this wicked design, and he is fled for safety.

"The Tories in Georgia are now no more, the province is almost universally on the right side, and are about to choose Delegates to send to the Congress."

The death of Dr. Warren, who was killed at Bunker's hill the 17th of June last, was occasioned in the following manner:—When the Provincials were retreating in consequence of the three concurring circumstances, Charles Town being on fire, the ships cannonading, and the regulars advancing, the Doctor, with that intrepidity and contempt of danger which peculiarly marked his character, stood alone for some time, endeavouring to rally the troops and animate them by his example: he was observed in this situation, and known by an officer in the regulars, who, wresting a musket out of the hands of one of his men, took aim, and lodged a bullet in his breast, of which he expired without a pang.

The

The late letters from Boston bring advice of the death of Major Spendlove, of the 43d regiment, of the wounds he received at Bunker's Hill.

Upon the arrival of a dispatch lately from Hanover, the K— ordered a private council to be summoned, consisting of Mr. Jenkinson, Lord Barrington, and another. His Majesty seemed highly displeased when it was over; supped on a potatoe and a glass of water, his usual food when *things go wrong.*

From the BRISTOL GAZETTE.

Bristol, Aug. 31. The following intelligence may be depended on, as it has been sent us by unquestionable authority.—“ Letters of recal are sent to General Gage, and General Howe is appointed to the chief in command at Boston. Some proposals are also transmitted, which are to be imparted to Gen. Washington, Commander in Chief of the Provincial forces. They are, however, not sufficiently conciliatory to warrant the supposition of cordial acceptance on the part of the Colonies.”

On Saturday evening John Dunning, Esq; our Recorder, arrived here, to hold the General Goul Delivery. On Monday the Juries were appointed, and the charge to the Grand Jury given. The charge having been the subject of much conversation, we have been favoured with the following as the substance of it.—The Recorder, as usual, made some observations on the nature of the office, and remarked on the good government of the city, which appeared from the few prisoners to be tried, notwithstanding the assize had been so long postponed; that it had been always his custom to inform the Grand Jury of any acts of the previous session of parliament that related to the civil liberties of the people, or the administration of justice; but he observed that the proceedings of the late session furnished no such information, business of a very different nature having ingrossed their attention. The great political question of American affairs, he said, interested the whole nation; and as it was a subject of general conversation, he would just observe, that he was sorry that such a question had been ever agitated, he wished it was possible to see the end of it as clearly as he could investigate the beginning; that in the proper place (meaning his seat in the House of Commons) he had given his opinion freely and fully, and that it was his intention to do it yet firmly; that his first wish was the union of the British empire, that it might be once more happy and flourishing; and that if any person indulged a contrary wish, he considered the crime of that person as infinitely more heinous than any that stained the present Calendar. X

Extract of a letter from a correspondent at Barcelona August 14.

“ In the late battle with the Algerines, the Spaniards had 4000 men killed, and 3700 wounded; 500 officers were killed and wounded, many of them of the first families in Spain. When the troops returned here, the populace arose; and O'Reilly the commander escaped with the greatest difficulty from their fury.”

A gentleman who arrived in a ship from Boston on Tuesday last, brings word, that, within the town, both the inhabitants and the soldiers of General Gage are in a most wretched condition: they die very fast, and without any previous illness; so that nothing is more common than to see a person in apparent health to day, and tomorrow in his coffin. The same gentleman declares, that he had dined but twice on fresh meat since the month of April, and that not the smallest quantity of vegetables is to be procured at any price whatever. He likewise adds, that the Provincials are strongly intrenched in a situation which commands a part of Boston Neck; that their operations are carried on with the utmost alacrity; and that they are well supplied with fresh provisions from the country, while General Gage's communication with it is entirely cut off.

A letter from Liverpool, dated Aug. 30, says, “ The whole town is in the greatest confusion! You know there are a great number of Guinea ships that go from this port; but since the present disturbances in America, as soon as they return, they are laid up, there being no sale for slaves; this, together with the arrival of several Greenlandmen, have thrown as many as three thousand sailors out of employ in this port. The merchants on this account have lowered their wages, which occasioned the sailors to rise in great bodies, and they immediately went to all the ships that were ready to sail, and unrigged them; this has been practised for four nights successively. Yesterday they all met in a body in 'Change time, to offer terms to the merchants, but, on being refused, they threatened to pull down the 'Change that night. The Magistrates and merchants planted 120 persons armed in the 'Change, and at nine o'clock last night, the sailors surrounded it, and were fired on from within. There were two sailors killed and several wounded. I reckoned this morning sixteen holes in one of Miss Williamson's shutters, and many of the balls were found in the shop; many other shops near the 'Change shared the same fate. The sailors now grew desperate, on account of some of their party being killed and wounded; and this morning they have broke open warehouses for powder and

and muskets. At one o'clock they surrounded the 'Change, all armed, some with muskets, and others with cutlasses, together with three cannon; they then hoisted the bloody flag, and began to fire on the 'Change. How it will end I cannot tell, but have given you the earliest information. All the houses are shut up:

Extract of a letter from Birmingham, Aug. 31.

" Last Friday evening, some sailors who had been engaged on board a Guineaman fitting out in one of the Docks at Liverpool, having finished her rigging, demanded their wages, at the rate of 30s. per month, for which they had engaged, but were given to understand by the owners, that as there were plenty of hands to be had they would give but 20s. upon which they returned on board the vessels and in a short time cut and demolished the whole of the rigging, and left it upon deck. A party of constables immediately seized nine of the principals and brought them before the Magistrates, who committed them to prison; upon which a great number of sailors (supposed to be upwards of 2000) armed with handspikes, clubs, &c. proceeded to the goal, the windows of which they soon destroyed; upon which the Riot act was read to them, which having no effect, as they were determined to rescue their companions, or destroy the goal, eight of them were accordingly dismissed, with whom they marched off in triumph; but, upon being mustered, and finding one had been detained, they instantly returned to the prison, and brought him off, together with a woman who had been also committed for aiding and assisting in the riot; when, after parading and terrifying the inhabitants till near twelve o'clock, they dispersed, and on Saturday morning all was quiet.

By accounts received from Liverpool yesterday we are assured, that the sailors had proceeded to their depredations with great violence; they on Thursday destroyed the houses of Messrs. James, Yates, Simmonds, and Ratcliffe, all Guinea merchants; but that there was the greatest reason to believe they would soon be dispersed, as a party of horse from the adjacent towns, and a large body of foot from Manchester, had entered the environs of Liverpool.

S E P T E M B E R 5.

The following is a true copy of the petition from the General Congress, in America, to his Majesty, which was delivered to Lord Dartmouth the first of this month, and to which his Lordship said no answer would be given.

RICHARD PENN,
ARTHUR LEE.

Sept. 4, 1775.

To the KING's MOST EXCELLENT
MAJESTY.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's faithful subjects of the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Suffex in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants of these colonies, who have deputed us to represent them in General Congress, entreat your Majesty's gracious attention to this our humble petition.

The union between our mother country and these colonies, and the energy of mild and just government, produced benefits so remarkably important, and afforded such assurance of their permanency and increase, that the wonder and envy of other nations were excited, while they beheld Great Britain rising to a power the most extraordinary the world had ever known. Her rivals observing that there was no probability of this happy connection being broken by civil dissensions, and apprehending its future effects, if left any longer undisturbed, resolved to prevent her receiving so continual and formidable an accession of wealth and strength, by checking the growth of these settlements, from which they were to be derived.

In the prosecution of this attempt, events so unfavourable to the design took place, that every friend to the interest of Great Britain and these colonies, entertained pleasing and reasonable expectations of seeing an additional force and exertion immediately given to the operations of the union hitherto experienced, by an enlargement of the dominions of the crown, and the removal of ancient and warlike enemies to a greater distance.

At the conclusion, therefore, of the late war, the most glorious and advantageous that ever had been carried on by British arms, your loyal colonies, having contributed to its success by such repeated and strenuous exertions, as frequently procured them the distinguished approbation of your Majesty, of the late King, and of Parliament, doubted not but that they should be permitted, with the rest of the empire, to share in the blessings of peace, and the emoluments of victory and conquest. While these recent and honourable acknowledgments of their merits remained on record in the journals and acts of that august legislature, the Parliament, undefaced by the imputation, or even the suspicion, of any offence, they were alarmed by a new system of statutes and regulations, adopted for the administration

stration of the colonies, that filled their minds with the most painful fears and jealousies; and, to their inexpressible astonishment, perceived the dangers of a foreign quarrel quickly succeeded by domestic dangers in their judgement of a more dreadful kind.

Nor were their anxieties alleviated by any tendency in this system to promote the welfare of the mother country: For though its effects were more immediately felt by them, yet its influence appeared to be injurious to the commerce and prosperity of Great Britain.

We shall decline the ungrateful task of describing the irksome variety of artifices practised by many of your Majesty's Ministers, the delusive pretences, fruitless terrors, and unavailing severities, which have from time to time been dealt out by them in their attempts to execute this impolitic plan, or of tracing through a series of years past the progress of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and these colonies, which have flowed from this fatal source. Your Majesty's Ministers persevering in their measures, and proceeding to open hostilities for enforcing them, have compelled us to arm in our own defence, and have engaged us in a controversy so peculiarly abhorrent from the affections of your still faithful colonists, that when we consider whom we must oppose in this contest, and if it continues, what may be the consequence; our own particular misfortunes are accounted by us only as parts of our distress.

Knowing to what violent resentment and incurable animosities civil discords are apt to exasperate and inflame the contending parties, we think ourselves required by indispensable obligations to Almighty God, to your Majesty, to our fellow-subjects, and ourselves, immediately to use all the means in our power, not incompatible with our safety, for stopping the further effusion of blood, and for averting the impending calamities that threaten the British empire. Thus called upon to address your Majesty on affairs of such moment to America, and probably to all your dominions, we are earnestly desirous of performing this office with the utmost deference to your Majesty; and we therefore pray that your royal magnanimity and benevolence may make the most favourable constructions of our expressions on so uncommon an occasion.

Could we represent, in their full force, the sentiments which agitate the minds of us, your dutiful subjects, we are persuaded your Majesty would ascribe any seeming deviation from reverence, in our language, and even in our conduct, not to any reprehensible intention, but to the impossibility of reconciling the usual appearances of respect with a just attention to our preservation

against those artful and cruel enemies, who abuse your Royal confidence and authority for the purpose of effecting our destruction.

Attached to your Majesty's persons, family, and government, with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire, connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite societies, and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them, we solemnly assure your Majesty, that we not only most ardently desire the former harmony between her and these colonies may be restored, but that a concord may be established between them upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings uninterrupted by any future dissensions to succeeding generations in both countries; and to transmit your Majesty's name to posterity, adorned with that signal and lasting glory that has attended the memory of those illustrious personages whose virtues and abilities have extricated states from dangerous convulsions, and by securing happiness to others, have erected the most noble and durable monuments to their own fame.

We beg leave further to assure your Majesty, that notwithstanding the sufferings of your loyal colonists, during the course of the present controversy, our breasts retain too tender a regard for the kingdom from which we derive our origin, to request such a conciliation, as might in any manner be inconsistent with *her dignity or her welfare*. These, related as we are to her, honour and duty, as well as inclination, induce us to support and advance; and the apprehensions that now oppress our hearts, with unspeakable grief being once removed, your Majesty will find your faithful subjects, on this continent, *ready and willing*, at all times, as they have ever been with their *lives and fortunes, to assert and maintain the rights and interests of your Majesty and of our Mother Country*.

We therefore beseech your Majesty that your royal authority and influence may be graciously interposed, to procure us relief from our afflictive fears and jealousies, occasioned by the system before mentioned, and to settle peace through every part of your dominions; with all humility submitting to your Majesty's, wise consideration whether it may not be expedient, for facilitating these important purposes, that your Majesty be pleased to direct some mode by which the united applications of your faithful colonists to the throne, in pursuance of their common councils, may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation; and that in the mean time measures be taken for preventing the further destruction of the lives of your Majesty's subjects; and that such statutes as more immediately distress any of your Majesty's colonies be repealed. For by such

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arrangements, as your Majesty's wisdom can form, for collecting the united sense of your American people, we are convinced your Majesty would receive such satisfactory proofs of the disposition of the colonists towards their Sovereign and the parent state, that the wished-for opportunity would soon be restored to them, of evincing the sincerity of their professions, by every testimony of devotion becoming the most dutiful subjects, and the most affectionate colonists.

That your Majesty may enjoy a long and prosperous reign, and that your descendants may govern the dominions, with honour to themselves and happiness to their subjects, is our sincere and fervent prayer.

Colony of New Hampshire.

John Langdon
Thomas Cushing
Massachusetts Bay.
Samuel Adams
John Adams
Robert Treat Paine
Rhode Island.
Stephen Hopkins
Samuel Ward
Eliphaz Dyer

Connecticut.
Roger Sherman
Salas Dean

New York.
Phillip Livingston
James Duane
John Alsop
Francis Lewis
John Jay
Rob. Livingston, jun.
Lewis Morris
William Floyd
Henry Wisner

New Jersey.
William Livingston
John Deharts
Richard Smith
Pennsylvania.
John Dickenson

JOHN HANCOCK.

Benjamin Franklin
George Rofs
James Willson
Charles Humphreys
Edward Biddle

Delaware Countt.
Cæsar Rodney
Thomas M'Kean
George Read

Maryland.
Matthew Tilghman
Thomas Johnson, jun.
William Pace
Samuel Chale
Thomas Stone

Virginia.
P. Henry, jun.
R. Henry Lee
Edmond Fendleton
Benjamin Harrison
Thomas Jefferson

North Carolina.
William Hooper
Joseph Hewes

South Carolina.
Henry Middleton
Thomas Lynch
Christopher Gadsden
J. Rutlege
Edward Rutlege.

people here seem fully determined to defend their rights and liberties from the least infringement. They are raising companies all over the province to the amount of some thousands; notwithstanding which they strongly insist on their loyalty to King George; but say, they only mean to defend and preserve their charters and grants. As I never saw men more apparently resolute and determined, I fear there will be severe work. God knows how all will end."

Letters from Virginia by the Mary, Capt. Miller, who is arrived at Dover, say, "The Virginians have discovered their error in beginning to arm their slaves, to assist in preventing the laws of their mother country being carried into execution; for a slave who had a great regard for his master, having been used very tenderly, discovered a plot which was laid to murder all the white people; and therefore, in the middle of the night, all the arms that were discovered were seized and secured, which, according to the confession of some of them, prevented a massacre."

Cambridge. (Massachusetts Bay) July 13. On Tuesday night a party of men was sent from Roxbury camp to Long-Island, in Boston harbour, from whence they brought off 15 of the enemy prisoners, between 20 and 30 horned cattle, and about 100 sheep. The prisoners were brought to the head quarters yesterday, and soon after sent to Concord. The next day our people went and burnt the hay, &c.

Governor Wentworth, a native of New Hampshire, has rendered himself so obnoxious to his countrymen, by promoting the arbitrary measures of the British Ministry, that he has thought it prudent to repair on board a man of war for protection.

Newport, Rhode-Island, July 17. A letter from Roxbury, dated the 13th inst. says, "Our troops are in good spirits and health. By a gentleman of undoubted veracity, who came out of Boston yesterday, we are informed that the troops in Boston are in the greatest distress imaginable, for want of fresh provisions; that a flux rages among them which sweeps off commonly 25 men a day; that old Ruggles had attempted to raise a company in Boston, but at most could not enlist more than 30 men; that several of our friends had been committed to close confinement."

SEPTEMBER 6.

PHILADELPHIA, JULY 26, 1775.

IN CONGRESS, JULY 18, 1775.

"RESOLVED,

"THAT it be recommended to the inhabitants of all the United English colonies in North America, that all able-bodied, effective men, between

Extract of a letter from Boston, dated July 18

"This morning four regiments landed here, which we were very much in want of. We have little or no fresh provisions: The flesh of an old bull, killed a few days ago sold at 1s. per pound. Every thing is quiet except cannonading, which we are so used to that it is little regarded."

Extract of a letter from George Town, Maryland, July 16.

"We are all here in the utmost confusion. The

between sixteen and fifty years of age in each colony, immediately form themselves into regular companies of militia, to consist of one Captain, two Lieutenants, one Ensign, four Serjeants, four Corporals, one Clerk, one Drummer, one Fifer, and about sixty-eight privates.

“ That the officers of each company be chosen by the respective companies.

“ That each soldier be furnished with a good musket, that will carry an ounce ball, with a bayonet, steel ramrod, worm, priming wire, and brush fitted thereto, a cutting sword or tomhawk, a cartridge box that will contain twenty-three rounds of cartridges, twelve flints and a knapsack.

“ That the companies be formed into regiments or battalions officered with a Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel, two Majors, an Adjutant or Quarter-Master.

“ That all officers above the rank of a Captain be appointed by their respective provincial assemblies or conventions, or in their recess, by the committees of safety appointed by said assemblies or conventions.

“ That all officers be commissioned by the provincial assemblies or conventions, or in their recess, by the committees of safety appointed by said assemblies or conventions.

“ That all the militia take proper care to acquire military skill, and be well prepared for defence, by being each man provided with one pound of good gunpowder, and four pounds of ball fitted to his gun.

“ That one-fourth of the militia in every colony be selected for minute-men, of such persons as are willing to enter into this necessary service, formed into companies and battalions, and their officers chosen and commissioned as aforesaid, to be ready on the shortest notice to march to any place where their assistance may be required for the defence of their own or a neighbouring colony; and as these minute men may eventually be called to action before the whole body of the militia are sufficiently trained, it is recommended that a more particular and diligent attention be paid to their instruction in military discipline.

“ That such of the minute men as desire it, be relieved by new draughts, as aforesaid, from the whole body of the militia, once in four months:

“ As there are some people, who, from religious principles, cannot bear arms in any case, this Congress intend no violence to their consciences, but earnestly recommend it to them to contribute liberally, in this time of universal calamity, to the relief of their distressed brethren in the several colonies, and to do all other services to their oppressed country, which they can consistent with their religious principles.

“ That it be recommended to the assemblies or conventions in the respective colonies to provide, as soon as possible, sufficient stores of ammunition for their colonies; also that they devise proper means for furnishing with arms, such effective men as are poor and unable to furnish themselves.

“ That it be recommended to each colony to appoint a committee of safety, to superintend and direct all matters necessary for the security and defence of their respective colonies, in the recess of their assemblies and conventions.

“ That each colony, at their own expence, make such provision, by armed vessels or otherwise, as their respective assemblies, conventions, or committees of safety shall judge expedient and suitable to their circumstances and situations, for the protection of their harbours and navigation on their sea coasts, against all unlawful invasions, attacks and depredations, from cutters and ships of war.

“ That it be recommended to the makers of arms, for the use of the militia, that they make good, substantial muskets, with barrels three feet and a half in length, that will carry an ounce ball, and fitted with a good bayonet and steel ramrod, and that the making such arms be encouraged in these United Colonies.

“ Where, in any colony, a militia is already formed under regulations approved of by the convention of such colony, or by such assemblies as are annually elective, we refer to the discretion of such convention or assembly, either to adopt the foregoing regulations in the whole or in part, or to continue their former, as they, on consideration of all circumstances, shall think best.”

A true copy from the minutes,

CHARLES THOMPSON, Secretary.

The Address of the Congress to the King was delivered to Lord Dartmouth last Friday; but although Mr. Penn and Mr. Lee attended three different times, according to appointment, no reply was made to them till Monday, when they were told, “ that no answer would be given.” The prayer of the address was, “ that his Majesty would be pleased to direct some mode, by which the united applications of the faithful Colonists to the Throne, in pursuance of their Common Councils, may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation.” Can the Ministry after this pretend they wish a reconciliation? And are they not the only men in this kingdom, who do not ardently desire it, and to prevent the further effusion of the blood of our fellow subjects, by which the whole empire is weakened?

A gentleman who arrived in town this week from Boston says, that the Provincial army are in high

high spirits, that their numbers daily encrease, that they had plenty of all sorts of provision, and that there greatest want was gunpowder, which, he is apprehensive is the reason of their acting so much on the defensive; he further adds, that a large quantity of gunpowder, &c. was expected when he failed.

By authentic accounts from Boston of the latter end of July, we learn, that the hospitals there are full of sick, so that the surgeons are harrassed to such a degree, as to be unable to hold it out much longer. The dead are generally from eight to fifteen a day, so that should not the Provincials destroy the King's troops, pestilence certainly will in a very short time; that the men are entirely spiritless; and that it would not be safe to hazard any operation with them in the field, as they seem totally averse to the service.

A letter from Newport, Rhode Island, dated July 10, says, "General Gage, we hear, has committed to gaol a number of the inhabitants of Boston, for refusing to work on the fortifications, and on board the ships of war."

Letters from Quebec, brought by the British Queen, Capt. Judge, who is arrived at Milford, give an account, that the confusions there daily increase, and that the Governor will find work enough at Quebec to keep order there, without marching an army to the assistance of General Gage. The letters say, that the inhabitants are quite averse to that service; that they have no business out of Canada, and they will never submit to be employed to cut their fellow-subjects throats.

SEPTEMBER 7.

DUBLIN. *Midsummer Assembly, July 21, 1775.*

Resolved unanimously,

THAT the thanks of the Sheriffs and Commons be presented to our worthy countryman and former representative, his Grace the Duke of Leinster, in testimony of our approbation of his conduct in supporting the rights and liberties of our injured fellow-subjects in America.

Which being presented to his Grace by the Sheriffs, they received the following answer:

Leinster House, August 20, 1775.

GENTLEMEN,

IT is with the greatest pleasure that I this day receive, by the hands of your worthy Sheriffs, your vote of thanks. Give me leave to assure you, nothing can be more satisfactory than to think my conduct, in regard to our distressed brethren in America, should meet with the approbation of so respectable a body as the Commons of the city of Dublin.

I am, Gentlemen, your most obedient,

And obliged humble servant,

LEINSTER.

To the Sheriffs and Commons of the City of Dublin.

Ordered, That the foregoing resolution, and his Grace's answer, when received, be published.

Signed, by order,

ALFRED HOWARD,
Clerk of the Commons.

Post Assembly, August 28, 1775.

By the SHERIFFS and COMMONS of the City of DUBLIN.

WHEREAS, at the quarter assembly held April 28, 1775, a petition of certain of the Commons was lodged, praying, "That the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and Citizens, would take into their serious consideration the oppressions and grievances which our brethren of America labour under, and the evils that from thence are likely to fall upon this country; and that their Lordship and Honours would present a dutiful and loyal petition to the King, stating the above facts, and praying relief."

And whereas on said day, upon the unanimous request of the Sheriffs and Commons to the Lord Mayor and Board of Alderman, that they would be pleased to concur in presenting an address, as above, they were pleased to return for answer, "that the matter was of the HIGHEST IMPORTANCE, and therefore INEXPEDIENT."

And whereas the said petition of certain of the Commons was again lodged on the last quarter assembly, when a committee of six Aldermen and as many of the Commons were appointed, with the assistance of Mr. Recorder, to draw up a petition and address to his Majesty, as above stated; who after several weeks deliberation, agreed to the following one:

To the KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY.

Gracious Sovereign!

"WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and Citizens of the city of Dublin, in common council assembled, conceive it would be highly improper in us, at this alarming crisis of affairs, to observe a criminal silence, and an unfeeling indifference.

"We see the horrors and calamities of civil war raging in America, the hands of fellow-subjects imbrued in the blood of each other, and without searching for, or investigating the cause, we cannot hesitate to pronounce its effects destructive to the British empire at large, and particularly and essentially ruinous to the limited commerce of this kingdom.

"At a period of time when every political eye is intent on the movement of the armament fitted out by the court of Spain, our natural and hereditary enemy, when that powerful force

force has been frustrated in its first attempt, and when this country may with reason think, that such great preparations will not be suffered to become entirely abortive, we are naturally led to enquire into our means of defence against any sudden invasion, but have the mortification to find, the military force drained from this kingdom to enter into an unnatural conflict with Protestant subjects of the same empire.

“ Your Majesty, will be pleased to consider how much our trade, credit, and manufactures are connected with peace in America, and that we cannot but feel the most lively distress and apprehensions at a continuance of a war which must necessarily involve in ruin our staple commodity, almost the only source of wealth to your faithful subjects of Ireland.

“ It is not the intention or wish of us your Majesty’s dutiful subjects to pretend to determine from whence the evils complained of have originated, or what has introduced your Majesty and your subjects into a situation unprecedented, delicate, dangerous, and distressing.

“ Permit us to apply to your Majesty’s wisdom and virtue, and to implore your parental interposition in promoting such means as will at once quiet the fears of your subjects in America, and preserve the constitutional rights of your Majesty and the British legislature.

“ Then may we expect the return of that peace, so long a wanderer, an unnatural separation of the colonies from the mother country prevented, the British constitution throughout your Majesty’s wide and extended empire established on the firmest basis, and its necessary attendants, civil liberty and political security.

“ The sword of discord once sheathed, Great Britain shall recover her wonted unanimity and importance; commerce shall again revive, and those torrents of your people’s blood, now flowing in the cause of civil commotion, be reserved for the noble purpose of asserting the just prerogative of your Majesty’s crown, and the liberty of your people, in support of which we are ever ready to sacrifice our lives and fortunes.”

Resolved unanimously (by the committee).

And whereas the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, and Board of Aldermen, have this day put a negative on the said address,

Now We, the Sheriffs and Commons, anxious to preserve our reputations, from the odium that must remain to all posterity on the names of those who in any wise promote the acts now carrying on in America, and feeling the most poignant grief, as well on account of the injured inhabitants of that continent, as on that of our brave countrymen

sent on the unnatural errand of killing their fellow subjects, have

Resolved, That it is the duty of every good citizen to exert his utmost abilities to allay the unhappy disputes that at present disturb the British empire.

Resolved, That whoever would refuse his consent to a dutiful petition to the King, tending to deceive his Majesty, and from which it could be hoped that the effusion of one drop of subject blood might be prevented, is not a friend to the British constitution.

Signed by Order,

ALFRED HOWARD.

The Lord Mayor and Board of Aldermen put a negative on the petition and address.

According to private letters from Boston, many half-pay officers in America have joined the Provincials, and have become very useful to them. It is by means of such auxiliaries, that a most strict and regular discipline has been established among them, which was little expected to be the case on their first embodying themselves.

Last estimate of the people in the colonies, taken by the Congress, from the best authorities, September 1774.

Massachusetts	—	400,000
New Hampshire	—	150,000
Rhode Island	—	59,678
Connecticut	—	192,000
New-York	—	250,000
New Jersey	—	130,000
Pennsylvania	—	350,000
Maryland	—	320,000
Virginia	—	650,000
North Carolina	—	300,000
South ditto	—	225,000

3,026,678

This is the Congress account of their population: administration since the war have affected greatly to depreciate the numbers, and insist that they do not exceed two millions; their own account therefore admits 500,000 fighting men, the Congress account 750,000.

The first man condemned by Gen. Gage’s martial law was a hair dresser, who was carrying intelligence to the Provincials, and after remaining under sentence some time, he was pardoned a day or two before his sentence expired. There are two more delinquents now under confinement for like crimes.

Last month several gentlemen from Dublin waited on the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House with the following resolution of the Guild of merchants in that capital.

(C O P Y.)

(C O P Y.)

By the Masters, Wardens, and Brethren of the Guild of Merchants, Dublin, in their Common-Hall assembled, on Monday the seventeenth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and seventy five, being public quarter day.

Resolved,

That the sincere thanks of this Guild be presented to the Right Honourable John Wilkes, Lord Mayor of the City of London, for the essential services which he has rendered to his King and County, by his strenuous efforts in the cause of freedom, and for his able, spirited, and judicious defence of the right of the people to petition the throne.

In testimony whereof, we have caused the common seal of the said Guild to be hereunto affixed the day and year aforesaid.

The Lord Mayor expressed his thanks for the honours done him by so respectable a body, and desired the gentlemen to transmit the following paper to the Masters, Wardens, and Brethren of the Guild of Merchants:

(C O P Y.)

Mansion House, Aug. 23, 1775.

The Lord Mayor desires to acknowledge with much gratitude the distinguished honour done him by the Masters, Wardens, and Brethren of the Guild of Merchants at Dublin. It is always his great ambition to serve the cause of liberty; and the approbation of those fellow-subjects, whom he knows to have it at heart, is the most pleasing and noble reward he can receive.

*The Masters, Wardens, and Brethren
of the Guild of Merchants at Dublin.*

SEPTEMBER 8.

Extract of a letter from Cambridge, in New England, July 12.

“The day before yesterday we went to Chelsea, famous for the battle of Noddle Island near to it. While we were on Powder Horn Hill, back of Chelsea, we saw a skirmish between a party of our people (120 in number) who went in whale-boats to an island about 12 miles from Boston, and burnt a large quantity of hay, which was put up into bundles by the Regulars, and intended to be sent to Boston for their horses. A great number of marines in schooners, men of war's boats, and two ships of war, kept up a constant fire on our men, while they remained on the island; but this did not prevent them from destroying the hay. The schooner and boats endeavoured to cut off their retreat, which brought on a very warm engagement, in which we had one killed and one wounded. The loss of the Regulars is not known, but supposed to be considerable, as they were drove off several times, and

finally obliged to retire, which would not have been the case if they had not lost some men.

“Yesterday we spent in Roxbury:—while there, were amused with a heavy fire of cannon and mortars, from the lines of the Regulars on the Neck, and from one of their floating batteries, against 200 of our men, who were throwing up a breast work in front of the George Tavern on the same Neck, and within a few rods of the Regulars advance guard; our people kept on their work, and never returned a shot. Three bombs burst near our men without injuring them—most of the cannon shot were taken up and brought to the General.—It is diverting to see our people contending for the balls as they roll along.

“One circumstance much to their reputation I must mention—During a severe cannonade at Roxbury last week, a bomb, 13 inches diameter, fell within our line, and burnt furiously, four of our artillery men ran up, and one kicked out the fuse and saved the bomb, probably some lives.—A stroke of heroism worthy of record.—I heard the man's name yesterday, but now forget it. The Regulars have so hardened our people by their repeated firing, that a cannonading is just as much minded there as a common thunder shower.—All things look well; we are now strongly posted, so are the Regulars. I believe neither side are willing to attack each other in their lines.

“We have just got over land from Cape Cod a large fleet of whale boats. In a day or two we shall man them in Cambridge and Mystick rivers, and try to keep our enemies boats from insulting us.

“The Regulars do not seem willing to come out, but our people are perpetually provoking them.”

A gentleman who got out of Boston, Monday, July 10, says, that the inhabitants were numbered and amounted 6573.—The soldiers numbered, women and children, to 13,600.—300 Tories are chosen to patrol the streets; 49 of a night.—Very sickly, from 10 to 30 funerals in a day, and no bells allowed to toll.—Master Lovell taken up and put in goal, which is in consequence of some letters found in Doctor Warren's pockets, and Master Leach also.—Released out of gaol 4.—Mr. Hunt saying, that he wished the Americans might kill them all, was confined in gaol.—11 dead of the wounded prisoners at Charles Town.—Col. Parker dead: he declared at his last hour, if he got well, he would do the same.—The officers say, damn the rebels, that they would not flinch.—A great number of floating batteries are building, and five transports and three sloops are sailed for hay and wood to the eastward.

A letter

A letter from Liverpool, dated the first instant says, "About forty sail of Guinea ships are now laid up, and all that may arrive will be laid up also; for the embargo upon arms prevents any from sailing, even admitting there was encouragement for the sale of negroes in the West Indies, and the payment good."

The Provincial Congress of Charles-Town, South Carolina, have requested, by public advertisement, that men of every denomination and persuasion in that province, would carry with them to all places of divine worship, loaded fire arms, which was almost generally complied with the Sunday after.

It is reported that Boston light-house was taken without firing a gun, and that high words and great altercations have past between two great officers upon the occasion.

By the KING.

A PROCLAMATION.

"GEORGE R.

"WHEREAS our Parliament stands prorogued to Thursday the 14th day of this instant September; we, with advice of our Privy Council, do hereby publish and declare, that the said Parliament should be further prorogued on the said 14th day of this inst. September, to Thursday the 26th day of October next: And we have given order to our Chancellor of Great Britain, to prepare a commission for proroguing the same accordingly. And we do hereby further declare our royal will and pleasure, that the said Parliament shall, on the said 26th day of October next, be held for the dispatch of divers weighty and important affairs. And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Knights, Citizens, and Burghes, and the Commissioners for Shires and Burghs, of the House of Commons, are hereby required to give attendance accordingly at Westminster, on the said 26th day of October next. Given at our Court at St. James's, the 6th of September 1775, in the 15th year of our reign.

GOD save the KING."

The following is a Copy of Lord Effingham's Resignation of his Commission in the Army.

To Lord BARRINGTON, Secretary at War.

My Lord,

I BEG the favour of your Lordship to lay before his Majesty the peculiar embarrassment of my present situation.

Your Lordship is no stranger to the conduct which I have observed in the unhappy disputes with our American colonies.

The King is too just and too generous not to

believe, that the votes I have given in parliament have been given according to the dictates of my conscience. Whether I have erred or not, the course of future events must determine. In the mean time, if I were capable of such duplicity, as to be any way concerned in enforcing those measures of which I have so publicly and solemnly expressed my disapprobation, I should ill deserve what I am most ambitious of obtaining, the esteem and favourable opinion of my Sovereign.

My request therefore to your Lordship is this, that after having laid those circumstances before the King, you will assure his Majesty, that he has not a subject who is more ready than I am with the utmost cheerfulness, to sacrifice his life and fortune in support of the safety, honour, and dignity of his Majesty's crown and person. But the very same principles which have inspired me with these unalterable sentiments of duty and affection to his Majesty, will not suffer me to be instrumental in depriving any part of his people of those liberties which form the best security for their fidelity and obedience to his government. As I cannot, without reproach from my own conscience, consent to bear arms against my fellow subjects in America in what, to my weak discernment, is not a clear cause; and as it seems now to be finally resolved, that the 22d regiment is to go upon American service, I desire your Lordship to lay me in the most dutiful manner at his Majesty's feet, and humbly beg that I may be permitted to retire.

Your Lordship will also be so obliging to entertain, that as I wave what the custom of the service would entitle me to, the right of selling what I bought, I may be allowed to retain my rank in the army, that whenever the envy or ambition of foreign powers should require it, I may be enabled to serve his Majesty and my country in that way, in which alone I can expect to serve them with any degree of effect.

Your Lordship will easily conceive the regret and mortification I feel at being necessitated to quit the military profession, which has been that of my ancestors for many generations, to which I have been bred almost from my infancy, to which I have devoted the study of my life; and to perfect myself in which, I have sought instruction and service in whatever part of the world they were to be found.

I have delayed this to the last moment, lest any wrong construction should be given to a conduct which is influenced only by the purest motives. I complain of nothing; I love my profession, and should think it highly blameable to quit any course of life, in which I might be useful to the public, so long as my constitutional principles

and

and my notions of honour permitted me to continue in it.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

[*Adulphi Buildings,* And most humble servant,
April 12, 1775. EFFINGHAM.

SEPTEMBER 9.

From DUNLAP'S MARYLAND GAZETTE, of
Tuesday, July 11.

ASSOCIATION, unanimously agreed to in the
Provincial Congress of South-Carolina.

THE actual commencement of hostilities against this continent by the British troops, in the bloody scene on the 19th of April last, near Boston; the increase of arbitrary impositions from a wicked and despotic Ministry, and the dread of instigated insurrections in the Colonies, are causes sufficient to drive an oppressed people to the use of arms: We, therefore, the subscribers, inhabitants of South Carolina, holding ourselves bound by that most sacred of all obligations, the duty of good citizens towards an injured country, and thoroughly convinced, that under our present distressed circumstances we shall be justified before God and man, in resisting force by force, DO UNITE ourselves under every tie of religion and honour, and associate as a band in her defence against every foe; hereby solemnly engaging, that whenever our Continental or Provincial Councils shall decree it necessary, we will go forth, and be ready to sacrifice our lives and fortunes to secure her freedom and safety. This obligation to continue in full force until a reconciliation shall take place between Great Britain and America upon constitutional principles; an event which we most ardently desire. And we will hold all those persons inimical to the liberties of the Colonies, who shall refuse to subscribe to this Association.

Subscribed by every member present, and certified by

HENRY LAURENS, President.

PHILADELPHIA, July 26, 1775.

Extract of a letter from Charles-Town, South Carolina, June 27.

"We enclose you extracts of letters from Georgia and Augusta, by which you may judge of our present state relative to Indian affairs.—It seems that General Gage has corresponded with the Superintendent here on that subject, and he with his Deputy in the Cherokee nation. Mr. Stuart finding the matter suspected, left Charles-Town, and went to Georgia about the time of the sitting of the Congress. Matters taking a turn in Georgia, he found himself obliged

to produce his letters, since which he has escaped to Florida, and thereby confirmed the suspicion of an intended Indian war.—The other extract shews you the present state of the Indian nation."

Extract of a letter from John Willson, of Augusta, to Messrs. Campbell and son, dated June 15.

"All the Cherokee traders are come down but two, and have the pleasure to inform you, that they have overpaid their Fall cargoes. There is at present but very indifferent talks in that nation.—They have lately killed two Virginians that had gone up there express, which, am afraid, will be the cause of a war.—Should that be the case, I shall be badly off, having little powder in the fort. I am informed, that one of our traders was stopped by the Indians, in order to bring a talk down."

Extract of a letter from John Stuart to Mr. Cameron.

"I have received information from General Gage, that certain persons at the Northward have been tampering with the Six Indian Nations, and endeavouring to alienate their affections from his Majesty. I mention this to caution you against any thing of the kind with you, and that you will use your influence to dispose those people to act in defence of his Majesty and government, if found necessary."

Mr. Cameron's Answer.

"That Mr. Stuart's interest with the Indians was much greater, and that he was more beloved by them than any other man; and that he (Cameron) had the vanity to think, that he could head any number he thought proper, whenever called upon in support of his Majesty and government."

"Cameron is Stuart's principal Deputy."

SEPTEMBER 11.

Extract of a genuine letter from Boston, July 25.

"As far as I can guess from a matter not perfectly known, we at present are worse off than the rebels. In point of numbers they so surpass us, that we are like a few children in the midst of a large crowd. Trusting to this superiority, they grow daily more and more bold, menacing us most insolently; and we fear when the days shorten, and dark nights come on, they will put some of their threats in execution, unless other reinforcements, and a fleet of men of war arrive soon. — They know our situation as well as we do ourselves, from the villains that are left in town, who acquaint them with all our proceedings, making signals by night with gunpowder, and at day out of the church steeples. About three weeks ago, three fellows were taken out of one of the latter, who confess they had been employed for

for seven days. Another was caught last week, swimming over to the rebels with one of their General's passes in his pocket; he will be hanged in a day or two. Since we have been here, we have been reinforced by four regiments; but many of the men are very ill with fluxes, occasioned by the bad water which they got on landing, and the want of fresh provisions. No action has happened since the 17th of June; a few shot have been exchanged by scouting parties; one morning they beat in our advanced guard, and burnt the guard-house; and on the 19th instant they set fire to the light-house, and one of our men of war lying but a mile from it; as it was calm we could not get at them, their whale-boats, in which they made their escape, outrowing any of our boats, and a small island lying between them and the ship, prevented her firing on them. They took from the light-house a six-pounder and a swivel."

Providence, July 15. The following is an exact return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the American army, in the action of June 17, at Charles Town, viz.

<i>Regiments.</i>		<i>Killed and missing.</i>	<i>Wounded.</i>
Col. Stark's	New-		
Read's	Hampsh.	15	45
Gen. Ward's		1	6
Col. Scammon's			2
Bridge's		15	29
Gerrish's		3	2
Prescott's		42	28
Whitcomb's		5	8
Fry's		15	31
Brewer's		7	11
Nixon's		3	10
Little's		7	23
Woodbridge's		1	5
Gardner's		6	7
Doolittle's			9
Gridley's			4
Gen. Putnam's			
Cap. Colt's Com.		15	30
Chester's			
		135	250
About 30 of the missing since returned			30
			220
			135

Total of killed, wounded, and missing 355

Philadelphia, July 26. The Hanover volunteers, now at Williamsburg, in Virginia, hearing that Lord Dunmore, with Capt. Foy, and some officers belonging to the Fowey man of war, were at his Lordship's farm, about six miles from that city, they set off in order to bring the Governor

peaceably back to the palace, that he might resume his government, and be assured of the protection and support of the inhabitants in administering justice. But upon the road, meeting with two carpenters belonging to the man of war, and a negro cutting wood, and only securing the two former, the latter ran and informed his Lordship of their coming, who, with his companions, immediately got on board a boat. They were not above fifty yards from the shore when the volunteers arrived; but as their intentions were entirely amicable, they did not think it worth while to give themselves any farther trouble. This friendly endeavour, it is apprehended, his Lordship will represent as an attempt to murder him.

SEPTEMBER 12.

In the year 1600, the last year but one of Queen Elizabeth, the whole of the ordinary public revenue amounted to no more than 600,000*l.* per annum. In 1633, the 8th of Charles I. to 800,000*l.* In 1650, the 12th of Charles II. to 1,200,000*l.* 1686, the 2d of James II. to 1,900,000*l.* In 1714, the 12th of Anne, to 3,200,000*l.* In 1751, the 25th of George II. something short of 6,000,000*l.*; and in the 5th of his present Majesty, year 1765, to full 10,200,000*l.* Thus from Queen Elizabeth to Charles the Second's time, our public burdens were doubled, being a space of about 60 years; and from thence, to the last of Queen Anne, about 54 years, nearly trebled; from 1714, to the year 1751, that again nearly doubled and what is still more extraordinary, this last enormous burden encreased from 6 to upwards of 10 millions, in the narrow compass of 14 years, from 1751 to 1765.

SEPTEMBER 13.

The following is said to be the form of an official letter that has just been dispatched to General Gage;

"His M—— wishes to consult Gen. Gage
"on the operations of a future campaign in America.—The command of course devolves to
"General Howe."

SEPTEMBER 14.

From the NEW-YORK GAZETTE.

New-Port, July 14. From last Tuesday about two o'clock till near the same hour on the next day, this town was threatened to be fired upon from the three ships of war in this harbour, viz. the Rose, Capt. Wallace, the Swan, Capt. Ayscough, and King-Fisher, Capt. Montague, and also a tender; for which purpose these ships were brought close in with the Northwest part of the town, on Tuesday towards night; their tomkins were immediately taken out, and all the apparent preparations made for cannonading the town,

town, which greatly terrified those women who were with child. In the evening lanterns and men were placed at the guns, and the most hostile appearance kept up, which it was possible for them to exhibit, and many women and children were running about, wringing their hands and crying, in the greatest distress. About half past nine at night, a cannon was discharged from the *Rose*, when the women really thought the firing on the town was begun, many of whom fainted away, and went into fits, and a number, we are told, absolutely miscarried by the fright. However, this gun was loaded with powder only, and the men of war gave out to a number of persons, whom they had stopped coming down the river, that they should not beat the town down till next morning, when they would certainly do it. In the morning the like terrific scene was opened by firing another cannon, and seizing on four ferry-boats, a passage boat, with a number of passengers, and two wood sloops; the *Swan* moved down to the South part of the town, and anchored with her guns pointing diagonally across the wharfs, so as to rake from thence up to the Parade and Court-house; here again all the tomkins were out, quantities of tar and other inflammatory and combustible matter were put into the ferry boats, in order, as was said, to set on fire, and send into the town to burn it, as a more expeditious way of destroying the town, than by cannon only.

At the same time that these boats were to be sent into the town, a number of men were to be landed at the South end, to set fire to that part. Thus the most warlike and hostile parade was kept up to the highest degree, till near two o'clock on Wednesday; when, all at once, the boats were discharged, the ships weighed anchor and stood up the river. The same evening the *Rose* got ashore on the North part of this island; but by taking up her guns, &c. she was got off, and the next day they all came down again to their old station.

We know not of even the shadow of a just reason for the above inhuman conduct; if the Captains of said ships have any reasons to offer, we should be very glad to publish them to the world: the story about two of the *Swan's* men being seized by a mob in this town, gagged, carried to Bristol gaol, &c. had it not been absolutely disproved, would have been a most wretched pretext for firing on a defenceless town, in which there were not less than 6000 women and children.

It must have been well known to the commanders of those ships, that there was not a single cannon in this town mounted for its defence.

The above three ships and tender are this morning going out, supposed on a cruise.

New London, July 14. Yesterday evening the

following new orders were received: "To all owners and masters of vessels—be it known, that from and after this day, no vessel is permitted to begin her lading for any port whatever, until the owner himself of such vessel, and master, appear in the Custom-house, and there give bonds."

Philadelphia, July 20. Capt. Maitland, from London, arrived lately at Georgia, and had on board 13,000 weight of powder; the inhabitants boarded her, and took all the powder into their possession.

Philadelphia, July 26. Monday last arrived here the brig *Polly*, Capt. Greenaway, with a load of salt from Liverpool, with which she is to return in a few days.

On Sunday last arrived at Newcastle his Majesty's ship *Nautilus*, where we are told she is to lay for "the protection of our trade," in the courtly stile; but in plain English, to pick our pockets, and try to enslave us.

New York, July 24. Friday night last arrived here a sloop from Bermuda: by letters from whence we learn that the inhabitants of that island are greatly alarmed at the present situation of public affairs, being under the most dismal apprehensions of starving; to prevent which they have passed a law, that no provisions should be sent off the island at any rate whatsoever; and were about dispatching a vessel to Philadelphia, to request the honourable the Continental Congress to take their case into their most serious consideration.

New York, Aug. 9. In *Provincial Congress*. "Whereas the barge ordered to be built to replace the one belonging to his Majesty's ship *Asia*, lately destroyed, was, when lately finished, sawed to pieces in the night by some disorderly persons,

"Resolved, That the Mayor and Magistrates of this city be requested to procure another barge to be built in this city for the purpose aforesaid: and all persons are strictly enjoined not to obstruct the building the said barge, or the delivery thereof to the Commander of his Majesty's said ship, as those who shall give any obstruction thereto will be considered and treated as enemies to their country.

ROBERT BENSON, Secretary.

New York, July 31. Instructions for the officers of the several regiments of the Massachusetts Bay forces, who are immediately to go upon the recruiting service.

You are not to enlist any deserter from the ministerial army, nor any stroller, negro, or vagabond, or person suspected of being an enemy to the liberty of America, nor any under eighteen years of age.

As the cause is the best that can engage men of courage

courage and principle to take up arms, so it is expected that none but such will be accepted by the recruiting officer; the pay, provision, &c. being so ample, it is not doubted but the officers sent upon this service, will without delay compleat their respective corps, and march the men forthwith to the camp.

You are not to enlist any person who is not an American born, unless such person has a wife and family, and is a settled resident in this country.

The person you enlist, must be provided with good and compleat arms.

Given at the head-quarters at Cambridge, this 10th day of July, 1775.

HORATIO GATES, Adjutant-General.

New-York, Aug. 10. Last night an express arrived from Cambridge, which, it is said, brings advice that General Pribble had brought an account that six transports employed at Casco Bay to procure forage and provisions for General Gage's army, had been surprized by 300 of the Provincials in whale boats; five out of six of them were taken and secured in shoal water. Most of the men belonging to the transports were foraging ashore when the attack was made. We are also told, that the rifle men had in one day killed ten of a reconnoitering party; and it is added likewise, that they have killed three field officers. A centry was killed at 250 yards distance.

Last Tuesday the first division of Colonel M'Dougall's battalion of Provincial troops failed, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Ritzeema, to join Major General Schuyler, at Ticonderoga; they will soon be followed by the second, under Major Zedwitz; and their Colonel is preparing immediately to follow with the third and last division.

On Tuesday an express arrived in town from Long-Island, and informs us that 13 men of war and transports were lying at anchor in Oyster-Pond-Bay, near Gardiner's Island, but had not landed any of their men on Monday afternoon, when the express came away.

His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to prorogue the General Assembly of this Province to the sixth day of September next.

By several gentlemen that left the Provincial camp at Boston, about ten days ago, we learn, that they are 20,000 strong, extremely well entrenched, are very healthy, have the greatest abundance of provisions, that a great harmony subsists amongst the officers and men, and that they are very impatient to be brought to action.

Cambridge, Aug. 3. Some very late intelligence hath been received at head-quarters, this week, from Canada, the substance of which is, that the Canadians and Indians cannot be persuaded by Governor Carlton to join his forces, but are de-

termined to remain neuter: That there are but 500 Regulars in Canada, a stand against the Provincials is expected down the Lake; and that consequently Quebec and Montreal have been left quite bare of troops, except a small guard at each place.

Last Monday morning, near Charlestown Neck, a warm fire began between our advanced parties and those of the enemy, attended with cannonading from the enemy's works on Bunker's Hill. We took two marines prisoners, and killed several of the Regulars, with the loss of one man, belonging to Marblehead, who was killed with a cannon ball.

Parties of rifle-men, together with some Indians, are constantly harassing the enemy's advanced guard, and say they have killed several of the Regulars within a day or two past. One of the riflers is missing, and is said to be taken prisoner.

Last Monday morning about 800 men went from Roxbury to the spot where the light-house lately stood, where they found 40 of the enemy, 28 soldiers, and 12 Tory carpenters and labourers, who were sent from Boston to erect a building for fixing up lights. Our people, before they surrendered, killed four of them (among whom, it is said, was a Lieutenant) and took the rest prisoners, being 24 Regulars, and 12 workmen, with the loss of one man of our side. The same day the whole number were brought to the head-quarters in this town, and the day following sent off to Worcester.

Last Tuesday morning a party of the enemy advanced into Boston Neck towards Roxbury; but was soon drove back; they however set fire to the George Tavern, which was consumed.

From HOLT's NEW-YORK JOURNAL, of
August 10, 1775.

PHILADELPHIA.

To the PEOPLE of IRELAND.

From the DELEGATES appointed by the United Colonies of *New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Lower Counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina*; in General Congress at Philadelphia.

Friends and Fellow Subjects,

AS the important contest into which we have been driven, is now become interesting to every European state, and particularly affects the members of the British empire, we think it our duty

duty to address you on the subject. We are desirous, as is natural to injured innocence, of professing the good opinion of the virtuous and humane.—We are peculiarly desirous of furnishing you with a true state of our motives and objects, the better to enable you to judge of our own conduct with accuracy, and determine the merits of the controversy with impartiality and precision.

However incredible it may appear, that, at this enlightened period, the leaders of a nation, which in every age has sacrificed hecatombs of her bravest patriots on the altar of Liberty, should presume gravely to assert, and by force of arms attempt to establish an arbitrary sway over the lives, liberties, and property of their fellow-subjects in America; it is nevertheless a most deplorable and indisputable truth.

These Colonies have, from the time of their first settlement, for near two centuries, peaceably enjoyed those very rights of which the Ministry have, for ten years past, endeavoured by fraud and by violence to deprive them. At the conclusion of the last war, the Genius of England, and the spirit of wisdom, as if offended at the ungrateful treatment of their sons, withdrew from the British counsels, and left that nation a prey to a race of Ministers, with whom ancient English honesty and benevolence disdained to dwell. From that period, jealousy, discontent, oppression, and discord, have raged among all his Majesty's subjects, and filled every part of his dominions with distress and complaint.

Not content with our purchasing of Britain at her own price, cloathing, and a thousand other articles used by near three millions of people on this vast continent; not satisfied with the amazing profits arising from the monopoly of our trade, without giving us either time to breathe, after a long, though glorious war, or the least credit for the blood and treasure we have expended in it; notwithstanding the zeal we had manifested for the service of our Sovereign, and the warmest attachment to the constitution of Britain, and the people of England, a black and horrid design was formed, to convert us from freemen into slaves, from subjects into vassals, and from friends into enemies.

Taxes, for the first time since we landed on the American shores, were, without our consent, imposed upon us; an unconstitutional edict to compel us to furnish necessaries for a standing army, that we wished to see disbanded, was issued; and the legislature of New York suspended for refusing to comply with it.—Our ancient and inestimable right of trial by Jury, was, in many instances, abolished; and the common law of the land made to give place to Admiralty jurisdictions. Judges were rendered, by the tenure of

their commissions, entirely dependent on the will of a Minister. New crimes were arbitrarily created; and new courts, unknown to the constitution, instituted.—Wicked and insidious Governors have been set over us; and dutiful petitions for their removal, were branded with the opprobrious appellation of scandalous and defamatory. Hardy attempts have been made under colour of parliamentary authority to seize Americans, and carry them to Great-Britain to be tried, for offences committed in the Colonies.—Ancient charters have no longer remained sacred—that of the Massachusetts Bay was violated, and their form of government essentially mutilated and transformed.—On pretence of punishing a violation of some private property, committed by a few, disguised individuals, the populous and flourishing town of Boston was surrounded by fleets and armies; its trade destroyed; its port blocked up; and thirty thousand citizens subjected to all the miseries attending so sudden a convulsion in their commercial metropolis; and to remove every obstacle to the rigorous execution of this system of oppression, an act of Parliament was passed, evidently calculated to indemnify those who might, in the prosecution of it, even embue their hands in the blood of the inhabitants.

Though pressed by such an accumulation of undeserved injuries, America still remembered her duty to her Sovereign.—A Congress, consisting of Deputies from twelve United Colonies, assembled. They in the most respectful terms laid their grievances at the foot of the Throne, and implored his Majesty's interposition in their behalf.—They also agreed to suspend all trade with Great Britain, Ireland, and the West-Indies, hoping, by this peaceable mode of opposition, to obtain that justice from the British Ministry, which had been so long solicited in vain.—And here permit us to assure you, that it was with the utmost reluctance we could prevail upon ourselves, to cease our commercial connection with your island.—Your Parliament had done us no wrong.—You had ever been friendly to the rights of mankind; and we acknowledge with pleasure, and with gratitude, that *your* nation has produced patriots, who have nobly distinguished themselves in the cause of humanity and America. On the other hand, we were not ignorant, that the labour and manufactures of Ireland, like those of the silk-worm, were of little moment to herself, but served only to give luxury to those who *neither toil nor spin*.—We perceived, that if we continued our commerce with you, our agreement not to import from Britain would be *fruitless*; and were therefore compelled to adopt a measure, to which nothing but absolute necessity

they could have reconciled us.—It gave us, however, some consolation to reflect, that should it occasion much distress, the fertile regions of America would afford you a safe asylum from poverty, and in time from oppression also—an asylum, in which many thousands of your countrymen have found hospitality, peace, and affluence, and become united to us by all the ties of consanguinity, mutual interest and affection.—Nor did the Congress stop here.—Flattered by a pleasing expectation, that the justice and humanity which had so long characterised the English nation, would, on proper application afford us relief, they represented their grievances in an affectionate address to their brethren in Britain, and intreated their aid and interposition in behalf of these Colonies.

The more fully to evince their respect for their Sovereign, the unhappy people of Boston were requested by the Congress to submit with patience to their fate; and all America united in a resolution to abstain from every species of violence.—During this period, that devoted town suffered unspeakably.—Its inhabitants were insulted, and their property violated.—Still relying on the clemency and justice of his Majesty and the nation, they permitted a few regiments to take possession of their town, to surround it with fortifications, and to cut off all intercourse between them and their friends in the country.

With anxious expectation did all America wait the event of their petition.—All America laments its fate. Their Prince was deaf to their complaints; and vain were all attempts to impress him with a sense of the sufferings of his American subjects; of the cruelty of their *Task Masters*, and of the many *Plagues* which impended over his dominions. Instead of directions for a candid enquiry into our grievances, insult was added to oppression, and our long forbearance rewarded with the imputation of cowardice. Our trade with foreign states was prohibited, and an act of Parliament passed to prevent our even fishing on our own coasts.—Our peaceable assemblies, for the purpose of consulting the common safety, were declared seditious; and our asserting the very rights which placed the Crown of Great-Britain on the heads of the three successive Princes of the House of Hanover, stiled rebellion. Orders were given to re-inforce the troops in America.—The wild and barbarous savages of the wilderness have been solicited by gifts to take up the hatchet against us; and instigated to deluge our settlements with the blood of innocent and defenceless women and children.—The whole country was moreover alarmed with the expected horrors of domestic insurrections.—Refinements in parental cruelty, at which the Genius of Britain

must blush! Refinements which admit not of being even recited without horror, or practised without infamy! We should be happy, were these dark machinations the mere suggestions of suspicion.—We are sorry to declare, that we are possessed of the most authentic and indubitable evidence of their reality.

The Ministry, bent on pulling down the pillars of the constitution, endeavoured to erect the standard of despotism in America; and if successful, Britain and Ireland may shudder at the consequences!

Three of their most experienced generals are sent to wage war with their fellow subjects, and America is amazed to find the name of Howe in the catalogue of her enemies—She loved his brother.

Despairing of driving the Colonies to resistance by any other means, than actual hostility, a detachment of the army at Boston marched into the country in all the array of war; and unprovoked, fired upon, and killed several of the inhabitants.—The neighbouring farmers suddenly assembled and repelled the attack.—From this, all communication between the town and country was intercepted.—The citizens petitioned the General for permission to leave the town, and he promised on surrendering their arms, to permit them to depart with their other effects.—They accordingly surrendered their arms, and the General violated his faith. Under various pretences, passports were delayed and denied; and many thousands of the inhabitants are at this day confined in the town in the utmost wretchedness and want.—The lame, the blind, and the sick, have indeed been turned out into the neighbouring fields; and some eluding the vigilance of the centries have escaped from the town, by swimming to the adjacent shores.

The war having thus began on the part of General Gage's troops, the country armed and embodied. The reinforcements from Ireland soon after arrived; a vigorous attack was then made upon the Provincials. In their march, the troops surrounded the town of Charlestown, consisting of about four hundred houses, then recently abandoned to escape the fury of a relentless soldiery.—Having plundered the houses they set fire to the town, and reduced it to ashes. To this wanton waste of property, unknown to civilized nations, they were prompted, the better to conceal their approach under cover of the smok. A shocking mixture of cowardice and cruelty, which then first tarnished the lustre of the British arms, when aimed at a brother's breast! But blessed be God, they were restrained from committing farther ravages, by the loss of a very considerable part of their army, including many of their most experienced

enced officers.—The loss of the inhabitants was inconsiderable.

Compelled therefore to behold thousands of our countrymen imprisoned, and men, women, and children involved in promiscuous and unmerited misery.—When we find all faith at an end, and sacred treaties turned into tricks of state.—When we perceive our friends and kinsmen massacred, our habitations plundered, our houses in flames, and their once happy inhabitants fed only by the hand of charity—Who can blame us for endeavouring to restrain the progress of desolation? Who can censure our repelling the attacks of such a barbarous band?—Who, in such circumstances, would not obey the great, the universal, the divine law of self preservation?

Though vilified as wanting spirit, we are determined to behave like men.—Though insulted and abused, we wish for reconciliation.—Though defamed as seditious, we are ready to obey the laws.—And though charged with rebellion, will cheerfully bleed in defence of our sovereign in a righteous cause.—What more can we say, what more can we offer!

But we forbear to trouble you with a tedious detail of the various and fruitless offers and applications we have repeatedly made, not for pensions, for wealth, or for honours, but for the humble boon of being permitted to possess the fruits of honest industry, and to enjoy that degree of Liberty to which God and the Constitution have given us an undoubted right.

Blessed with an indissoluble union, with a variety of internal resources, and with a firm reliance on the justice of the Supreme Disposer of all human events, we have no doubt of rising superior to all the machinations of evil and abandoned Ministers. We already anticipate the golden period, when Liberty, with all the gentle arts of peace and humanity, shall establish her mild dominion in this western world; and erect eternal monuments to the memory of those virtuous patriots and martyrs, who shall have fought, bled, and suffered in her cause.

Accept our most grateful acknowledgments for the friendly disposition you have always shewn towards us.—We know that you are not without your grievances.—We sympathize with you in your distress, and are pleased to find that the design of subjugating us, has persuaded administration to dispense to Ireland some vagrant rays of ministerial sunshine.—Even the tender mercies of government have long been cruel towards you.—In the rich pastures of Ireland, many hungry paricides have fed and grown strong to labour in its destruction.—We hope the patient abiding of the meek may not always be forgotten; and God grant that the iniquitous schemes of extirpating

liberty from the British empire may be soon defeated.—But we should be wanting to ourselves,—we should be perfidious to posterity—we should be unworthy that ancestry from which we derive our descent, should we submit with folded arms to military butchery and depredation, to gratify the lordly ambition, or sate the avarice of a British Ministry. In defence of our persons and properties, under actual violation, we have taken up arms.—When that violence shall be removed, and hostilities cease on the part of the aggressors, they shall cease on our part also.—For the achievement of this happy event, we confide in the good offices of our fellow subjects beyond the Atlantic. Of their friendly disposition we do not yet despond; aware as they must be, that they have nothing more to expect from the same common enemy, than the humble favour of being last devoured.

By Order of the Congress,

JOHN HANCOCK, *President.*

Philadelphia, July 28. 1775.

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, July 31. 1775.

THE several Assemblies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia, having assented to the Congress a resolution of the House of Commons of Great Britain, which resolution is in these words:

LUNÆ, 20th Die FEB. 1775.

The House in a committee on the American papers. Motion made, and question proposed.

“That it is the opinion of this committee, that when the General Council and Assembly, or General Court of any of his Majesty’s provinces, or colonies in America, shall propose to make provision, according to the condition, circumstance, or situation of such province or colony, for contributing their proportion to the common defence, (such proportion to be raised under the authority of the General Court, or General Assembly of such province or colony, and disposable by Parliament) and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government, and the administration of justice in such province or colony; it will be proper if such proposal shall be approved by his Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such province or colony, to lay any duty, tax, or assessment, or to impose any further duty, tax, or assessment, except only such duties as it may be expedient to continue to levy or impose for the regulation of commerce; the net produce of the duties last mentioned, to be carried to the account of such province or colony respectively.”

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The Congress took the said resolution into consideration, and are thereupon of opinion,

THAT the colonies of America, are entitled to the sole and exclusive privilege of giving and granting their own money: That this involves a right of deliberating whether they will make any gift, for what purposes it shall be made, and what shall be its amount; and that it is a high breach of this privilege for any body of men extraneous to their constitutions, to prescribe the purposes for which money shall be levied on them, to take to themselves the authority of judging of their conditions, circumstances, and situations, and of determining the amount of the contribution to be levied.

That as the colonies possess a right of appropriating their gifts, so are they entitled at all times to enquire into their application, to see that they be not wasted among the venal and corrupt for the purpose of undermining the civil rights of the givers, nor yet be diverted to the support of standing armies, inconsistent with their freedom, and subversive of their quiet. To propose, therefore, as this resolution does, that the monies given by the colonies shall be subject to the disposal of parliament alone, is to propose that they shall relinquish this right of enquiring, and put it in the power of others to render their gifts ruinous, in proportion as they are liberal.

That this privilege of giving or withholding our monies, is an important barrier against the undue exertion of prerogative, which, if left altogether without controul, may be exercised to our great oppression; and all history shews, how efficacious is its intercession for redress of grievances, and re-establishment of rights, and how improvident it would be to part with so powerful a mediator.

We are of opinion that the proposition contained in this resolution, is unreasonable and infamous; unreasonable, because, if we declare we accede to it, we declare, without reservation, we will purchase the favour of parliament, not knowing at the same time at what price they will please to estimate their favour: It is infamous, because individual colonies, having bid and bidden again, till they find the avidity of the seller too great for all their powers to satisfy, are then to return into opposition, divided from their sister colonies, whom the Minister will have previously detached by a grant of easier terms, or by an artful procrastination of a definitive answer.

That the suspension of the exercise of their pretended power of taxation being expressly made, commensurate with the continuance of our gifts, these must be perpetual to make that so. Whereas no experience has shewn that a gift of perpetual revenue secures a perpetual return of duty or of

kind disposition. On the contrary, the parliament itself, wisely attentive to this observation, are in the established practice of granting their supplies from year to year only.

Desirous and determined as we are to consider, in the most dispassionate view, every seeming advance towards a reconciliation made by the British parliament, let our brethren of Britain reflect what would have been the sacrifice to men of free spirits, had even fair terms been proffered, as these insidious proposals were with circumstances of insult and defiance. A proposition to give our money, accompanied with large fleets and armies, seems addressed to our fears, rather than to our freedom. With what patience would Britons have received articles of treaty from any power on earth, when borne on the point of a bayonet by military plenipotentiaries?

We think the attempt unnecessary to raise upon us by force or by threats, our proportional contributions to the common defence, when all know, and themselves acknowledge we have fully contributed, whenever called upon to do so in the character of freemen.

We are of opinion it is not just that the colonies should be required to oblige themselves to other contributions, while Great-Britain possesses a monopoly of their trade. This of itself lays them under heavy contribution. To demand, therefore, additional aids in the form of a tax, is to demand the double of their equal proportion. If we are to contribute equally with the other parts of the empire, let us equally with them enjoy free commerce with the whole world. But while the restrictions on our trade shut to us the resources of wealth, is it just we should bear all other burthens equally with those to whom every resource is open?

We conceive that the British Parliament has no right to intermeddle with our provisions for the support of civil government, or administration of justice. *The provisions we have made are such as please ourselves*, and are agreeable to our own circumstances: They answer the substantial purposes of government and of justice, and other purposes than these should not be answered. We do not mean that our people shall be burthened with oppressive taxes, to provide sinecures for the idle or the wicked, under colour of providing for a civil list. *While Parliament pursue their plan of civil government within their own jurisdiction, we also hope to pursue ours without molestation.*

We are of opinion the proposition is altogether unsatisfactory, because it imports only a suspension of the mode, not a renunciation of the pretended right to tax us; because too it does not propose to repeal the several acts of parliament passed for the purposes of restraining the trade and

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altering the form of government of one of our colonies; extending the boundaries and changing the government of Quebec; enlarging the jurisdiction of the Courts of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty; taking from us the rights of trial by jury of the vicinage in cases affecting both life and property; transporting us into other countries to be tried for criminal offences; exempting by mock-trial the murderers of colonists from punishment; and quartering soldiers on us in times of profound peace. Nor do they renounce the power of suspending our own legislatures, and of legislating for us themselves in all cases whatsoever. On the contrary, to shew they mean no discontinuance of injury, they pass acts, at the very time of holding out this proposition, for restraining the commerce and fisheries of the provinces of New-England, and for interdicting the trade of other colonies with all foreign nations, and with each other. This proves unequivocally they mean not to relinquish the exercise of indiscriminate legislation over us.

Upon the whole, this proposition seems to have been held up to the world, to deceive it into a belief that there was nothing in dispute between us but the *mode* of levying taxes; and that the Parliament having now been so good as to give up this, the colonies are unreasonable if not perfectly satisfied: whereas, in truth, our adversaries still claim a right of demanding *ad libitum*, and of taxing us themselves to the full amount of their demand, if we do not comply with it. This leaves us without any thing we can call property. But, what is of more importance, and what is this proposal they keep out of sight, as if no such point was now in contest between us, they claim a right to alter our charters and establish laws, and leave us without any security for our lives or liberties. The proposition seems also to have been calculated more particularly to lull into fatal security our well affected fellow-subjects on the other side the water, till time should be given for the operation of those arms, which a British Minister pronounced would instantaneously reduce the "cowardly" sons of America to unreserved submission. But when the world reflects how inadequate to justice are these vaunted terms; when it attends to the rapid and bold succession of injuries, which, during a course of eleven years, have been aimed at these colonies; when it reviews the pacific and respectful expostulations, which, during that whole time, were the sole arms we opposed to them; when it observes that our complaints were either not heard at all, or were answered with new and accumulated injury; when it recollects that the Minister himself on an early occasion declared, "that he would never treat with America, till he brought her to his

feet;" and that an avowed partisan of Ministry has more lately denounced sentence against us, the dreadful sentence, "*Dulenda est Carthago*;" that it was done in the presence of a British Senate, and being unreprieved by them, must be taken to be their own sentiment (especially as the purpose has already in part been carried into execution, by their treatment of Boston, and burning of Charlestown;) when it considers the great armaments with which they have invaded us, and the circumstances of cruelty with which these have commenced and prosecuted hostilities; when these things, we say, are laid together, and attentively considered, can the world be deceived into an opinion that we are unreasonable; or can it hesitate to believe with us, that nothing but our own exertions may defeat the Ministerial sentence of death, or abject submission.

By Order of the Congress,

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

G R E N A D A, June 28.

On Monday the 26th inst. his Honour the Commander in Chief, sent the following message to the Honourable House of Assembly.

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the Assembly,

I THINK it my duty to require, that the address and minutes of your House, in favour of the rebellious subjects in America, be rescinded. This I hope will be done before any other business is entered upon by your House. I have the honour to be, &c.

St. George's,

WILLIAM YOUNG.

June 26.

Whereupon it was resolved by the House,

THAT a message be sent to his Honour the Commander in Chief, acknowledging, that an address to his Majesty had passed this House, in consequence of an unanimous resolution for that purpose; that such address was ordered to be engrossed and delivered to the late Speaker for the purpose of presenting the same to the Throne, and is no longer considered to be in the power of this House: That such address contained a renewal of the sentiments of this House of their attachment to his Majesty's royal person, family and government, and of their confidence under such auspices, in the conduct of the mother country, towards this colony; that the address also deplored the mischiefs already consequent on the unhappy contest subsisting between Great Britain and its Provinces on the continent of America, and pointed out some of the many evils of which the continuance of such disputes were likely to be productive of to these islands; and imploring his Majesty, the father of all his people, to exert that influence which he possessed from the attachment

ment of his servants, and the affection of his subjects, towards healing differences between their countrymen and friends; but contained no principles or expressions tending to encourage or approve rebellion, or a rebellious disposition, in any part of his Majesty's extensive dominions; and therefore hoping that his Honour will not consider such an address as any deviation from that loyalty which they feel, and are ready to manifest on all occasions to his Majesty; and that his Honour will please to allow the continuance of the public business of this colony, which requires the immediate attention of the legislature.

After which a message was accordingly sent to his Honour; the following resolutions were proposed, and passed the House unanimously:

THAT this House are no less astonished than alarmed, to find that the exercise of one of the most acknowledged and indisputable rights of the subject, that of petitioning the Sovereign for the redress of evils, which they either feel or may foresee to be unavoidable, should have drawn upon them the displeasure of the Commander in Chief.

That they are at a loss to comprehend upon what principles an Address to the King, couched (as they conceive) in the most respectful terms, and breathing nothing but those real sentiments of loyalty with which this House is impressed, should be construed as encouraging a spirit of disaffection, or rebellion, in any part of his Majesty's dominions.

That the peremptory requisition to rescind the minutes, and a very loyal and dutiful address to their Sovereign before the House proceeded on any other business, is a very extraordinary and unheard of exertion of power, destructive of the right of making the most decent representations of the state of the colony to the Sovereign, and of every idea of freedom of conduct and debate, which are not only the incontrovertible right of the House of Representatives, but essential to the welfare and good government of the colony.

That this House cannot but in a particular manner lament, that there should be any interruption to their proceedings, at a time when, with the greatest appearance of harmony among themselves, and a hearty concurrence on the part of the other branches of the legislature, they were actually preparing so many useful laws and regulations, which were become materially requisite for the re-establishment of public credit, and for the preservation of the colony from the numerous calamities with which it has been long afflicted, and which, without an immediate remedy, must speedily tend to its total ruin; But this House can never resolve to attain even these desirable ends (were the means of doing so still in

their power) by the sacrifice of so essential and inherent a right as that of petitioning their Sovereign for the redress of grievances, or prevention of evils, either felt or foreseen.

The same day his Honour dissolved the Assembly.

SEPTEMBER 16.

Cambridge, July 21. Last Saturday, the several regiments quartered in this town, being assembled upon the Parade, the Rev. Dr. Langdon, President of the College, read to them "A Declaration by the Representatives of the United Colonies of North America, now met in General Congress at Philadelphia, setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms." It was received with great applause, and the approbation of the army, with that of a great number of other people, was immediately announced by three huzzas.—His Excellency the General with several other general officers, &c. were present on the occasion.

A gentleman has favoured us with the following account of the declaration being read upon Prospect Hill.

Last Tuesday morning, according to orders issued the day before by Major General Putnam, to all the Continental troops under his immediate command, assembled on Prospect Hill, when the Declaration of the Continental Congress was read, after which an animated and pathetic address to the army was made by the Rev. Mr. Leonard, Chaplain to General Putnam's regiment, and succeeded by a pertinent prayer; when General Putnam gave the signal, and the army shouted their loud Amen by three cheers, immediately upon which, a cannon was fired from the fort, and the standard lately sent to General Putnam was exhibited flourishing in the air, bearing on one side this motto, AN APPEAL TO HEAVEN—and on the other side, QUI TRANSTULIT SUSTINET. The whole was conducted with the utmost decency, good order, and regularity, and to the universal acceptance of all present.

Providence, July 29. A gentleman from Cambridge informs, that advice has been received there by several regular soldiers who have deserted, that it had been determined to attack the lines of the American army on Sunday last; but that no more than one quarter of the troops destined for the attack, could be prevailed on to come out, the others declaring they would much rather die within their own lines, than turn out to be slaughtered; and that Gage had been in consequence obliged to lay aside the project.—Some movements made at Bunker's-Hill, and the landing of a number of troops at Charlestown on Sunday, corroborate this intelligence.

A Beacon is now erecting on a very high hill in this town, by order of the Honourable General Assembly, to alarm the Colony on any sudden emergency.—A watch is likewise kept on Tower-Hill, in case of any attempt by water from our savage enemies.

Cambridge, August 3. On Thursday last notifications were posted up in the town of Bolton, the purport of which was, to inform all such of the inhabitants as were desirous of quitting the town, that they might give in their names to the Town Major. Great numbers immediately applied, and several have had permission to come out. The reason of this permission is owing to the scarcity of provisions, Gage thinking he must be obliged to furnish them out of the King's stores, or let them starve.—They were not permitted to bring out their effects.

New York, August 10. Wednesday the 2d instant the Hon. Continental Congress having finished their business, adjourned to the 5th of September next, then to meet again at Philadelphia, and proceed upon business.

Michael Hillegas, Esq; one of the members of the Pennsylvania Assembly, and George Clymer, Esq; of Philadelphia, are appointed Treasurers for the *Continental Congress Money*. Paper currency is struck to the amount of three millions of dollars, and part of it is already in circulation.—The bills are from one dollar to twenty dollars each.

SEPTEMBER 18.

A letter from General Washington says, he has eighteen thousand men, well armed, well clothed, and well fed. He laments the disunion between the two countries; wishes for peace on constitutional terms; speaks with great certainty of the success of America. He writes like a man who has not any doubts, and who sees clearly the way to be pursued. His letter is dated July 22, 1775.—Of the same date a letter from Boston says, General Gage has not above six thousand effective men fit for service, there being at least two thousand sick and wounded in the hospitals, which are very indifferently provided with necessities. The Provincial troops had approached within pistol shot of General Gage's advanced lines; and it was expected by the officers in the town, that the Neck would soon be forced. General Gage has ordered the men of war's boats, and all the small craft in the harbour, to keep close to the shore, that, if necessary, the troops may be embarked on a sudden; and with a view to cover and defend this embarkation, cannon are placed in all the avenues leading to the water.

The General Continental Congress of Ame-

rica, have unanimously appointed Dr. Franklin Post-master of all America; and have given him a power to nominate and appoint all Comptrollers, Secretaries, Deputies, &c. &c. with the same salary he had before.

They have granted seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, for carrying on their military operations, making treaties with the Indians, &c.

The Provincial Convention of Virginia have ordered four thousand effective men, exclusive of officers, to be immediately raised, clothed, and accoutred. They are to continue a standing regular body for that Colony; and are to be stationed on the several rivers emptying into Potomack river. They have ordered the militia of the whole Province to be trained and disciplined, agreeable to the direction of the General Congress. The last return of the militia was 72,000.

A convention is called in Maryland for the same purpose, and a convention in Carolina for the same purpose also.

Lord Dunmore has seized a large ship belonging to London, and has made her a guardship for himself; the Virginians being determined he shall never more reside among them.

Fifteen large gallies, carrying at their bows guns from 32 to 48 pounders, swivels, &c. and fifty men each, are built at Philadelphia; and are to be stationed in Delaware river about Red-bank, to oppose any men of war, who may attempt to come up the river; and to defend the machines, sunk in that narrow part of the river.

On the 28th of July last twenty-five tons of gunpowder arrived at Philadelphia, which were immediately sent to the armies, under the Generals Washington and Schuyler.

The Americans, by a manœuvre which shews them to be possessed of an acute understanding, have got all the powder that was on the coast of Africa. It is said there is not an ounce in any of the forts there. They exchanged rum for it.

SEPTEMBER 20.

Extract of a letter from the Hon. Lieut. Gen. Gage to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated Boston, Aug. 20.

MR. Washington, who commands the rebel army, has written to me on the subject of the treatment of the rebel prisoners in our custody, a copy of whose letter I transmit your Lordship, together with a copy of my answer. Major Skene, made prisoner at Philadelphia, is sent into Connecticut, where he is to be confined with some others; and I understand they make war like savages, making captives of women and children.

The rebels are very numerous, and continue to throw up works, in some points nearer to the town than

than before. Their advanced parties have been drove back both at Boston and Charles-Town, and their posts destroyed. They landed a large body a second time at the light-house, where they made prisoners of a few marines posted there by the Admiral, and ten or twelve carpenters, who were repairing the house.

A fleet of transports, who had been out in search of live stock, is just returned with about 1800 sheep, and above 100 head of oxen, which will be some relief to the troops in general, and of great benefit to the hospitals.—*Gazette.*

Copy of a letter from George Washington, Esq; to his Excellency Lieut. Gen. Gage.

SIR,

I understand that the officers engaged in the cause of liberty and their country, who, by the fortune of war, have fallen into your hands, have been thrown indiscriminately into a common gaol appropriated for felons; that no consideration has been had for those of the most respectable rank, when languishing with wounds and sickness; that some have been even amputated in this unworthy situation.

Let your opinion, Sir, of the principle which actuates them be what it may, they suppose they act from the noblest of all principles, a love of freedom and their country. But political opinions, I conceive, are foreign to this point; the obligations arising from the rights of humanity and claims of rank are universally binding and extensive, except in case of retaliation. These, I should have hoped, would have dictated a more tender treatment of those individuals, whom chance or war had put in your power. Nor can I forbear suggesting its fatal tendency to widen that unhappy breach, which you, and those ministers under whom you act, have repeatedly declared you wished to see for ever closed.

My duty now makes it necessary to apprise you, that, for the future, I shall regulate my conduct towards those gentlemen, who are or may be in our possession, exactly by the rule which you shall observe towards those of ours who may in your custody. If severity and hardship mark the line of your conduct (painful as it may be to me) your prisoners will feel its effects; but if kindness and humanity are shewn to ours, I shall with pleasure consider those in our hands only as unfortunate, and they shall receive the treatment to which the unfortunate are ever entitled. I beg to be favoured with an answer as soon as possible, and am, &c.

Gazette.

Cambridge, Aug. 11. GEORGE WASHINGTON. Copy of a letter from his Excellency Lieutenant General Gage to George Washington, Esq.

SIR,

Boston, Aug. 13.

TO the glory of civilized nations, humanity and war have been compatible; and com-

passion to the subdued is become almost a general system.

Britons, ever pre-eminent in mercy, have out-gone common examples, and over-looked the criminal in the captive. Upon these principles your prisoners, whose lives by the law of the land are destined to the cord, have hitherto been treated with care and kindness, and more comfortably lodged than the King's troops in the hospitals; indiscriminately it is true, for I acknowledge no rank that is not derived from the King.

My intelligence from your army would justify severe recrimination. I understand there are of the King's faithful subjects, taken some time since by the rebels, labouring, like negro slaves, to gain their daily subsistence, or reduced to the wretched alternative, to perish by famine or take arms against their King and country. Those who have made the treatment of the prisoners in my hands, or of your other friends in Boston, a pretence for such measures, sound barbarity upon falsehood.

I would willingly hope, Sir, that the sentiments of liberality, which I have always believed you to possess, will be exerted to correct these misdoings; be temperate in political disquisition: give free operation to truth, and punish those who deceive and misrepresent; and not only the effects, but the causes of this unhappy conflict will be removed.

Should those, under whose usurped authority you act, controul such a disposition, and dare to call severity retaliation, to God, who knows all hearts, be the appeal for the dreadful consequences. I trust that British soldiers, asserting the rights of the state, the laws of the land, the being of the constitution, will meet all events with becoming fortitude. They will court victory with the spirit their cause inspires; and from the same motive, will find the patience of martyrs under misfortune.

Till I read your insinuations in regard to ministers, I conceived that I had acted under the King, whose wishes, it is true, as well as those of his ministers, and of every honest man, have been to see this unhappy breach for ever closed; but, unfortunately for both countries, those who long since projected the present crisis, and influence the Councils of America, have views very distant from accommodation, I am, Sir, &c.

Gazette.

(Signed) THOMAS GAGE.

Whitehall, Sept 19. Advices have been received from North Carolina, that the disorders in that province having continued to increase, Governor Martin had judged it necessary to abandon Fort Johnson, on Cape Fear river, where he had lately fixed his residence; and to remove the cannon

cannon and stores under the protection of his Majesty's sloop *Cruizer*, on board of which he had retired; and that on the night of the 18th of July, a considerable number of persons had entered Fort Johnson, and set fire to the buildings, which being of wood were entirely consumed.—*Gazette*.

Most of the officers, particularly the Field Officers and Captains, of the regiments in Ireland, ordered to go to America (except those of the 46th) have presented memorials, soliciting leave of absence, alledging sickness, &c.

On Sunday evening arrived in town, General Gages's lady from Salisbury, and immediately waited on their Majesties at Kew, where she was most graciously received, and had a conference for upwards of an hour, after which she returned to town.

A dispute lately happened at Boston between Admiral G. and Mr. B. Hollowell, in which the latter is said to have given the former a blow, and afterwards to have broken his sword.

THE Provincial Congress of Massachusetts have published the following account of the action at Bunker's-Hill.

IN obedience to the order of the Congress, this committee have enquired into the premises, and upon the best information obtained find, that the Commanders of the New-England army had, about the 14th ult. received advice that General Gage had issued orders for a party of the troops under his command to post themselves on Bunker's Hill, a promontory just at the entrance of the Peninsula at Charlestown, which orders were soon to be executed; upon which it was determined, with the advice of this committee, to send a party, who might erect some fortifications upon the said Hill, and defeat this design of our enemies. Accordingly on the 16th ult. orders were issued, that a detachment of 1000 men should that evening march to Charlestown, and entrench upon that Hill. Just before nine o'clock they left Cambridge, and proceeded to Breed's Hill, situated on the farther part of the Peninsula next to Boston, (for by some mistake this Hill was marked out for the entrenchment instead of the other) many things being necessary to be done preparatory to the entrenchments being thrown up, which could not be done before, lest the enemy should discover and defeat the design, it was nearly twelve o'clock before the works were entered upon. They were then carried on with the utmost diligence and alacrity; so that by the dawn of the day they had thrown up a small redoubt, about eight rods square. At this time a heavy fire began from the enemy's ships, a number of floating batteries, and from a fortification of the enemy's upon Cops Hill in Boston, directly

opposite to our little redoubt. An incessant shower of shot and bombs was rained by these upon our works. The Provincials continued to labour indefatigably till they had thrown up a small breast-work, extending from the East side of the redoubt to the bottom of the Hill, but were prevented completing it by the intolerable fire of the enemy.

Between twelve and one o'clock a number of boats and barges, filled with the regular troops from Boston, were observed approaching towards Charlestown; these troops landed at a place called Moreton's Point, situated a little to the Eastward of our works. This brigade formed upon their landing, and stood thus formed till a second detachment arrived from Boston to join them; having sent out large flank guards, they began a very slow march towards our lines. At this instant, smoke and flames were seen to arise from the town of Charlestown, which had been set on fire by the enemy, that the smoke might cover their attack upon our lines, and perhaps with a design to rout or destroy one or two regiments of Provincials who had been posted in that town. If either of these was their design, they were disappointed, for the wind shifting on a sudden, carried the smoke another way, and the regiments were already removed. The Provincials within their entrenchments impatiently waited the attack of the enemy, and reserved their fire till they came within 10 or 12 rods, and then began a furious discharge of small arms. This fire arrested the enemy, which they for some time returned, without advancing a step, and then retreated in disorder and with great precipitation to the place of landing, and some of them sought refuge even within their boats. Here the officers were observed by the spectators on the opposite shore, to run down to them, using the most passionate gestures, and pushing the men forward with their swords. At length they were rallied, and marched up with apparent reluctance towards the entrenchment; the Americans again reserved their fire until the enemy came within five or six rods, and a second time put the Regulars to flight, who ran in great confusion towards their boats. Similar and superior exertions were now necessarily made by the officers, which, notwithstanding the men discovered an almost insuperable reluctance to fighting in this cause, were again successful. They formed once more, and having brought some cannon to bear in such a manner as to rake the inside of the breast-work from one end of it to the other, the Provincials retreated within their little fort. The ministerial army now made a decisive effort. The fire from the ships and batteries, as well as from the cannon in the front of their army, was redoubled. The Officers in
the

the rear of their army, were observed to goad forward the men with renewed exertions, and they attacked the redoubt on three sides at once. The breast-work on the outside of the fort was abandoned; the ammunition of the Provincials was expended, and few of their arms were fixed with bayonets. Can it then be wondered that the word was given by the Commander of the party to retreat? But this he delayed till the redoubt was half filled with Regulars, and the Provincials had kept the enemy at bay some time, confronting them with the butt ends of their muskets. The retreat of this little handful of brave men would have been effectually cut off, had it not happened that the flanking party of the enemy, which was to have come upon the back of the redoubt, was checked by a party of the Provincials, who fought with the utmost bravery, and kept them from advancing farther than the Beach; the engagement of these two parties was kept up with the utmost vigour; and it must be acknowledged that this party of the ministerial troops evidenced a courage worthy a better cause; all their efforts however were insufficient to compel the Provincials to retreat till their main body had left the Hill; perceiving this was done, they then gave ground, but with more regularity than could be expected of troops who had no longer been under discipline, and many of whom never before saw an engagement.

In this retreat, the Americans had to pass over the Neck which joins the Peninsula of Charlestown to the main land. This Neck was commanded by the Glasgow men of war, and two floating batteries, placed in such a manner, as that their shot raised every part of it. The incessant fire kept up across this Neck had, from the beginning of the engagement, prevented any considerable reinforcements from getting to the Provincials on the Hill, and it was feared it would cut off their retreat, but they retired over it with little or no loss.

With a ridiculous parade of triumph, the ministerial Generals again took possession of the Hill which had served them as a retreat in flight from the battle of Concord. It was expected that they would prosecute the supposed advantage they had gained by marching immediately to Cambridge, which was distant but two miles, and which was not then in a state of defence. This they failed to do. The wonder excited by such conduct soon ceased, when by the best accounts from Boston we are told, that of 3000 men who marched out upon this expedition, no less than 1500 (ninety two of which were commissioned officers) were killed or wounded; and about 1200 of them either killed or mortally wounded. Such a slaughter was perhaps never before made upon

British troops in the space of about an hour, during which the heat of the engagement lasted, by about 1500 men, which were the most that were any time engaged on the American side.

The loss of the New-England army amounted, according to an exact return, to 145 killed and missing, and 304 wounded; thirty of the first were wounded and taken prisoners by the enemy. Among the dead was Major General Joseph Warren, a man whose memory will be endeared to his countrymen, and to the worthy in every part and age of the world, so long as virtue and valour shall be esteemed among mankind. The heroic Colonel Gardner of Cambridge has since died of his wounds; and the brave Lieutenant Colonel Parker of Chelmsford, who was wounded and taken prisoner, perished in Boston goal. These three, with Major Moore and Major M'Clary, who nobly struggled in the cause of their country, were the only officers of distinction which we lost. Some officers of great worth, though inferior in rank, were killed, whom we deeply lament. But the officers and soldiers in general, who were wounded, are in a fair way of recovery. The town of Charlestown, the buildings of which were in general large and elegant, and which contained effects belonging to the unhappy sufferers in Boston, to a very great amount, was intirely destroyed, and its chimnies and cellars now present a prospect to the Americans, exciting an indignation in their bosoms, which nothing can appease but the sacrifice of those miscreants who have introduced horror, desolation, and havock into these once happy abodes of liberty, peace, and plenty.

We wish for no further effusion of blood, if the freedom and peace of America can be secured without it; but if it must be otherwise, we are determined to struggle. We disdain life without liberty.

Oh Britons! be wise for yourselves before it is too late; and secure a commercial intercourse with the American Colonies before it is for ever lost; disarm your ministerial assassines, put an end to this unrighteous and unnatural war, and suffer not any rapacious despots to amuse you with the unprofitable ideas of your *right to tax and officer the Colonies*, till the most profitable and advantageous trade you have is irrecoverably lost. Be wise for yourselves, and the Americans will contribute to and rejoice in your prosperity.

J. PALMER, per order.

Copy of the Address left with his Excellency Governor Tryon, the 3d of July, 1775, by the Worshipful Whitehead Hicks, Esq; Mayor of the city of New-York; with the Governor's answer

answer, delivered to the Mayor the 7th of the same month, to be laid before the Corporation:

To his Excellency William Tryon, Esq; Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Province of New-York, and the territories thereon depending in America, and Vice Admiral and Chancellor of the same.

The humble Address of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the city of New-York.

May it please your Excellency,

WE wait upon you, Sir, to congratulate you on the better establishment of your health, and to bid you welcome to a people, who, from the rectitude of your administration, could not part with you without the deepest regret, and who must therefore receive you again with all the confidence of safety and protection which the experience of your virtues and abilities can inspire.

Would to Heaven that an event so honourable to you, as this fresh mark of the King's approbation really is, and which is so acceptable to us, had found us in a condition more propitious to your felicity; for even amidst the complicated distresses of this melancholy hour, we feel an addition to our grief, from the aspect of the times, upon the happiness we sincerely wish you to enjoy.

To whatever causes the suspension of the harmony, once subsisting between the parent state and her Colonies, may be imputed, be assured, Sir, that we sigh with the utmost ardour for the re-establishment of the common tranquillity, upon that ancient system of Government and intercourse, which has been such a fruitful source of general prosperity and opulence.

It is with affliction we behold a nation, as renowned for wisdom as for valour, involved in a Civil war, in which disloyalty in his Majesty's American subjects to their Prince, or want of affection to their Mother Country, constitute no part of the unnatural controversy: And we trust, under a merciful God, in the aid of your intercession with his Majesty, for a speedy termination of these hostile animosities of his contending subjects, which undermine the power, and threaten the destruction of the empire.

The Governor's Answer to the Address of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the city of New-York, delivered to the Mayor to be laid before the Corporation.

Gentlemen,

I receive with satisfaction your congratulations on my return to this country, and obliging assurances of your affectionate regard from my former residence among you; and of your continued confidence in me at this melancholy crisis of public affairs, already carried to an extreme much to be

lamented by every good man and well-wisher of his King and Country.

I confess my disappointment at the change of circumstances in this Government, and feel the weightiest distress at the present unfriendly aspect of the times. Long residence in the Colonies, and a happy experience of repeated friendships, have, as it were, naturalized me to America, and bound me while I remained in England faithfully to represent the loyalty, sentiments, and situation of the inhabitants of this Province, and to support their interest with my best endeavours. At the same time my breast glowing with an ardent zeal for the honour of my Sovereign, and affection for my native country, I was induced to embark again for this Government, cherishing the pleasing hope of being able to contribute, in some small degree, the hastening the general wish of the nation, for a speedy and happy reconciliation between Great Britain and her Colonies. If there can be a time when it would be wisdom and humanity to listen to the calm and dispassionate voice of reason and moderation, it surely must be the present. I wish to embrace the idea, that neither disloyalty in his Majesty's American subjects, or disaffection to the Mother country, constitute any part of the present unnatural controversy; but that the contention flows from a mere misconception of constitutional principles. The Parliament in their resolution of the 27th of February, having made the first advance to a measure of accommodation, it would surely be glorious in the Americans to avail themselves of so important an opportunity, in so noble a cause. In the present moment, were America to liberate the restraints she has laid on her commerce and constitutional authority, and thro' her Provincial assemblies grant, suitable to the ease of their circumstances, supplies to the Mother country, for the protection of the whole British State, I am confident in my own mind the controversy would fall to the ground; and that many acts of conciliating grace would be extended to America by Great Britain, which national honour cannot suffer to have torn from her by violence.

I am acquainted in a dispatch from the Earl of Dartmouth, that the memorial and representation of the General Assembly of this Province were unfortunately blended with expressions containing claims, which made it impossible for Parliament, consistent with its justice and dignity, to receive; yet the petition to the King has been presented to his Majesty, who was pleased to receive it with the most gracious expressions of regard and attention to the humble requests of his faithful subjects in New York; and I am authorized to say, that nothing can give greater satisfaction to the Royal breast, than to see us again a happy and united people.

WM. TRYON.

IN the Rhode-Island and Providence newspapers, lately come over, are many of Governor Hutchinson's letters, written to some gentlemen in England; some of them (just as they are said to have been entered in his letter-book) without any of the vowels! that they should be the more hard to read by those who might accidentally have the inspection of them.

In one of them (too long to be here transcribed) he concludes as follows: "The longer we are neglected, the harder our case will be. Until ministry appear to be in earnest, the friends of government dare not shew themselves among us: it is possible, when they know they can be supported, they may appear more numerous than the sons of liberty now imagine.—I write with this freedom to you, from a regard to the public interest, and the duty which I owe to the King; and not out of any regard to my personal interest, which will be no more effected than other people's, after I am superseded by the appointment of a new governor. I am sure you will not suffer what I write to you to come back again, even by rumors."

At the time he was writing these sentiments to ministry, it is an undoubted fact that he was endeavouring, by all possible means, to persuade the people of New-England "that he was their best friend, and was doing all in his power to dissuade ministry from exercising harsh measures!" But it seems he thinks "every Machiavelian policy is justifiable."

In another letter, dated 14th June 1773, he discovers still greater fears and concern, lest his very innocent correspondence should come to light; for in that (after giving wonderful information and good advice for ministry) he concludes thus: "I wish you would burn what letters you think may raise any clamour here, which I have wrote, as we are all mortal, and know not into whose hands they may fall! The world never bad more bad in it; and though I have never wrote any thing criminal—yet—I have wrote—what ought not to be made public."

The following are copies of two letters written by Governor Hutchinson, when Governor of Massachusetts Bay, which were lately found with several others, by the Americans, and since published by them in America.

Secret and Confidential, March 25, 1770.

MR DEAR SIR,

THE court has been sitting at Cambridge ever since the 15th, refusing to do any business, and urged me to remove them to Boston, but I shall not do it. I hope no copy of my Lord

Hillsborough's letter to me on the 9th of December will be suffered to be made public, nor of mine to his Lordship in answer, for I have followed your advice, and *they do not know that I had any sort of discretion left in the matter.* Indeed after I had prorogued the court, and wrote that I should hold the session there, I had not. Salem would have been better than Cambridge, the further from Boston the better. The house will be four and troublesome enough, but all they can do will be a perfect trifle, compared with the trouble the town of Boston gives me. They interfere in every affair, and threaten all the government which will not conform to them. They are carrying on the prosecution of poor Preston, and his soldiers, *with inimitable thirst after their blood.* When the court had determined to put off the trials to the first Week in June, a committee, viz. S. Adams, W. Cooper, Dr. Warren, and divers others, came from Mr. Jones's, where they had dined that day, and a vast concourse of people after them, into the superior court, and harangued the judges, until they altered their determination, and resolved to go on with business. This they assured me was contrary to their inclination, but they were under duress, and afraid to offend the town, who keep alive a town-meeting by short adjournments to observe how the business of the court goes on. Ruggles tells me the town has the entire command of the house. I prevailed on Williams, Strong, and a few more good men to attend, but they say it is to no purpose, the whole province must give way to the town. You used to tell me, my regard for the town made me too tender for its interest, to the damage of the public. *I cannot help an attachment to the place of my birth, and I have some personal interest, 140 or 150 pounds sterling annual rents, besides the house I live in, but I would now give up all, if the town could be separated from the rest of the province.* I do not see how that can be done, but something may and ~~must~~ be done to humble the leaders of the people of this town, and so keep the inhabitants in order. I have tried the council, and represented to the Judges the illegality of the town-acts. They say there is no possibility of helping it; the body of the people are all of a mind, and there is no stemming the torrent. It is the common language of Adams and the rest, that they are not to be intimidated by acts of parliament, for they will not be executed here, and should there be an act of parliament to vacate the charter, as the lawyers told the judge of the superior court, the people would not submit to it. *I do not see what should prevent the new counsellors from being as obnoxious as the commissioners.* We are most certainly every day confirming ourselves in our principles of independence; and ——— tells me,

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be is fully convinced, that *nothing but sharp external force will bring Boston into a state of due subordination*. He is intimidated from attending the court through a nervous disorder he is under, which was brought on by his apprehensions of danger, if he should act according to his judgment. Sewall tells me he never will appear at any other court in that town after the present; as Attorney General, and the whole court say they do not sit there with freedom. They would represent this to the general court, if there was any prospect of their making an act to hold the court in any other place; but instead of that, they know they would be told their fears were groundless. I need not suggest to you what is necessary to be done. The longer we are neglected, the harder our cure will be. Until government in England appears to be in earnest, the friends of government dare not shew themselves among us. It is possible when they know they can be supported, they may appear more numerous than the sons of liberty now imagine. I write with this freedom to you from a regard to the public interest and the duty which I owe to the King, and not from a regard to my personal interest, which will be no more affected than other people's, after I am superseded by the appointment of a new Governor, which as I observed in my last, ought not to be delayed. I am sure you will not suffer what I write to come back again even by rumours.

N. B. The foregoing was wrote when he was Lieutenant Governor, and expecting to be appointed Governor in Chief.

Private.

March 10, 1773.

DEAR SIR,

WHEN I wrote to you the 27th of February, I was much pressed with public business, but could not omit giving you some broken hints of measures necessary for our relief. As the session is at an end, I have more leisure; I will suggest a few more thoughts on the same subject. I should think myself happy in an hour's conversation, and it would be to more purpose than many letters. I must repeat to you, that something is absolutely necessary to be done, in consequence of the open declaration of the towns, and of the council and assembly against the supremacy of Parliament, if it be only preparatory, or the first step towards something more effectual that is to follow. If we will be independent, why should not we be threatened with what would be the consequence of our being actually so, a restraint from all trade with the colonies which acknowledge themselves subjects?

Is there any way of compelling Boston to be a corporation by depriving them of their present privileges, and not suffering any acts of the town? The charter of New-York city might be a good pattern. Can no restraint be laid on the other towns from acting in any other affairs than such as immediately concern them respectively?

If the present disputes about the supremacy, or rather the danger of them, could have been foreseen, they might have been prevented by adding, after the words lawful and rightful King, in the abjuration, and that the King, Lords and Commons, are the supreme legislature. If added now, there is no determining what convulsion it would make in America; but there would be less exception if it was made a general provision, like the late alteration upon the death of the Pretender, and founded not merely upon the denial in America; and there is some reason that it should be so; for if the supremacy had not been denied in England, few persons would dared to have denied it here.

Other and probably better measures will occur, I only wish government may be convinced that something is necessary to be done.

I venture to write with as great confidence as I should converse if we were together in a private room.

I am, with the greatest regard,

Sir, your faithful humble servant,

T. HUTCHINSON.

* * These two letters, it is apprehended, were wrote to Sir Francis Bernard, though that is not certain. Many parts of the first are entered in the letter book without any of the vowels, that they should be the more hard to be read by those who might accidentally have the inspection of them. The last consists of scarce any but consonants.

Extract of a Letter from a Member of the Assembly at New-York, to his friend in Surrey, dated July 22.

"YOU must before this have heard, that the Massachusetts congress have got into their possession the copies of many letters written by the late governor Hutchinson, to Gentlemen in England. These copies were found in an house at Milton, about six or seven miles from Boston, where they were secreted, and sealed up with brick and mortar, in a little arch on one side of a chimney. They are all in Hutchinson's own hand writing; and in one of them to — Rownal, Esq; of Lord Dart-

Darmouth's Office, (not the Governor) dated the 23d of August, 1773, he writes as follows: "From conversation with Dr. Johnson, of Connecticut, as well as with the Gentlemen of New-York, with whom I was upon a treaty at Hartford, I have all the reason that can be to conclude, that the controversy between me and the assembly has already been of service to the cause of Government in those two colonies, and that more has been done to prevent a claim to independency upon any constitutional principle, than has ever been done before." On the 21st of the same month he writes to another Gentleman in London, (his name not entered in the letter book, but from other parts of the letter, supposed to be to Mr. Jackson, of the Board of Trade) as follows: "I should not do myself justice, if I did not tell you that I have all the reason that can be to suppose the controversy between me and the two Houses will have a good effect in the other colonies. When I was at Hartford, Dr. Johnson assured me, he had never seen the right of parliament so unanswerably supported before." These paragraphs, when they first appeared, astonished every body with regard to Johnson, who had ever before stood fair with us, both as a man of principle, and as a friend to the liberties of his country; but about a fortnight ago the Doctor came here from Connecticut, when, as you may suppose, he was warmly attacked about the contents of these letters, and, to our entire satisfaction, he exculpated himself like a man of honour, as you and I have ever thought him. He declared to the company who waited on him, that he never had at any time, or in any mode, expressed such sentiments as Hutchinson had palmed on him in those letters; that the whole was a wicked falsehood, which he was shocked to find the author capable of endeavouring to impose on his friends on your side the water; that so far from thinking Mr. Hutchinson's boasted speech in support of the assumed right of parliament unanswerable, he thought the reverse; he thought the Boston Assembly's reply was unanswerable, and he deemed the speech as the foundation of all our calamities. The doctor further declared, that he had always with decency so expressed himself to Governor Hutchinson, and that so far from the speech having served the ministerial cause in either Connecticut or New-York, it had done infinite mischief, it had inflamed those provinces to a degree much higher than they had ever been before; he lamented that any person could be so lost to all sense of truth, as to write such letters, however tempted he might be by thinking they would heighten his character at home; and Dr. Johnson concluded with applying the Latin adage to that miserable lost man who has given it under his hand that he thinks "all machiavalian

policy is to be justified." "*Quem deus vult perdere prius dementat.*"

The proceedings of the House of Burgesses of Virginia.
[Continued from page 124.]

A committee was appointed to inquire into the causes of the late disturbances and commotions in the country, and made the following report.

IT appears to your committee, by the testimony of Dr. William Pasteur, that on Friday morning, the 23d of April last, there was a commotion in the city of Williamsburg, occasioned by the Governor's removing some powder from the public magazine; that a common-hall being assembled, he attended. An address was presented to his Excellency the Governor, and an answer received, as published in the Virginia Gazette; that the people, at the request of the corporation, retired peaceably to their habitations; that, during the commotion, the Captains Foy, Montague, and Collins, walked the main street unmolested; that, in the morning of the 23d of April, the said Pasteur, attending a patient at the palace, accidentally met with his Excellency the Governor, who introduced a conversation relative to what had passed the preceding day, and seemed greatly exasperated at the people's having been under arms; when the said Pasteur observed, that it was done in a hurry and confusion, and that most of the people were convinced they were wrong. His Lordship then proceeded to make use of several rash expressions, and said, that though he did not think himself in danger, yet he understood some injury, or insult, was intended to be offered to the Captains Foy and Collins, which he should consider as done to himself, as those Gentlemen acted entirely by his particular directions; that his Lordship then swore by the living God, that if a grain of powder was burnt at Captain Foy or Collins, or if any injury or insult was offered to himself, or either of them, that he would declare freedom to the slaves, and reduce the city of Williamsburg to ashes. His Lordship then mentioned setting up the royal standard, but did not say that he would actually do it, but said, he believed, if he did, he should have a majority of white people, and all the slaves, on the side of government; that he had once fought for the Virginians and that, by God, he would let them see that he could fight against them; and declared, that, in a short time, he could depopulate the whole country. That his Excellency desired the said Pasteur immediately to communicate this to the Speaker, and other Gentlemen of the town, for that there was not an hour to spare; adding also, that if Finnie, and George Nicholas,

continued to go at large, what he had said would, from some misconduct of theirs, be carried into execution. That the said Pasteur immediately communicated this matter to the Speaker, and several other Gentlemen of the town, and it soon became publicly known; in consequence of which, two of the principal Gentlemen of the city sent their wives and children into the country. That his Excellency, at other times, more than once did say, he should not carry these plans into execution unless he was attacked. That the inhabitants of Williamsburg were soon after informed, by an express from Fredericksburg, that the people in that part of the country were in motion towards this city. That, the next morning after this report, the said Pasteur attending a patient at the palace, again met accidentally with the Governour, who declared to the said Pasteur, that if a large body of people came below Ruffin's ferry (a place about thirty miles from this city) that he would immediately enlarge his plan, and carry it into execution; but said, that he should not regard a small number of men, adding, he then had two hundred muskets loaded in the palace. The said Pasteur saith, that, to the best of his knowledge, at the time Lady Dunmore and family removed from Williamsburg, on board the Fowey man of war, then lying at York, the inhabitants of this city were very peaceable. It appears to your committee, from the testimony of Benjamin Waller, that, the morning after the powder was removed from the public magazine, the people in the city of Williamsburg were much alarmed, and assembled, some with, and others without, arms; but when the corporation reported the Governour's answer to their address, they, by the persuasions of the magistrates, and other principal gentlemen of the town, dispersed, and were quiet; except in the evening, when a report prevailed that the marines were landed, and intended to town, they expressed great uneasiness, and went with their arms to the magazine to guard it, but soon dispersed, except a few, who acted as a patrol that night. That the next day Doctor Pasteur came to the said Waller's house, and informed him of the Governour's threatening, that if himself, his family, or Captain Collins, were insulted, he would declare liberty to the slaves, and lay the town in ashes; and that the Governour had desired him to communicate this his declaration to the magistrates of the city, for that there was not an hour to lose. That these declarations gave the said Waller, and the other inhabitants of the town, great uneasiness. That several days afterwards, his Excellency came to the said Waller's house, on some private business, and, in the course of conversation, his Lordship said, that Captain Collins had only taken fifteen half barrels of powder from the magazine; that some was

not good, and others not full; but that he believed that one whole barrel might be got out of three half barrels; whereupon the said Waller took the liberty to mention to his Lordship, that he was sorry to tell his Excellency that he had lost the confidence of the people, not so much for having taken the powder, as for the declaration he made of raising and freeing the slaves: To which he answered, that he did say so, and made no secret of it; and that he would do that, or any thing else, to have defended himself, in case he had been attacked. That his Lordship farther observed, that some slaves had offered him their service, at the time the Hanover men were coming down; but that he had sent them away. The said Benjamin Waller farther says, that several young gentlemen of the town, and others, had formed themselves into a company (by the name of an independent company) to learn the military exercise, and elected the colonel of the militia for their captain, and that they usually mustered once a week. That, when his Excellency returned from the Indian expedition, last fall, many of the said company waited upon him, in their uniform, to congratulate his Lordship on his return; but, the said Waller heard, they were coolly received.

That said Waller says, that he never heard of any powder's being lodged in the magazine from the Rippon man of war, until since the removal of the powder, and then only from report, the truth of which he does not know.

It also appears to your committee, from the testimony of John Randolph, Esq; Attorney General, of the city of Williamsburg, that, the morning after the removal of the powder, many of the people were under arms at the court-house. That he does not recollect he heard the Governor expressly say he would proclaim freedom to the slaves, but is well satisfied such was his Lordship's intention, if it had been necessary for him to take up arms in defence of his person. That he does not recollect he ever saw any of the people under arms (except on the removal of the powder) but the volunteer company, when exercising; which company had been formed a considerable time before the disturbance happened. That he thought Lady Dunmore had no reason, but the timidity of her sex, to suspect any injury would be done her, or her family; nor did he know that Lord Dunmore had just cause to apprehend danger, unless he gave credit to the reports carried to him, which were of such a nature as to justify an opinion that his person was not safe. That he is of opinion, and that he informed the Governor so, when he, with other Gentlemen, waited upon him with the address of the House, that his person was in no danger. That his Lordship was almost every day at his the said

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Randolph's house, distant above a quarter of a mile from the place, and in particular the evening of his departure, and that his Lordship received no insult, as he knows of, in passing to and from thence. The said Randolph says, that he understood from the Governor, in case armed people came to Williamsburgh, he would fix up the royal standard, to distinguish the friends of government from its foes; and that, if negroes on that occasion offered their services, they would be received. That the Governor informed him, some negroes (by one of his servants) had offered their service; but ordered his servant to bid them go about their business. That the morning after the removal of the powder, the said Randolph saw captain Collins, captain Foy, and he believes captain Stretch, pass through the people unmolested.

It also appears, by the testimony of John Dixon, Esq; mayor of the city of Williamsburgh, that, in the opinion of the inhabitants, the militia of the city being on an indifferent footing, and they having heard of an independant company established at Norfolk, were desirous of forming one in Williamsburgh. That such company was accordingly formed, and, although he does not know the Governor was ever present when they were exercised, the said Dixon never heard he disapproved of it. That his Honour the President, while the Governor was out on the Indian expedition, directed the keeper of the public magazine to furnish the company with muskets. That a committee was chosen in the city, agreeable to the directions of the congress, but not to act, as he knew of, under the committee. That, upon the Governor's return from the Indian expedition, one of the company waited upon his Excellency, to inform him the company intended to pay their compliments to him the next morning, before the palace, if agreeable to Lady Dunmore, who was then indisposed; but, his Lordship being out of the way, the person, who went, left his compliments of the above import. That the next morning the said Dixon, as captain, with part of the company, drew up in Palace-street, and paid the usual compliments. That his Lordship did not come out to meet them; but some time afterwards there was a message delivered by Mr. Blair, from his Excellency, that he would have done himself the pleasure of waiting upon them, if they had staid a little longer, as he did not expect they would have finished their exercise so soon. That the morning after the powder was removed, many of the inhabitants being much alarmed, and greatly incensed against captain Foy and captain Collins, assembled at the Court-house under arms; but does not believe, nor has he heard, any injury or insult was intended to the Governor. That, some time after the Governor's answer to the address of the corporation was

read, the people, upon the interposition of the magistrates, and other Gentlemen, were satisfied, and returned home in quiet. That after the Governor had declared what captain Collins had done was by his order, their resentment against captain Collins subsided. That the same evening the powder was removed, a report prevailed, that a number of armed men, from captain Collins's schooner, had landed at Burwell's ferry, about four miles from Williamsburgh, with design, as was supposed, to remove the arms from the magazine; whereupon many of the inhabitants repaired to the magazine, to prevent such design being executed; but, by the advice of some Gentlemen, they all dispersed, except such as patrolled that night. That the inhabitants appeared to be in perfect tranquility, till a report was spread of his Excellency's throwing out some threats respecting the slaves, when there seemed to be great uneasiness; but nothing more was done but doubling the usual patrol. That after the alarm was over, the first day, he remembers to have seen captain Foy and captain Montague walk the streets, and he believes without insult; and frequently saw them, captain Collins and other officers do the same, without their swords, unmolested by the inhabitants.

It also appears, by the testimony of Joseph Hutchings, colonel of the militia of the borough of Norfolk, that some years ago, the inhabitants, judging it would be a means of their greater security, proposed raising an independent company, that, by their being more regularly trained, they might be more capable of acting upon an emergency. That some time afterwards, his Excellency Lord Dunmore being at Norfolk, the said Hutchings informed him of the intention of the inhabitants, and asked his advice how to act as to granting commissions, the company intending to choose their own officers. That his Lordship highly commended the proposal, advised the said Hutchings to encourage and grant commissions to such officers as might be chosen, and expressed his wishes that the example might be followed throughout the country. That about two years afterwards his Lordship was again at Norfolk, when the company was completely formed and regimented; and, having drawn them up, his Lordship marched through the lines, in order to review them, and again expressed great satisfaction.

Your committee then proceeded to examine several Gentlemen merchants, natives of Great Britain, who reside in different parts of this colony, respecting the disposition of its people, and its internal peace, the causes of the late commotions, and the progress thereof; and it appears to your committee, from the depositions by them taken, as follows:

It appears, from the testimony of Hugh Hamilton, of the county of Westmoreland, that the courts of this colony have always proceeded in criminal business as usual, but declined trying civil causes immediately, on the lapse of the fee bill, which, together with the non-exportation agreement, was, in his opinion, the cause of stopping that business, rather than an inclination of withholding justice, his acquaintances having the same inclination to pay their debts as before the stoppage of the courts. That committees having been chosen within these twelve months, and independent companies formed in his and the neighbouring counties about the month of February, last, for the defence of the colony, and that he never heard they were designed to protect the committee. That, in his county, the Gentlemen have been at proper pains to preserve order; and it has been recommended to the militia, to acquire a knowledge of the military exercise. That the people within his acquaintance have been very orderly, and that he never saw any commotion before the powder was taken from the magazine; that there was an alarm concerning the slaves prior to this transaction, which was greatly increased by the report of the Governor's intention to declare them free. That he never discovered the smallest inclination in any of the inhabitants to be independent of Great Britain, but, on the contrary, a most eager desire for a connection, as it stood prior to the acts of Parliament imposing taxes on America; and he is persuaded a redress of the grievances complained of would establish a perfect tranquillity throughout this colony, and produce a reconciliation with the parent state.

It appears, from the testimony of Thomas Mitchell, of the county of Louisa, that the loss of the fee bill is generally assigned, and, he believes, was the immediate cause of stopping the civil proceedings in the courts of justice; but apprehends their not being resumed is owing to the commercial mode of opposition. That no independent company was formed in the said county until the 8th of May 1775, or thereabouts, nor a committee chosen until some months after the association entered into; and it is his opinion the said company was raised with a view to put the colony into a state of defence, but believes it would assist their committee, if called on. That no commotions have happened in the said county, but that the Governor's declaration to give freedom to the slaves greatly inflamed the minds of those who believed it; but does not think that belief was general. That he does not think the colony wish to be independent of Great Britain, and is satisfied a redress of the grievances complained of would restore tranquillity and reconciliation.

It appears, from the testimony of James Lyle

and Robert Donald, of the county of Chesterfield, that the reason assigned for stopping the courts in civil proceedings was the expiration of the fee bill; and they are of opinion, that their refusing to proceed now is owing to the adopted mode of commercial opposition. That no independent company was formed in Chesterfield till a few weeks ago, and that they were intended for the general defence of the country, and not, as they know, designed for the protection of the committee, or to be under their direction; but they believe they would protect the committee, if required. That the inhabitants were quiet and peaceable prior to the removal of the powder, and were greatly alarmed and exasperated at the Governor's declaration of giving freedom to the slaves, since which uncommon licence has been used in training the independent company and the militia to arms: but the people have always behaved themselves orderly, paying the greatest regard to the prudent advice of their officers. That they have no reason to believe the people wish an independence of Great Britain, and firmly believe a redress of the present grievances would establish a general tranquillity throughout this colony, and a reconciliation with Great Britain.

It appears, from the testimony of Thomas Hodge and James Robison, of King George county, Charles Yates and Henry Mitchell, of Spotsylvania, and Robert Gilchrist and Patrick Kennan, of Caroline, that the expiration of the fee bill was the immediate cause of stopping the courts in civil causes. That it has been since considered as a political means of obtaining a redress of grievances, by interesting the British merchants, who have property here, in our behalf; and that, since it has been determined to discontinue the exports, it has been thought necessary; but the courts proceed in criminal cases as usual. That committees have been established to enforce the resolutions of the General Congress, and independent companies formed to learn the use of arms, at different periods. In Spotsylvania, some time last winter; in Caroline, in February or March last; and in King George, since the last colony convention in March. They do not know that they were established to protect the committees, but believe the defence of the colony was the first and principal motive. That some of the independent company of Spotsylvania have acted under the direction of their committee, but the Caroline company refused to enlist, unless they were to be solely under the direction of officers of their own choosing. That there never were any commotions among the people till after the powder was removed from the magazine, when, in consequence of that transaction, there was a great assembly of armed men at Fredericksburgh, and adjacent places; but they were very orderly and peaceable, and upon advice of a council they appointed,

pointed, and some of the delegates of this colony, they all retired to their respective homes. That about this time they understood the Governor had made a declaration of freedom to the slaves, which was not generally believed; but, as far as it gained credit, it tended greatly to inflame the people. That they do not believe any part of this colony with an independence of Great Britain, though they cannot undertake to judge of the views of individuals; and they hope, and think, a redress of the present grievances would restore tranquility here, and produce a reconciliation with the parent state.

It appears, from the testimony of Archibald Ritchie, of the county of Essex, that the cause generally assigned for stopping the proceedings of the courts in civil causes (the criminal proceedings going on as usual) was the expiration of the fee bill; but that he believes the measure was politically adopted, for carrying more effectually into execution the purposes of the association. That the volunteer company in the county of Essex was formed about three weeks ago, not merely for protecting the committees; but believes they would do so, if required. That, previous to the seizure of the powder, the state of the colony, as far as his observation extended, was a general acquiescence in the resolves of the Provincial and General Congress; and that, in consequence thereof, no commotion happened in that county. That he does not know of any one that wishes independence of Great Britain; but, on his oath, cannot say there are none such. That he has not the least doubt, if the grievances complained of were redressed, perfect tranquility would be established between great Britain and the colonies.

It appears, from the testimony of Charles Duncan, of the county of Chesterfield, near the town of Petersburg and Blanford, that the loss of the fee bill, in his opinion, was the immediate cause of the stop to the proceedings in the courts in civil causes, the criminal going on as usual. That a volunteer company in the said county was formed some time after the convention at Richmond, and, in his opinion, solely for putting the country into a posture of defence, without any regard to the protection of the committee. That the state of the colony, before the removal of the powder, was peaceable and orderly; and a strict compliance with the resolves of the Continental and Provincial Congress was, he thinks, the cause of maintaining that good order, so little to be expected in a country deprived of so essential a part of its laws. That the removal of the powder certainly occasioned the commotions complained of, and he believes, so far as the Governor's declarations gained credit, they contributed to those disturbances; but there were none such in the neighbourhood where he lives. That he never heard any person wish an independence of Great

Britain, and is clearly of opinion a redress of the present grievances would immediately produce a hearty reconciliation.

It appears, by the testimony of Archibald Bryce, of the county of Henrico, that the expiration of the fee bill was the reason assigned by the court for stopping the proceedings in civil cases (the criminal going on as usual) and he believes the commercial mode of opposition is the reason why the business of the courts is not resumed. That the suspension in civil proceedings took place in June, 1774; and, some time in the fall, a committee was chosen, agreeable to an article of the general association. That the independent company of Henrico has not been formed above six weeks, and he believes the principal design of their institution was to put the colony into a proper state of defence. That he knew of no commotions in the country before the seizure of the powder; and, as very few took up arms upon that occasion, he was informed, that, at the request of one of the representatives of the county, they returned to their habitations. That, he thinks, as far as the Governor's declaration gained credit with the people, it served to irritate their minds, and might possibly be a means of continuing the commotions in the country. That he believes the colony in general do not wish an independence, and that a redress of grievances would establish tranquility, and produce a reconciliation.

It appears, by the testimony of Thomas Montgomery, of the county of Prince William, that, previous to the powder's being seized, committees of correspondence and of observation, to carry into effect the resolutions of the Congress, and volunteer companies, were formed; military discipline was taught, arms and ammunition were industriously procured.

That, upon the report of the Governor's having seized the powder, many people marched to Fredericksburg; where, upon a meeting of several counties, it was determined, in consultation, they should return to their respective homes.

That the court proceeds in criminal cases. In civil cases, the proceedings are stopped; owing, as he thinks, to the expiration of the fee bill, but not to the determination against imports and exports, which he thinks did not necessarily produce that effect. Having observed the same inclination in the people to do justice to their creditors as usual, he thinks the above steps do not proceed from any inclination to withhold justice.

That no other commotions or disturbances have happened in the county but what were produced by the alarm of seizing the powder; and these subsided soon, and the people returned to their own habitations. That the political measures are adopted by all classes of men.

That

That the independent company was formed in that county about September, and its design was to protect the colony in general, and the county in particular; and that he has heard it observed, this institution would aid the execution of the resolutions of the committee.

That he believes few, if any person, in the colony, wish an independence of Great Britain; but on the contrary, is of opinion, that a redress of grievances would establish tranquility here, and a perfect reconciliation with the mother country, as he thinks they entertain not a desire but of dependence on the mother country, on constitutional principles.

It appears, by the testimony of Archibald Govan, Thomas Evans, John Johnson, and George Braikenridge, of the county of Hanover, that proceedings in criminal cases went on as usual. That all civil law proceedings (except motions against sheriffs, and other publick officers) were stopped in June 1774. In November, a committee, in conformity of a regulation to the Congress, was chosen, to carry into execution the American association, an independent company enlisted, but not embodied.

That, for the interruption of suits in civil cases, they assign the expiration of the fee bill as the principal cause, and do not attribute that measure to the adoption of the commercial opposition, as this political plan took place some months after the courts had stopped their proceedings.

That, as to commotions, they say none have occurred, except in one instance, which proceeded from the Governour's seizing the powder, which was heightened and increased by his threatening to enfranchise the slaves.

That those causes induced the independent company to chuse their officers, and march out about twenty miles towards Williamsburg; but how they conducted themselves on their march, they can give no information. That they think the independent companies were formed to put the country into a state of defence, yet they suppose they would have aided the committee.

That this colony, in their opinion, desires not an independence of Great Britain; and that a redress of the present grievances would re-establish tranquility, and produce a reconciliation with the parent state.

It appears to your committee, from the testimony of Andrew Sprowle, Archibald Campbell, and James Ingram, of the county of Norfolk, and Samuel Donaldson, of the county of Nansemond, that, in these counties, the courts, as usual, proceed in criminal cases. For the causes of stopping the proceedings in civil suits, they assign the expiration of the free bill as the primary one; but, as a secondary cause, they think this measure was adopted to carry the purposes of the association more effectually into execution, which, by distressing the mercantile part of the British

nation, was intended to interest them in favour of the colony, and to produce, in the end, an accommodation.

That the town of Norfolk, as yet, has no independent company, but one formed before the existence of committees, with the approbation of the Governour, and under his commission. In Nansemond county, an independent company was formed in May last; not for the avowed purpose of protecting committees, but in conformity to the direction of the last Convention.

That, before the seizure of the powder, a general acquiescence under the resolutions of the General and Provincial Congress marked the political character of this colony; and, in the above-mentioned counties, no commotions were excited by this conduct of the Governour's, since in neither did the report, that an insurrection was intended by the slaves, produce that effect.

That they think it the universal wish to have a constitutional dependence on Great Britain; and that a redress of grievances will immediately establish tranquility, and be productive of a reconciliation with the parent state.

A Committee was appointed to prepare an Address, in answer to his Excellency's last message.

The address being reported to the House, was maturely considered, and is as follows:

To his EXCELLENCY, &c.

My Lord,

THE House of Burgesses received your Lordship's written message of the 20th instant, in answer to the joint address of his Majesty's Honourable Council and this House, with equal concern and amazement. We were totally unprepared for so severe and cruel a return to the respectful application made to your Lordship, solely dictated by our duty to his Majesty, and the most earnest desire of contributing every thing in our power towards promoting, as well your Lordship's own happiness, as that of your Lady and whole family. This step, we hoped, would have proved the happy means of restoring that tranquility and harmony, you were pleased to flatter us with your earnest wishes to have established. Who were the peculiar objects of your tenderness, that you so kindly, in favour to them, declined a particular enumeration; we know not; but are sorry that your Lordship had so little feeling for the honour, and integrity of this House. You have now, my Lord, driven us to the disagreeable necessity of inquiring minutely into the causes of the late disturbances in this country. It is not with the most distant inclination to give your Lordship the shortest umbrage that we engage in so irksome a task, but purely to do justice to our much injured country, that we recur to different, and some distant transactions. The charges of disloyalty and disaffection in our country,

countrymen to our most gracious sovereign, and his government, as insinuated in your Lordship's message, and some other public acts, are as grievous as they are unmerited. Words, we know, are too often but empty sounds. We appeal not to professions, however sincere, but to facts of public notoriety. The loyalty of this his Majesty's most ancient colony stands confessed, as recorded by many of your worthy predecessors. We will presume to carry your attention no farther back than to the administration of a Governour immediately preceding your Lordship. Previous to his coming over to Virginia, there had arisen some unhappy disputes between Great Britain and the colonies. His Majesty was graciously pleased to send over to us, from his immediate presence, the truly noble Lord Botetourt, who told us, that he had received it in command from his Majesty to do justice, and maintain the rights of all his subjects. He cheerfully entered upon the duties of his exalted station, in which he acted as a true representative of his royal master, at once supporting the dignity of his crown, dispensing the utmost justice, and diffusing benevolence throughout the country. By his exemplary conduct, in all respects, he accomplished what he deemed a glorious work: He gave us tranquility, and happiness. Indeed he was often heard to declare, that the business of a Governour of Virginia was much easier than he could have conceived, as he found that the government almost executed itself. Matters were not at that time carried on, and precipitated, with so high an hand, on the other side of the water, as at present. This probably was owing to his minutely examining every subject to the bottom himself, taking nothing upon trust; to his discountenancing tale-bearers, and malicious informers; and, at last, making a faithful representation of things, as he found them. In a short, too short a time, for the happiness of Virginia, it pleased God to remove him from us. When we received the account of your Lordship's appointment, we indulged the pleasing hopes that we should again be made happy in a ruler; and, when you were pleased to honour us with your presence, we vied with each other in endeavouring to make your administration easy and agreeable. Upon the report that your Lady and family were coming over to you, every one, we believe, who heard it, was eager in expectation of an event which was likely to give addition to your happiness. We received her Ladyship, and your children, with every expression of heart-felt joy, and have considered our countrymen as exceedingly happy in having such respectable pledges amongst them. Changes, my Lord, seldom happen without some sufficient cause. If, therefore, you have, or think you have, discovered any alteration in the sentiments or behaviour of those you preside over, it may be worth your while, as

well as ours, to search out the reason of it. Respect, my Lord, is not to be obtained by force, from a free people. If genuine, it must be a perfect volunteer; and nothing is so likely to ensure it to one in your station as dignity of character, a candid and exemplary conduct. We decline, on this occasion, a discussion of the subject unhappily in dispute between Great Britain and the colonies. We presume not to interfere with your authority in summoning or dissolving Assemblies, when, by advice of your Council, you think there is proper occasion. What we claim, as an act of justice, is, that our conduct should be fairly and impartially represented to our sovereign. We do not mean to insinuate that your Lordship would, designedly, misrepresent facts; but it is much to be feared that you too easily give credit to some designing persons, who, to the great injury of this community, possess much too large a share of your confidence. We have seen, my Lord, the copy of a letter you were pleased to write to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated the 29th of May 1774. The design of the then Assembly was entirely misconceived, and the ill impressions your Lordship's letter may have made on the minds of his Majesty, and his Ministers, prove how dangerous it is, and how very unjust it may be, to attempt penetrating the thoughts of others, when they are not certainly known. Suspicious, we humbly conceive, can never justify direct and positive accusations. Men, we know, differ in religious sentiments. Some may believe in the superintendence of a providence, and that the care, especially of nations, is an object of Divine Goodness; whilst others may think, or affect to treat this, as well as other matters, which our religion teaches, as things merely chimerical. We have likewise seen an authentic copy of extracts of another of your Lordship's letters to the same noble Earl, dated the 24th of December, 1774. The more injurious the unfavourable representations contained in this letter, were likely to be to this country, the more careful we should have hoped your Lordship would have been in examining the evidences of the facts stated. Your Lordship had been pleased to represent, in the first letter, our House of Burgesses as fond of having it thought that a determined resolution to deny and oppose the authority of Parliament always originates with them. Whether this was intended to draw down the particular resentment of Parliament on this country, your Lordship can best determine. They have, indeed, protested against the power of Parliament, when they thought it extended contrary to the principles of the constitution; but we do not know that they ever affected to take the lead of the other colonies, in this, or any other measure. The times of entering their protestations were merely accidental, as circumstances happened; and it is notorious, that the subject of the present complaint

plaint had been under the consideration of some other colonies, before the Virginians took it up. It would seem, from your Lordship's letter of the 24th of December, that the association adopted by the General Congress was first recommended from Virginia; whereas the truth is, that, in Virginia, nothing more was resolved against, at first, than the importation and use of East India commodities. The general non-export and non-import agreement came first recommended to us from several of the northern colonies. This, we own, makes no difference now, as the several colonies have united in the association. It is only remarked, since this circumstance seems to have been thought material, as no strong testimony of a kind disposition in your Lordship towards this country. That committees were chosen, in the several counties, is admitted. The design of them was to observe the conduct of those who were inimical to the interest of the country. They were required to publish the names of all transgressors, that the country might know their friends from their foes. This you were pleased to term "Inviting the vengeance of a lawless mob to be exercised upon the unhappy victims." You farther represented these committees as assuming an authority to inspect the books, invoices, and all the *secrets* of the trade and correspondence of merchants. This, my Lord, was high-colouring of assumed facts; which we, who inhabit different parts of the country, are strangers to. To close your narrative upon this head, you were pleased to inform your noble correspondent, that every "county in this colony was arming a company of men, whom they call an independent company, for the avowed purpose of protecting their committees, and to be employed against government, if occasion required; and that the committee of one county had proceeded so far as to swear the men of their independent company to execute all orders which should be given them from their committee." These, my Lord, are things entirely without our knowledge; and, upon the strictest inquiry, we are convinced they deserve no credit. There were a few companies of gentlemen formed, who were desirous of perfecting themselves in military exercise; but we find not more than six or seven throughout the whole colony, which consists of sixty one counties. This was designed to distinguish them from the militia at large; the first, and most considerable of these, was instituted for the better protection of the inhabitants of Norfolk borough, and afterwards received your Lordship's approbation, so far, that you expressed the warmest wishes that the example might be followed throughout the country, and gave commissions to their officers. That these companies were connected with the committees, or that they were ever designed to act against, or in any sort to interfere with, what you are pleased to call govern-

ment, we do not know, or believe; but, on the contrary, we are verily persuaded that they were always ready and willing to exert themselves to support the laws, and his Majesty's government, to the utmost of their power. Your Lordship's assertion, that the "power of government was entirely disregarded, if not wholly overturned, and that there was not a justice of the peace in Virginia who acted except as a committee-man," we cannot but consider as highly unjust, and extremely injurious to us. We have the greatest reason to believe, having it in full proof, that the magistrates throughout the colony duly attended their respective courts; and though, for the reasons assigned in our former address to your Lordship, they could not think themselves legally authorized to hear and determine civil suits, yet we are persuaded that their former endeavours to preserve the peace and good order of government were not interrupted, but exerted in the usual manner. The original cause of suspending the trials of civil disputes was, as your Lordship observes, the want of a fee bill. This legal defect was much lamented, and not used, that we know of, as a popular argument, by any man of good sense; nor did the inhabitants of this country join, in what you are pleased to call an opprobrious measure, to engage their "English creditors to join the clamours of this country." Your Lordship's assertion, that "not a few did it to avoid paying their debts, in which many of the principal people here are much involved", we can only answer for ourselves in the negative; and must consider so indiscriminate a charge as extremely injurious. We were so far from desiring to do injustice to creditors, that it gave us great pain to observe that such a step was thought necessary; and nothing but the hopes of being relieved from the arbitrary system of colony government, attempted to be introduced, could have prevailed with us to submit to a stoppage of our exports. The merchants of London, in their written message, by a respectable member of their body, to the committee of the House of Commons, have done us ample justice in this respect; by representing, that they should have no uneasiness about remittances from America, unless Parliament pursued such means as were likely to prevent them. The Congress, my Lord, we consider as instituted on principles of publick necessity; we do not deny our having a proper respect for that body; we learn, from good authority, that their humble and dutiful petition to his Majesty was graciously received, though, it is with concern, we are told it has hitherto produced no good effect: but that the inhabitants of Virginia treated with "marks of reverence the laws of the Congress, which they never bestowed on their legal government, or the laws proceeding from it," is one of a great number of facts requiring proof; since we must take leave to say, with

with confidence, that his Majesty's subjects of Virginia have been second to none others, even to his dutiful and loyal subjects in any part of his wide-extended dominions, in all due respect to his government, governours, and all in authority under him.

We cannot but remind your Lordship of the General Congress held in America, with the royal approbation, in the last war. The united interest indeed of Great Britain, and the colonies, might have then demanded it. In imitation of so laudable an example, America resolved on a like measure, as equally, if not more necessary, at this critical juncture. Your Lordship's account of the effects the association is likely to produce, considering it as a matter of opinion, we are little concerned to interfere with. Time only can discover the consequences of it; but your heavy charge against those called people of fortune, "that they supply themselves and negroes for two or three years, to the distress of the middling and poorer sort," must have proceeded from your giving too easy credit to ill-founded reports. Some, but very few, may have supplied themselves, as opportunity offered, for the present year. This, we believe, is the most that has been done; and we are persuaded of a material mistake, in another respect, it being the general opinion, founded on good grounds, that the middling and poorer sort will fare much better than those of fortune, who have large numbers of slaves to provide for. Engaged on this topic, we cannot refrain from observing how strangely our views have been misrepresented. By the association, we intend nothing that is illegal; we are only resolved to be content with our home-spun manufactures, however mean in quality, unless things can be restored to their former channel, the only security we desire for what we know our excellent constitution entitles us to. What your Lordship is pleased to represent as the arbitrary proceedings of the committees, we trust will produce none of those very dreadful effects you have painted in such alarming colours. The whole colony, very few excepted, is united; and, from such union of sentiments, expectations must be exceedingly sanguine, indeed, in supposing that discord will arise.

How the proceedings of the General Convention, in the month of March last, may have been represented, we know not: but, from the foregoing specimens, it is to be presumed in no very favourable light. These meetings, my Lord, unless it can be supposed that a whole country could entirely lose sight of its security and most essential interests, were rendered absolutely necessary, first by the dissolution, and afterwards by repeated prorogations, of the General Assembly. Upon inquiry into the state of the colony, it was found that there had been almost a total inattention to the proper training and disciplining

of our militia. Various subsequent acts of our legislature, emendatory of the law of 1738, had expired; the act providing against invasions and insurrections was near expiring, and it was uncertain whether an opportunity would be given the General Assembly to revive it. Taking a farther view of our situation, it was found that our inhabitants were exposed to the incursions of a barbarous and savage enemy. From the best accounts received from Great Britain, there was too much reason to be convinced that his Majesty's ministry were prosecuting the most rigorous and arbitrary measures towards subjugating the whole continent of America to their despotick rule; which measures, it is more than probable, had been suggested from hence, and the other colonies: That a scheme, the most diabolical, had been meditated, and generally recommended, by a person of great influence, to offer freedom to our slaves, and turn them against their masters. The Convention, to guard against these dangers, not clearly seen into before that time, recommended a strict attention to the militia law of 1738; but thinking this defective in many essential points, considering that, under this law, the whole militia were not obliged to exercise so frequently as might be necessary, it was recommended that volunteer companies should be formed in each county, for the better defence and protection of the whole country. These proceedings, according to an usual style, it is more than probable, have been represented as designed to oppose government; whereas, we are persuaded, that nothing was farther from the intentions of the Convention. A review of their resolutions must convince every unprejudiced mind that the utmost respect was paid to his Majesty and his legal government, and that the Convention had much pleasure in expressing their obligations to your Lordship for your late services. The truth is, my Lord, that his Majesty's dutiful subjects in this colony have the utmost attachment to their sovereign; they admire, they love the constitution, and will risk every thing most dear and valuable in support of it. These are principles imbibed in their infancy, and their constant care is to inculcate them on the minds of their children; they meditate or design nothing in the least offensive: But, if it is expected that they should sit down supinely, and submit to yokes which neither they nor their forefathers were able to bear, they must acknowledge that they have the sensibility and feelings of freemen, actuating them to a proper and justifiable defence of those rights which are guarantied by the laws and principles of the constitution.

We have, my Lord, made the strictest and minutest inquiry into the causes of the late disturbances. We find, from the examination of many respectable merchants, natives of Great Britain, residing in different parts of this colony, and

from other gentlemen of character, that the country was in a perfect state of tranquillity till they received an account of your Lordship's removal of the gun-powder from the publick magazine, to one of his Majesty's ships of war, and of your irritating and most unjustifiable threats.

The inhabitants of this country, my Lord, could not be strangers to the many attempts in the northern colonies to disarm the people, and thereby deprive them of the only means of defending their lives and property. We know, from good authority that the like measures were generally recommended by the ministry, and that the export of powder from Great Britain had been prohibited. Judge then how very alarming a removal of the small stock which remained in the publick magazine, for the defence of the country, and the stripping the guns of their locks, must have been to any people, who had the smallest regard for their security. The manner, and time of doing it, made no small addition to the general apprehension of your Lordship's views. The reason assigned by your Lordship for taking this step, we should have thought the most likely, at any other time, to have directed a very different conduct. We should have supposed, that a well-grounded apprehension of an insurrection of the slaves ought to have called forth the utmost exertions to suppress it. The world will probably judge your Lordship's method of doing this, the least likely to effect the necessary purpose. Your Lordship having represented this powder as the King's peculiar property, supposing it to have been brought from one of his ships, we have made inquiry into that matter, and cannot find that there ever was any powder brought either from the Rippon or any other man of war; so that we presume your Lordship must have been misinformed as to this fact, since the powder was removed, as it was not relied on in your answer to the address of the corporation of the city of Williamsburg. Be this, however, as it may, we conceive the case would not be materially altered. We must remind your Lordship, that, by a very ancient law of this country, enacted so long since as the thirty-second year of the reign of his Majesty King Charles the second, for raising a publick revenue, and for the better support of this government, amongst other provisions, an impost of one half pound of new gun-powder, and three pounds of leaden shot, or one shilling and threepence sterling, was imposed on all ships or vessels coming into this colony. In the ninth year of the reign of Queen Anne, the impost of one shilling and three-pence on the tunnage of vessels was continued, for port duties. It is evident, my Lord, that the original and chief design of this particular impost was to provide, from time to time, a proper stock of munition for the defence of the country. We have examined the produce of this fund for thirteen years past,

and find that it yielded in that time twenty-eight thousand five hundred and three pounds three shillings and ninepence sterling, which, on an average, amounted to 2192l. 11s. sterling per annum; and it is observable, that for the four last years it yielded considerably more than three thousand pounds in each year. It may from hence be fairly submitted, whether it was not incumbent on the executive part of government to have provided, in the first place, from so large and ample a fund, a proper stock of arms and ammunition, which was so essentially necessary for the security of the country. If, my Lord, instead of applying a reasonable part of this money to such necessary purposes, the whole has been applied to other occasions of government, and powder and arms had been procured through some other channel, we should presume that these, when stored in the publick magazine, built at the expence of the country, and appropriated to the safe-keeping of all military stores, ought there to have remained, till the exigencies of the country demanded them.

We find, my Lord, that the inhabitants of the city of Williamsburg, in the midst of which the magazine is situated, upon discovering that the powder was removed, the time and manner of its being done, in the dead of night, under an escort of armed marines, commanded by Captain Henry Collins of the Magdalen, were exceedingly alarmed; that many of them were so exasperated that they had recourse to arms, intending, as we understand, to compel Captain Collins to restore the powder; but we cannot discover that the least insult was intended to your Lordship. We find that the corporation of Williamsburg presented a very decent and respectful address to your Excellency, desiring that you would be pleased to order the powder to be returned; and, on receipt of your verbal answer, amongst other things, avowing that it had been removed by your orders, under which Captain Collins had acted, and promising that it should be returned in case of an insurrection, the people assembled were soon appeased, returned quietly to their respective homes, and perfect tranquillity was restored in the city; that, in the succeeding night, on a report that a number of armed men had landed at a ferry about four miles from the city, the inhabitants were again much alarmed; but, upon the interposition of some gentlemen, they were quieted, and nothing farther was done than strengthening the usual patrol for the security of the city. We farther find, that on the next day, when every thing was perfectly quiet, your Lordship sent a message into the city by one of the magistrates, which you delivered with the most solemn asseverations; that if any insult was offered to Captain Foy, or Captain Collins, you would declare freedom to the slaves, and lay the town in ashes; and that you could easily depopulate the whole coun-

country. What could have provoked your Lordship to this we cannot discover, as both Captain Foy and Captain Collins, and several other officers, had been frequently seen walking publicly in the streets, and no one offered either of them the least injury; nor can we discover any reason to believe that any thing of the sort was intended. The inhabitants, my Lord, could not but be exceedingly alarmed at so cruel a threat; many people considered it as part of that general plan, they had heard was recommended in England, and which was discovered by your Lordship through accident; they however, did nothing more, that we can learn, than continue their former patrols. A report of these several matters having soon circulated almost throughout the whole country, with this addition, that the most valuable guns in the magazine had been stripped of their locks, and that the inhabitants of Williamsburg were in the most imminent danger, the minds of the people in general were much agitated; they assembled in different quarters, and a number of expresses were sent to inquire and obtain a true state of things. It appears, that, during this general uneasiness, an account was received from the northward of the engagement at Concord; the General, it seems, had sent an armed force to seize a provincial magazine. This, your Lordship may suppose, increased the apprehensions of our people, as it held out to them an additional proof that the steps you had taken formed a part of that general system adopted to render the colonies defenceless. If, upon such alarms, when the minds of the people were fretted to an extreme degree, some irregularities were committed, the causes may be found in those extraordinary attempts to stretch the powers of government so much beyond their ancient and constitutional limits. It gave the greatest concern, my Lord, to all acquainted with your most amiable Lady, and her distinguished character, to hear that she had removed with her children to one of the King's ships. We have inquired into the cause of this; and though we do not presume to prescribe to her Ladyship, yet we are persuaded that, had she known the sentiments of all ranks of people in this colony, every uneasiness would have been removed. We find, my Lord, that from the great pains taken by the magistrates, and other inhabitants of the city of Williamsburg, there could have been no real ground for fear at the time of her Ladyship's removal, unless it was produced from your Lordship's threats, which might have kept the minds of some of the citizens in suspense. A few ladies, it appears, left the city; but it was not through apprehensions of any other danger than what your Lordship held over them. The inhabitants certainly could have entertained no suspicions of injury from their friends in the country, who had kindly offered to come to their assistance; so that it was in the power of

your Lordship alone, to have removed her Ladyship's uneasiness.

It gives us the greatest pain, my Lord, to find, in your Excellency's message, so determined a resolution to pursue a course the most likely to revive the uneasinesses of the people, and prevent that restoration of harmony so ardently wished for by all good men. You are pleased to submit to our "judgment, whether you could reasonably have expected any good effect from communicating the ground of your uneasiness to us." We give it as our opinion, that your Lordship had the greatest reason, if you had viewed our conduct in its proper light, to have expected the best effects from such communication, as we met your Lordship in General Assembly with the sincerest dispositions to do every thing in our power to provide for the tranquility of the country. The reasons assigned for your contrary apprehensions, we are persuaded, must have been suggested to your Lordship by some designing, malevolent informer. We can hardly suppose your Lordship could have had any well-grounded fear of personal danger, when it is notorious that you appeared publicly, as usual; and it is in proof to us, that the same night in which you left the palace, you walked alone to the Attorney General's, at the distance of upwards of a quarter of a mile, and returned unmolested; and we cannot discover that even the slightest insult was offered. If you judge of the disposition of the House of Burgesses, as to publick matters, from their declining to accept an invitation to dine with your Lordship (the instance of respect and civility alluded to, and which you say you had been forward in offering to them) you have entirely mistaken their motives. A piece of civility of this sort had formerly its due weight with us; but we had little reason to suppose that such a ceremony would, at this time, be attended, on your Lordship's part, with that cordiality which we *thought* we had observed on former occasions. How could your Lordship think of admitting to your table a set of men, whom, together with the whole body of their constituents, you had endeavoured to paint in such despicable and odious colours? That the House of Burgesses ever countenanced the violent and disorderly proceedings of the people, we must, in justice to ourselves, take leave to deny. As to the magazine's being rifled, which you are pleased to insinuate was done with the approbation of the House, we must say, that in this also the greatest injustice is done to us. The House was sitting, closely engaged in public business, when this affair happened. Some of our members, as we believe the truth is, upon hearing what was going forward at the magazine, went up in hopes of preventing it. We are informed, that a great concourse of people, from different parts of the country, were assembled, and that many of the arms had been taken out of the magazine. Several

of the members, as private gentlemen, remonstrated with all the people they met with against such proceedings, and prevailed with them to return what they had taken. When your Lordship was pleased to accuse the House of Burgesses of usurping the "executive power", from what happened on this occasion, we presume it would have been well to have considered with what propriety they could have interfered: Had they made an order for apprehending the persons concerned, who were unknown, it would have been fruitless, and, moreover, a plain departure from the line of their authority. Such a step your Lordship might, indeed, have justly censured, as an usurpation of the executive power. Or would your Lordship have recommended to the individual members to have acted as bailiffs, in seizing all offenders they met with? We never have, nor will we ever give countenance to such unjustifiable proceedings, as happened that day. Your acquaintance, my Lord, with mankind, must suggest to you the difficulty there is in restraining an incensed multitude. Many people, the irritation of whose minds had but lately subsided, we understand, had been again greatly alarmed at a late unfortunate accident, which happened to some inconsiderate young men, in their unlawful attempt to furnish themselves with arms out of the magazine; an attempt, my Lord, which we condemn as highly as your Lordship can. But whether some little apology may not be suggested, from that universal anxiety which all mankind have to prepare for the defence of their lives and property, we will not determine; the point is delicate, and we leave the world to judge of it. But the means contrived, in pursuance of your Lordship's orders, by which an unfortunate culprit might probably have been hurried into eternity, without a moment's time for reflection, we conceive, can do no great honour to humanity; which, we should have supposed, would have dictated the necessity of at least giving public notice that spring-guns were prepared and fixed; which, it is imagined, would have answered every purpose of security to the magazine. Your Lordship's reflections on our committee, and, through them, upon this whole House, we think might have been spared, after what passed early in the session. Had the committee misbehaved, we should not have been backward in taking proper notice of it. When we received your Lordship's very temperate message respecting their conduct, we addressed your Excellency, in hopes, by having matters properly explained, of removing all umbrage you might have taken. Your Lordship's reply to this message induced us to believe that you were satisfied: but it seems we must again enter on the same subject, or remain exposed to the weight of your Lordship's censure. Reflecting on what had happened, the House judge it an indispensable duty they owed their constituents to enquire into the state of the public magazine; and, before they

knew of the late disturbances, appointed a committee for that purpose. The committee, previous to their taking any other step, waited upon your excellency, and, in the most respectful manner, desired that you would be pleased to direct the keeper of the magazine to give them access thereto. The key was delivered to them, by your Lordship's orders. They, at the same time, informed your Excellency of the confusion that had happened; and that they had, to prevent the like depredations, requested some Gentlemen of the town to guard the magazine, till proper measures could be taken for its farther security, which your Lordship did not make the least objection to. There had been, by your Excellency's permission, a considerable quantity of copper money, belonging to the country, lodged in the magazine. This was an additional reason for the committee's taking a precaution, which your Lordship is pleased to call "ordering and appointing guards, without consulting you, to mount in the city of Williamsburg, and a design to usurp the executive power." The committee did not pretend any authority to mount guard; and, had your Lordship disliked what they thought a prudent step, in the then confused state of things, it would have been kind in your Lordship to have intimated as much.

Upon the committee's enquiry, they found, indeed, that there was little worth guarding in the magazine; the powder having been all removed, except about five half-barrels, buried by your Excellency's order in the yard, for what purpose we cannot conceive, and all the valuable muskets having been spoiled of their locks.

Your Lordship speaks of a body of men assembled in the city of Williamsburg, not only to the "knowledge, but with the approbation of every body, for the avowed purpose of attacking a party of the King's forces, which it was reported, though without foundation, was marching to your Lordship's protection."

We know of no men, my Lord, assembled for the purpose you mention, though you are pleased to say it was done with the "knowledge and approbation of every body;" in which number, we suppose, the House of Burgesses were particularly designed to be included. Upon the best information, the truth appears to be this: An account was brought into the city in the morning, that captain Collins, of the Magdalen, had slipped his cable, and was come up the river with a number of boats, in which there were said to be an hundred armed men at least, intended to be marched into the city. It could not be conceived what was proposed by this manœuvre: the city was quiet, and we believe no man in it suspected that your Lordship could have the least apprehension that your person was in danger: nor had we the faintest suspicion of your fears, till the receipt of your former message, acquainting us of your removal.

removal. The citizens, however, as well as others, were astonished, and somewhat alarmed, not knowing what was intended. Your Lordship may remember, that his Majesty's council, from their address to your Excellency, were not without their apprehensions. A number of the inhabitants, and we suppose some others, but how many we know not, assembled under arms, that they might be prepared to defend the city, and its inhabitants, in case any thing hostile should be attempted. This, we are convinced, was their only view. Upon their being made acquainted with your Lordship's answer to the Council, we understood that they all immediately retired peaceably and quietly, without any disturbance. The city was again at rest, and continued composed, till they heard of your Lordship's removal with your family in the dead of night, as if you could have supposed that any one would have attempted to offer you any obstruction, or to interfere with your inclinations.

This extraordinary step, which none could account for, occasioned great consternation in the city; and we believe would surprize the whole world were they acquainted with it. We have already, my Lord, in a former address, of which, according to custom, a copy was left with you, and which you directed to have presented on a certain day, long since past, without your giving us an opportunity of doing it, assigned the reasons why we could not interpose our legislative authority respecting the courts of justice.

The occasion and design of forming independent companies at first, and the rise of volunteer companies afterwards, we have already explained, and cannot see the necessity of abolishing them. They are not designed to interfere with your Lordship's full exercise of the legal and constitutional powers of your government, which we would wish to have supported on all occasions; and are of opinion, that the laws in force are competent to that end. But, if it is expected that the country should again be thrown into a defenceless state, self-preservation, the first law of nature, forbids it. If your Lordship were really apprehensive that your person was in danger, the tender of the Council, and his House, of their most effectual assistance to remove every appearance of risk, we were hopeful would have quieted all your fears. A proper guard, at the publick expence, would have been at your service, had you judged it necessary. Your Lordship's declining to propose such measures as we, consistent with our own security, could accept, and demanding what you must have known it was not in our power to comply with, affords no strong evidence of your inclination to restore tranquility to this country.

Those who have taken any of his Majesty's publick store of arms, are open to the law, which has its full operation, as heretofore; and we wish

not to interrupt its course. But surely your Lordship cannot expect us, by any new act, which would be *ex post facto*, in the most odious sense of the words, to inflict other pains and penalties for offences already committed. This, we conceive, would be the greatest infringement of a fundamental principle of our excellent constitution. Such a practice may, indeed, have obtained under another meridian; but it is not, my Lord, of American growth. Whether that spirit of persecution, which your Lordship has been pleased to describe, prevails in this country, we appeal to the evidence which appears on our journals. Were those, and those only, to be considered as persecuted men, who, from principles and duty, are attached to their King and his government, we ourselves, my Lord, should fall under this predicament; and perhaps may, with justice, think humanity disgraced by such proceedings. That some few people may have been deluded, we shall not question; the utmost pains we know have been taken, in different colonies, to alarm them with the "disfigured side of the American" story, and to render them deaf and blind to their true interest and political salvation. So far as our example can influence the people of this country, in preserving their loyalty to his Majesty, a proper respect to government, and the good order of society, your Lordship may be assured that it shall be made as dissuasive as possible.

We have, my Lord, the sincerest and most active desire to seize every opportunity of establishing the freedom of our country upon a fixed and "known foundation," and of uniting ourselves with our fellow subjects of Great Britain in one common bond of interest and natural affection. But we have no "doubts" of what such freedom consists in; it is written, as with a sun-beam, on our hearts. We are equally sensible of those essentials, which alone can admit us to the participation of a just proportion of the common interest; but, for the variety of cogent reasons assigned by our address in answer to your Lordship's speech, we cannot view the proposal of the House of Commons in the same light your Lordship seems to do.

The important business of the assembly, my Lord, has been not a little interrupted by your Excellency's removal from the proper seat of your government. As to your Lordship's offer, that we might adjourn to the town of York, we think this would be extremely improper, on several accounts. The town of York could not afford tolerable accommodations for so numerous an assembly; and, which is of more consequence, we humbly conceive that this, and this place alone, is established by law for holding our general assemblies. If there are any hopes left of your Excellency's compliance, we must reiterate our request, that you will be pleased to return, with your family to the palace, for the reasons assigned in our former address. We feel, most sensibly, the disagreeable

agreeable situation your excellent Lady must be in. But if, after all, your Lordship is determined to persist in your resolution of absence, we must endeavour to rest satisfied; conscious that, whilst we have been solicitous to do justice to our constituents and ourselves, we have not been wanting in the respect which is due to the representative of our most gracious Sovereign.

We cannot, my Lord, but consider the representatives of the body of the people, when convened in Assembly, as part of that great and general council which our constitution hath fixed for advising our governors in all matters respecting the publick weal. His Majesty's Honourable Council are especially appointed for this purpose; they are well acquainted with our constitution; their duty to his Majesty will urge them to support the prerogative of the crown, at the same time that their justice should lead them to maintain the rights of the people. We, therefore (sincerely regarding your Lordship's tranquility and happiness, as well as the important interests of this whole community) think ourselves loudly called upon to give it as our best advice that your Lordship will be pleased to advise with your proper and constitutional Council in all matters of importance, and not suffer yourself to be influenced by designing men; but that you will banish all such from your presence, as the greatest enemies to your own repose and the real happiness of this extensive country.

provision for the purchase of arms and ammunition, and established a competent fund for that purpose, by granting to his Majesty one shilling and three-pence sterling upon the wage of all vessels trading to this country. This fund, my Lord, has, for several years last past, exceeded three thousand pounds sterling per annum, and our predecessors, in former Assemblies, trusting that government would always make a necessary and adequate provision in a matter so essential to the immediate and future preservation of this colony, have not interfered in this business. But, my Lord, this House, finding a total inattention in government to this important provision, although it must have appeared essential more than twelve months ago, and still observing that no means are pursued to supply a deficiency so alarming, now conceive it to be their duty, not only to represent this grievance to your Lordship, but also to request that you will be pleased to order that two thousand stand of arms, five thousand powder, and twenty tons of lead, at least, with a sufficient quantity of other military stores, be immediately provided for the defence of this colony, in case of any invasion or insurrection, and that the same be lodged in the publick magazine. In case the fund afore-mentioned shall prove deficient, this House assure your Lordship, that they will make such farther or other provision as may be necessary to enable your Lordship to comply with this request.

An address of the House of Burgeses, respecting the powder removed from the magazine, and the necessary provision of arms and ammunition.

To his EXCELLENCY, &c.

My LORD,

W E his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Burgeses of Virginia, beg leave to inform your Lordship, that the publick magazine is now repaired, and in fit condition for the reception of arms and ammunition.

We therefore request your Lordship will be pleased to order the powder, lately removed from thence, to be returned, agreeable to your Lordship's promise, contained in your written message to this House: We farther beg leave to inform your Lordship, that it appears to the House, from the report of their committee appointed to inspect the publick magazine, that there are no arms therein fit for service. At this critical time, my Lord, when your Excellency assures us of the great probability of an Indian invasion, at a time too when an insurrection of our slaves may be encouraged, merely from a notoriety of a total deficiency in our publick stores of arms and ammunition, it is a duty we owe to our country and ourselves to remind your Lordship that the legislature of this colony have long since made ample

His EXCELLENCY's message in answer.

AS the care, custody, and disposal of publick stores of ammunition, belong alone to the King's representative, I cannot consent to return the powder, lately removed from the magazine, to Williamsburg; which, experience has demonstrated to me, is an improper place for the residence of the Governour. Therefore, as I could not attend to its preservation, I could not consequently depend upon its being in security there. The powder in question, besides, you have already been acquainted, belongs to one of his Majesty's ships. I am therefore, in a particular manner, accountable for it; but, as I have before declared, I shall be ready to apply it, if I find it wanted, for the protection of the colony.

The duty upon the tunnage of all vessels trading to this colony has been applied, as I conceive the act which imposes that duty authorises, towards the regular and necessary charges of government; which, without this fund, could not have been supported, and therefore requires it all. This colony has hitherto been preserved from invasion and insurrection by the care and attention of government, and you have a very late instance of its exertion, through the means of which the country has been rescued from the destruction it was threatened with; which, as it proves the

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contrary of an inattention to any matters essential to the preservation of this colony, so it exposes the injustice of your present attempt, if it does not induce you to forbear others, of bringing your legal and constitutional government, at this unhappy conjuncture, into discredit among the people.

As to your request, that I order a certain quantity of arms, powder, and other military stores, to be provided: When you have complied with the requisition submitted to your consideration, in consequence of the joint address of the Council and House of Burgesses, offering to concur in any measure proper for my security, which requisition has been taken no notice of; and when the legal executive power of government is restored, and I may with certainty rely that arms, powder, and other military stores, will be employed no otherwise than as I shall direct, who, as his Majesty's representative, have the sole authority in the case, then I shall be happy, with the means you furnish me, to provide every thing; and I promise you, no attention shall be neglected which may requisite for securing the inhabitants of Virginia from invasion and insurrection.

The joint Address of the Council and House of Burgesses respecting the public Arms at the Palace.

To his EXCELLENCY, &c.

My Lord,

WE his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Council and Burgesses of Virginia, beg leave to present to your Excellency, that as you have been pleased to leave the palace, we are very apprehensive the public arms therein are too insecure, and very much exposed, and therefore hope your Lordship will be pleased to order them to be removed, during your Lordship's absence, to the public magazine; which is now, in our opinion, a secure depository.

His EXCELLENCY's Message in answer.

EXPERIENCE having shewn the insecurity of the public magazine, and the palace having hitherto been respected, I think it improper to give any other orders than that the arms belonging to the King, which have for so many years been lodged, may still remain, there; and that they may, on no account, be touched without my express permission.

The joint Address of the Council and House of Burgesses, in Answer to the last Message.

To his EXCELLENCY, &c.

My Lord,

WE his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Council and House of Burgesses of Virginia, have received your Lordship's answer to our joint

address, by which we represented to your Excellency how very insecure we thought the public arms in the palace, since your Lordship's removal from thence, and requested that your Lordship would be pleased to order them to be stored in the public magazine, judging this a repository of much greater security.

You are pleased to tell us, that experience hath shewn the insecurity of the magazine, and that as the palace hath hitherto been respected, you thought it improper to give any other orders than that the arms belonging to the King, which have for so many years been lodged, may still remain, in the palace; and that they may, on no account, be touched without your express permission. Though these arms, my Lord, may be considered, in some sort, as belonging to his Majesty, as the supreme head of this government, and that they are properly under your Lordship's direction, yet we humbly conceive that they were originally provided, and have been preserved for the use of the country, in cases of emergency.

We would not wish to interfere with your Lordship's authority. Of this disposition we presume our former address afforded the strongest testimony; but the reflection that these arms are so much exposed, that they may easily be made the most improper and destructive use of, is to us extremely alarming.

The palace, my Lord, hath indeed been hitherto much respected, but not so much out of regard to the building, as the residence of his Majesty's representative. Had your Lordship thought fit to remain there, we should have had no apprehensions of danger; but, considering these arms at present exposed to your servants, and every rude invader, the security formerly derived from your Lordship's presence cannot now be relied on.

In your Lordship's answer to an address of the House of Burgesses, you are pleased to say, that experience has demonstrated to you that the city of Williamsburg is an improper place for the residence of our Governor, and give it as a reason for not returning the powder, according to your own voluntary promise, made to the House, that you could not attend to its preservation, nor depend on its security, if returned to the magazine. We should suppose, my Lord, that your Excellency's attention to the arms would be equally necessary for their security, as you know the palace stands on the edge of the city; and we should, for this reason, imagine it more likely to be rifled than the magazine, in the midst of it. Besides, should it be thought necessary, a proper guard might be kept at the magazine, which we did not think so decent to propose for your Lordship's palace. Our apprehensions, my Lord, have been not a little increased by considering the several depositions taken by order of the House of Burgesses; we decline commenting upon them, but submit to the world from whence the unhappy disturb-

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ances in this colony took their rise. We must, my Lord, once more entreat your Excellency to order the arms to be removed to the public magazine.

We cannot, my Lord, decline representing to you, that the important business of this assembly hath been much impeded by your Excellency's removal from the palace. This step hath deprived us of the necessary and free access to your Lordship, which we conceive the constitution entitles us to. There are several bills, of the last importance to this country, now ready to be presented to your Excellency for your assent.

We have hitherto, my Lord, in hopes of preserving that harmony which we wish ever to subsist between all the branches of our legislature, submitted to the great inconvenience of sending our members twelve miles to wait on your Excellency, on board one of his Majesty's ships of war, to present our several addresses; but we think it would be highly improper, and too great a departure from the constitutional and accustomed mode of transacting the business of the assembly, to meet your excellency at any other place than the Capitol to present such bills as have there been agreed to by the Council and House of Burgesses. We must, therefore, beseech your Excellency to return to us; and, as the advanced season of the year requires our presence in our several counties, we hope your Lordship will be pleased to favour us with your speedy and ultimate answer, that we may certainly know what to depend upon.

His Excellency's Message, in answer to the last joint Address.

Gentlemen of the COUNCIL and HOUSE of BURGESSES,

I HAVE already declared my intentions in regard of the arms at the palace, and I conceive the Council and House of Burgesses are interfering in a matter which does not belong to them. I should be glad to be informed who they design by the terms RUDE INVADERS*, which they have made use of.

The disorders in Williamsburg, and other parts of the country drove me to the necessity of changing my place of residence; and if any inconvenience has arisen to the assembly on that account, I am not chargeable with it. But they have not been deprived of any necessary nor free access to me. The constitution vests me with an undoubted power to call the Assembly for the business of, to any place in, the colony, exigency may require. Not having been made acquainted with the whole proceedings of the Assembly, I know

of no bills of importance, which, if I were inclined to risk my person again among the people, the assembly have to present to me, nor whether they be such as I could assent to.

DUNMORE.

* * The House of Burgesses, in hopes of removing every obstruction to the passage of the several important bills which were ready for his Lordship's assent, agreed that they might be carried to him on board the man of war, though such a step was unprecedented, and they could not but consider it as a breach of their privileges.

His Excellency's Message after he had seen the Bills and Resolves.

Mr. SPEAKER, and GENTLEMEN of the HOUSE of BURGESSES.

THE bill for appointing commissioners to settle the accounts of the militia lately drawn out into actual service, and for making provision to pay the same, inasmuch as it imposes duties upon slaves imported, I cannot assent to; which, by the royal disallowance of an act of Assembly for that purpose, passed in the 10th year of his present Majesty's reign, you must have been sensible of: and as the bill has no suspending clause, though I made it my business to intimate, by several of your members, to the house, that, without such a clause, I could not pass an act for emitting paper money, the miscarriage of a bill I had very much at heart cannot be attributed to me; and if still those objections can be removed, I should be happy to concur in an act for the rewarding of the brave people who are the particular object of it, without delay. If not, all I can do is to transmit the bill to his Majesty, and to desire leave to assent to it; though, in regard of the duty upon slaves, I should not, I think, obtain it.

I see no objections to any other of your bills or resolves, and I am therefore ready to give my assent to them, whenever the House desires.

If you have any other bills ready, I must desire that they may be sent to me in like manner, that the whole may be passed together; and I must beg that your clerk may be ordered to lay before me a copy of the Journals of the House, before the time fixed for passing the bills.

DUNMORE.

The Address of the House of Burgesses, in answer to the foregoing Message.

To his EXCELLENCY, &c.

MY LORD,

WE his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Burgesses of Virginia, cannot sufficiently express our concern that your Lordship should be under any difficulty in giving your assent to the bill for appointing commissioners to settle the accounts of the militia lately drawn out into actual service,

* This quere seems to carry with it an insinuation not in the least warranted, and marks the temper with which the message was written

service, and for making provision to pay the same, which hath received the approbation of the other two branches of the legislature. We beg leave to remind your Excellency, that you particularly recommended those brave people, who are the objects of this bill, to our attention. Sensible of their important services, we seized, with much pleasure, the first opportunity afforded us of doing justice to their singular merit. Upon considering the most probable ways and means of effecting this desirable purpose, we soon found, from the extreme scarcity of cash in the country, that there was no possible method of doing it but by a speedy emission of paper money. This opinion has since been confirmed, by transactions during the present meeting of the merchants; which have evinced, that the scarcity is even greater than we at first supposed. We do not find, my Lord, any thing in this bill which contravenes any law or royal instruction, which hath ever been communicated to us. A suspending clause, we conceive, would defeat the very purpose for which the bill was intended; as it would withhold that relief so immediately necessary to the comfort and support of many of our poor inhabitants, who are in the utmost distress for want of it.

In order to support the credit of our paper currency, we thought it incumbent on us to establish such funds as would effectually secure the redemption of it. In aid of others, we were of opinion that a duty of ten per cent. on slaves would be least burthensome to the people. We do not know that such a duty was ever objected to by his Majesty; on the contrary, we understood that a duty not exceeding ten per cent. was perfectly agreeable to his royal will and pleasure. The five pounds per poll on slaves imported from the West Indies was intended to prevent the many tricks which had been practised in this country to avoid payment of all duties on such slaves, and amounts to no more than ten per cent. valuing them at the moderate average of fifty pounds current money.

We are pleased to find your Excellency approves the other bills and resolves, submitted to your inspection. All others, which we propose to trouble your Lordship with, we have consented may undergo the like examination, and flatter ourselves that they will meet with the like approbation. We still hope, my Lord, that, upon reconsidering the matter, you will see sufficient reasons to alter your first opinion respecting the militia bill which we have much at heart, considering it of the last importance.

We have before, in conjunction with his Majesty's Council, intimated to your Excellency how very necessary a recess is at this critical season, our harvests demanding our immediate presence at home. We must therefore entreat your Excellency to meet us at the Capitol, to-

morrow, in order to give your assent to such bills and resolves as are ready to be presented. We hope your Lordship cannot still entertain any groundless fears that your person can be in the least danger. If it is possible that you remain under so strange an influence, we pledge our honours, and every thing sacred, for your security. Should your Lordship decline complying with this just request, we hope you will be pleased to grant your commission to the President of the Council to give your assent to such bills and resolves as you may approve, and we may present to him.

Since it hath been customary for our Governors to signify their pleasure as to adjournments, we wish not to take things out of their old channel. We therefore hope your Excellency will at the same time express your approbation that we adjourn ourselves to some day in October next, when our convenience will best admit an absence from our homes, and the sickly season of the year will probably be over.

We do not wish to conceal from your Excellency one title contained in our Journals, but a full and immediate transcript of them would require more time than we can possibly devote to the publick business at present. We must observe, that this demand of us is unusual; however, we have ordered all such of our proceedings as have been printed to be immediately transmitted to your Lordship.

* * This address was presented to his Excellency, residing on board the Fowey, one of his Majesty's ships of war, riding at anchor in York river.

His EXCELLENCY's answer thereto.

MR. SPEAKER, and Gentlemen of the House of BURGESSES.

AS you have encumbered the bill for the payment of the officers and men, employed upon the Indian expedition, with an imposition, which you knew I could not assent to, and omitted a form (*in no wise tending to defeat the purpose of the bill*) which you were told I could not dispense with, the blame of its not passing now into a law cannot be upon me; but I must adhere to the reasons I yesterday signified to you on this head.

The well-grounded cause I had for believing my person not safe at Williamsburg has increased daily. I therefore cannot meet you at the Capitol, as you entreat; but, this day being too far spent, I shall be ready to receive the House * on Monday at twelve of the clock, at my present residence †, for the purpose of giving my assent to such acts as I shall approve of.

* The House of Burgesses consists of 124 members, when they are assembled; and his Majesty's Council, when full, are twelve in number.

† The Fowey man of war.

Although the convenience of the members of the Assembly will always be a strong motive to determine me as to the time of your meeting and separating, yet it becomes necessary (from an expression in your address, that you wish not to take things out of their old channel, as if you had such power) to assert the right of the crown to adjourn, prorogue, dissolve, or assemble you; as it is thought fit by the Governor of the colony. I do not mean, however, to oppose the request you make of being adjourned.

The House, upon receiving this answer, resolved itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider the same; and, after the maturest deliberation, agreed upon the following report:

THE committee of the whole House having taken into consideration the unhappy state of this colony, and considering the many obstructions given to the due and regular prosecution of the important business depending before the General Assembly, by his Excellency the Governor, in first removing from the palace on board one of the King's ships, whereby a free access to him, and that necessary intercourse between his Lordship and the other two branches of the legislature hath been in a great measure cut off; considering that his Lordship hath withstood the repeated entreaties of the Council and Burgesses to return to the seat of his government, and having this day received such an answer from his Lordship, as, when compared with his different messages, and other parts of his conduct, convinces them of his determination not to do any thing that may be of advantage to this colony, and particularly to the inhabitants on our frontiers, by his requiring the House to attend him on board the Fowey man of war, in order to present such bills as are now ready for his assent; thought it a duty highly incumbent on them, for themselves, and the whole body of their constituents, in maintenance of their just rights and privileges, and in hopes of removing those prejudices which have been already, and may be again attempted, to be excited in the breast of their most gracious sovereign, and of their fellow subjects in Great Britain, to enter into several resolutions; which, being re-considered by the House, were approved, and are as followeth, viz.

RESOLVED, *nemine contradicente*, That his Lordship's message, requiring this House to attend him on board one of his Majesty's ships of war, is a high breach of the rights and privileges of this House.

RESOLVED, *nemine contradicente*, That the unreasonable delays thrown into the proceedings of this House by the Governor, and his evasive answers to the sincere and decent addresses of the representatives of the people, give us great reason to fear that a dangerous attack may be meditated

against the unhappy people of this colony. It is therefore our opinion, that they prepare for the preservation of their property, and their inestimable rights and liberties, with the greatest care and attention.

RESOLVED, *nemine contradicente*, That we do, and will, bear faith and true allegiance to our most gracious sovereign George III. our only lawful and rightful King; that we will, at all times, to the utmost of our power, and at the risk of our lives and properties, maintain and defend his government in this colony, as founded on the established laws and principles of the constitution.

RESOLVED, *nemine contradicente*, That it is our most earnest desire to preserve and strengthen those bands of amity, with all our fellow subjects in Great Britain, which are so very essential to the prosperity and happiness of both countries.

RESOLVED, *nemine contradicente*, That, it is with the deepest concern we find ourselves deprived of an opportunity of making immediate provision for those gallant officers and soldiers who so nobly defended this country against the incursions of the Indians, unless we would sacrifice their own and the inestimable rights and privileges of all other inhabitants of this colony; that, as we have already endeavoured to make the most ample provision for this necessary purpose, so will we gladly seize every opportunity afforded us of doing the utmost justice to those brave men, and all other public creditors.

* * The foregoing are true copies of original papers in the office of the House of Burgesses.

GEORGE WYTHE, c. s. r.

Whitehall, Sept. 1.

THE House of Representatives of the Province of Nova Scotia in North America, having unanimously agreed to a loyal and dutiful address, petition and memorial to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, containing declarations of their obedience and submission to the authority of the Parliament of Great Britain, as the supreme legislature of that province, and of all the British dominions; and of their readiness, as an indispensable duty, to submit to the payment of such taxes, to be raised upon a permanent plan, and at the disposal of parliament, as shall be their due proportion of the expenses of the empire; and William Nesbit, Esq; Speaker of the said House of Representatives, having transmitted a transcript of the said loyal and dutiful address, petition and memorial to the Earl of Dartmouth, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, it was this day presented to his Majesty, and most graciously received.

St. James's, September 16.

THE following Address of the Gentlemen, Clergy, Merchants, Manufacturers, and principal Inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Manchester, in the county Palatine of Lancaster, has been presented to His Majesty by Sir Thomas Egerton, Bart. one of the representatives in Parliament for the said county, attended by Mr. Clowes, Mr. Birch, Mr. Wright, Mr. Houghton, Mr. Ford, and Mr. Lever, being introduced by the Lord of His Majesty's Bed-chamber in waiting: Which Address His Majesty was pleased to receive very graciously; and they all had the honour to kiss His Majesty's hand.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty,
The humble Address of the Gentlemen, Clergy, Merchants, Manufacturers, and principal Inhabitants, of the town and neighbourhood of Manchester, in the county Palatine of Lancaster.

Most gracious Sovereign,

ACTUATED by an affectionate and dutiful regard for your many royal virtues, and firmly attached to that constitution which secures to us the enjoyment of liberties known only to British subjects, we presume, in the most loyal and respectful manner, to offer our tribute of gratitude to your Majesty for the many blessings we have enjoyed under the benign influence of your government.

Since your Majesty's accession to the throne, commerce, the great source of wealth, hath been not only successfully encouraged, but firmly established, in this island; and under the auspices of peace hath been carried to an extent unknown to your royal predecessors. Manufactures flourish in every part of your Majesty's dominions, particularly in this town and neighbourhood, where they are daily advancing towards perfection, and where the lowest of your subjects are fully employed, and are blessed with the peaceable enjoyment of the fruits of their industry.

Thus happy under your Majesty's Government, we look with horror upon every attempt to disturb it's tranquillity; and it is with inexpressible concern we behold the standard of rebellion erected in some of the American provinces, and our fellow subjects involved in an unnatural war against their lawful Sovereign. We observe with regret, that the lenity shewn by your Majesty towards the insurgents hath been of no avail, but, instead of reclaiming, hath seemed rather to irritate and urge them on to more daring acts of violence; and as force is become necessary to bring them to a sense of their allegiance, we think ourselves bound in duty to assist your Majesty in the execution of the legislative authority.

We are not intimidated at the prohibition laid by the Americans on the importation and exportation of goods to and from the British dominions; our extensive trade happily flows in so many dif-

ferent channels, that the obstruction of one can but little distress, much less deter us from our duty to our King and country. But whatever check our manufactures may receive by a necessary war, we shall cheerfully submit to a temporary inconvenience, rather than continue subject to lawless depredations from a deluded and unhappy people; as we are fully persuaded, that trade with America can never be established on its true basis, until the colonies are reduced to a proper submission to the government and laws of Great Britain.

As Englishmen, we are led by inclination, as well as impelled by interest, to preserve the authority of the British legislature, and to protect the dignity and prerogative of the crown (as founded on the principles of the constitution) sacred and inviolate. And we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we are ready to support with our lives and fortunes such measures as your Majesty shall think necessary for the punishment of rebellion in any part of your dominions, being convinced, that the sword of justice will be directed by the hand of mercy towards such of your subjects as have been deluded by the artful designs of a discontented faction.

Thomas Egerton, Levett Harris, Richard Ashton, Ashton Lever, Thomas Barker, Peter Haddon, John Wilson Ainsworth, James Harrison, James Cooke, Thomas Walker, Jun. Samuel Wright, Thomas Barrow, J. Whitaker, Thomas Chadwick, William Houghton, John Entwistle, Edward Greaves, John Wright, John Drinkwater, Thomas Walker, John Thyer, John Kearsley, William Sandford, Joseph Tipping, George Smith, William Hurst, William Frodham, Samuel Taylor, John Holmes, George Kenyon, Samuel Clowes, John Dickinson, Josiah Birch, Thomas Aynsclough, Thomas Marriott, Joshua Marriott, Joseph Pickford, Samuel Clowes, Jun. Roger Sedgwick, John Clowes, Thomas Battersbee, Jos. Clowes, Adam Oldham, John Darbey, J. Cooke, Geor. Bramall, John Booth, Samuel Jones, Thomas Walker, Edmund Battersbee, Charles Lawson, H. Barton, John Harmer, Richard Gorton, Robert Kenyon, George Barton, Ed. Borron, John Foxley, M. A. John Roberts, John Hill, William, Edge, Jun. Edward Borron, Jun. John Birch, William Newton, Samuel Hall, James Plant, George Ribson, Edmund Steer, John Poole, Jun. John Eccles, Samuel Mather, Maurice Griffith, D. D. John Harmer, Jun. Edward Wright, John Stott, Geor. Ackers, James Grierison, Dugd. Munn, Thomas Edge, Robert Twyford, William Fletcher, Joseph Beever, Roger Crompton, John Hefley, William Herries, Peter McKeand, William, Mee, John Walker, William Heginbotham, James Murphy, William Nighlingale, Joseph Hague, P. Brown, John Dutton, William Walker, John Ridings, Thomas Mariden, George Tipping, Samuel Foxlew, John White, Jos. Ramsbotham, Jun. James Mitchell

Mitchell, Samuel Kinder, W. Brundutt, Roberts Reynolds, John Andrew, sen. Benjamin Richardson, John Marsden, Samuel Birch, William Beynon, Isaac Clark, Alexander Radcliffe, Thomas Bradbury, John Prescott, Robert Cardwell, Richard Clowes, James Astworth, Joseph Harrop, Joseph Rigby, Lawrence Brock, Thomas Bradock, Joshua Greatrex, Henry Bower, Robert Staniforth, Jo. Chippendale, Thomas Tipping, Richard Tunadine, Francis Mesley, Edward Kearsley, William Starkie, John Masley, James Cooke, Robinson Foxley, Richard Walker, John Fletcher, Jonathan Booth, Richard Withington, Thomas Phillips, sen. John Haigh, James Smith, Robert Danner, Thomas Wahrfay, Daniel Edleston, Thomas Walker, Joseph Booth, Philip Wortall, John Leaf, Jeremiah Ainsworth, Thomas Peter Foxlow, Richard Wroe, James Allen, John Creswell, Tho. Pickering, Thomas Robinson, John Tarbrook, Samuel Hall, John Breome, William Foxlow, John Norris, James Wilde, John Bolton, John Howard, Thomas Beever, Walter Wilson, Richard Barlow, James Borron, Richard Walker, William Leaf, James Taylor, John Andrew, Jonathan Haworth, John Upton, Thomas Sharp, Ed. Hudson, John Todd, James Drury, John Bilsborough, Thomas Partington, Charles Hindley, John Lever, Clerk, Lewis D. Heihuyfen, William Douglass, George Holford, Joseph Armstrong, S. Hulme, John Clowes, Joshua Thackeray, William Smith, John Upton, James Walmsley, Samuel Hope, John Rothwell, James Thweat, John Currie, John Houghton, Richard Wilding, Thomas Brideoake, J. Bennett, Clerk, George Ormrod, James Clegg, Jos. Ramsbotham, Abraham Scott, James Barlow, Joseph Smith, Richard Walker, Andrew Morewood, John Antrobus, John Wright, Thomas Gorton, John Hill, Joseph Low, John Beever, John Smith, Thomas Cheskyre, Peter Crompton, Robert Ware, Josiah Kearsley, Marsh, Reeve, and Co. John Billinge, Charles Ford, Humphrey Owen, Clerk, William Steele, John Worley, Peter Bleafe, William Hardwick, Miles Bower, Samuel Tongue, Robert Jebb, George Wood, William Christopher, Jos. Robinson, William Nabb, Charles Haywood, Richard Ainsworth, Thomas Naylor, Henry Eskrick, Samuel Brierly, James Neild, Matthew Townsend, Henry Jackson, Clerk, James Whitaker, William Middlewood, John Wilson, Thomas Lowndes, Edward Hall, Richard Edward Hall, Geor. Tinker, Leonard Walker, John Grimshaw, Richard Livesey, James Clough, Benjamin Rawson, T. Boardman, Edmond Holme, Samuel Kelsall, W. Boardman, John Edwards, William Nabbs, Clerk, Thomas Deane, Thomas Starkie, John Smith, James Cockerill, John Barker, Thomas Hunt, Thomas Parrin, John Lateward, Thomas Rider, John Cooper, Thomas Priestner, Mar. Marshall, William Davis, Samuel Collier, J. Dutton, jun. James Dixon, Robert Johnson, William Norris,

Luke Cotes, John Humphreys, Thomas Whitaker, William Stevenson, John Poole, sen. William Bullock, John Heywood, Lawrence Gardner, Foliott Powell, Nathan Crompton, T. Seddon, Samuel Goodier, Joshua Oldham, W. Asheton, Ralph Alfager, Edward Jackson, Henry Grundy, Thomas Rawlinson, Richard Upton, James Bateman, Robert Gorton, Richard Farrer, Samuel Falkner, Joseph Bassett, William Clough, John Livesey, William Hampson, T. Syddall, Matthew North, John Ogden, John Taylor, Owen Davis, Samuel Hayce, Wade Bagnall, Coen. Metcalfe, Cayley Johnson, Richard Hall, Matt. Faulkner, Thomas Hudson, Thomas Bradbury.

The following Address of the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Bailiffs, and Commonalty, of the town of Lancaster, in Common Council assembled, has been presented to His Majesty by Sir George Warren, Knight of the Bath, one of their representatives in Parliament, being introduced by the Lord of His Majesty's Bed-Chamber in waiting: Which Address His Majesty was pleased to receive very graciously; and Sir George had the honour to kiss His Majesty's hand.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty,

The humble Address of the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Bailiffs, and Commonalty of the town of Lancaster in Common Council assembled.

May it please your Majesty,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Bailiffs, and Commonalty of the town of Lancaster, in Common Council assembled, happy in the enjoyment of the same privileges, under various charters granted by your royal predecessors, with the first city of this kingdom, presume we have the same right to address the throne upon every just occasion, and upon every true principle of the constitution, unseduced by bad example; and influenced by party.

We beg leave to assure your Majesty, it was with the deepest concern we saw the first troubles break out in North America, and most sincerely lamented the infatuation of a misguided people, hoping they would soon have returned to a sense of themselves, and their duty;—but now, when the standard of rebellion is erected in that country, when your Majesty's Governors have been expelled or overawed, and every form of legal government subverted and destroyed, when the supreme authority of the mother country is derided and denied, we think it incumbent on us to declare to your Majesty and the world, we look upon the authors and abettors of these violences with the utmost detestation and abhorrence.

As such a crisis, then, as the present, when under the sacred name of liberty, of late so vilely prostituted and abused, every enormity is committed, and

and every dangerous tenet adopted and advanced ; when rebellion abroad is cherished and fomented by traitorous correspondencies, as well as furnished with means of offence, from home ; we flatter ourselves there is not a man to be found, who is worthy to be called a Briton, that dares to arraign the wisdom of your Majesty's councils, or the exertions of your Majesty's executive powers against subjects so unnatural, so ungrateful : But whatever may be the fate of this deluded people, whatever mischiefs they may bring upon themselves, we absolutely rely on your Majesty, that the indubitable rights of this kingdom will be inviolably preserved, and that no measures will be taken in relation to America, but what are consistent with the dignity, honour, and safety of Great Britain.

Given under our hands, and the common seal of the town of Lancaster, this fifth day of September, in the year of our Lord, One thousand seven hundred and seventy-five.

J. A. HINDE, Mayor, J. FENTON, Recorder.
W. Butterfield, Robert Foxcroft, John Stout,
Edward Stuart, John Bowes, James Barrow T.
Hinde, ALDERMEN.

William Sudell, Anthony Atkinson, BAILIFFS.
Oliver Marton, Vicar of Lancaster.

James Dickson, Miles Braithwaite, Thomas Bowes, William Watton, John Housman, Henry Pell, Richard Mitherston, John Watton, William Mason, Robert Dodson, Robert Tomlinson, James Dearden, John Tallon, George Postlethwaite, James Collinson, Richard Johnson, Sa. Simpson, G. Grey.

The following Address of the Mayor, Bailiffs and Burgesses of the Borough of Leicester, has been presented to his Majesty by John Darker, Esq; one of their Representatives in Parliament : which Address his Majesty was pleased to receive very graciously ; and Mr. Darker had the honour to kiss his Majesty's Hand.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

Sire !

YOUR Majesty's loyal subjects, the Mayor, Bailiffs and Burgesses of the Borough of Leicester, beg leave to approach the throne, and, with all humility, to offer an Address on the unhappy differences subsisting between the mother-country and your Majesty's American colonies ; lamenting, as we do most sincerely, the loss of our countrymen, who have already fallen a sacrifice in defence of measures extorted from the parent-state by the obstinate delusion of those people, who, from their first settlement on the continent of America, have uniformly experienced protection, encouragement, and defence, at the expence of millions, and with the repeated effusions of human blood.

We have not been inattentive to the late parliamentary deliberations respecting the colonies ; and whilst we view, with full approbation, the conduct of our representatives given in and to those

truly respectable majorities fully informed and competent to decide upon questions so important ; it is matter of wonder to us, that any part of our fellow-subjects, however small, should so far be seduced by prejudiced and faction, as to afford even in the most distant manner, countenance to a people, declared, on the firmest ground, to be in a state of rebellion.

Your Majesty's clemency and justice we are fully impressed with ; and do not entertain a doubt, but that the colonists will receive those terms, whenever a proper opportunity occurs, that may be consistent with the dignity and welfare of the mother-country to offer, and such as may be accepted with security and advantage by those who have shewn a disposition to oppose, with the utmost violence, the legislative power of Great Britain ; but we cannot refrain from expressing our wishes, that if their present contumacy should continue, your Majesty may adopt such measures as will convince them, " that the sword is not borne in vain," and that inclination, not means, has hitherto been wanting to ensure that attachment and obedience to this country, which might reasonably have been expected as the fair result of gratitude and interest. To accomplish this necessary end, and in defence of our happy constitution, your Majesty may at all times be assured of our best assistance.

Given under our common seal this eighth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five.

Samuel Oliver, Mayor.

The following Address of the Mayor, Aldermen, Bailiffs and Common Council of Liverpoole in the County Palatine of Lancaster, in Council assembled, having been transmitted to the Earl of Dartmouth, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, has been presented to his Majesty : which Address his Majesty was pleased to receive very graciously.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty,

The humble Address of the Mayor, Aldermen, Bailiffs and Common Council of Liverpoole in the County Palatine of Lancaster, in Council assembled.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

TRULY sensible of the many blessings we enjoy in common with the rest of your people under your Majesty's mild administration and paternal care, we, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, beg leave to approach the throne with all due respect to your royal person, the most steady attachment to the protestant succession, and the firmest zeal for our glorious constitution, to testify our warmest commendations of the wisdom and stability of your Majesty's councils, which have been directed to allay and put an end to the unhappy differences subsisting between Great Britain and her colonies.

It

P R O C L A M A T I O N .

It is with the greatest concern we reflect, that the measures hitherto pursued to bring our fellow subjects in America to a true sense of their duty and interest, have not, as yet, had the desired effect; but we ardently hope that they will very soon be sensible of their error, and return to a due acknowledgment of the power of the British legislature; that the joys of peace and tranquillity may be restored, and the hearts of all your majesty's subjects be reunited in the strictest bonds of mutual confidence and affection.

We cannot, however, avoid expressing our abhorrence and detestation of all traitorous and rebellious disturbers of your Majesty's peace and government, and assuring your Majesty, that we shall ever be ready and willing to exert our utmost endeavours for the discouragement of all such illegal proceedings. And we pray, that your Majesty may long reign in the hearts and affections of all your subjects, and that the crown of these realms may descend to your latest posterity.

Given under our common seal the eleventh day of September, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five.

I B E G you will give the public a copy of the inclosed advertisement.

Lord Kenmare is a powerful Roman Catholic Peer. King James the 1st. endeavoured to raise a Roman Catholic army in England, and did actually procure one in Ireland. Our present ministers are also endeavouring to raise an army of French and Irish Catholics. No one can doubt that their intentions against the civil and religious liberties of the people are the same with those of King James.

The establishment of Popery in the Island of Grenada, by prerogative; the establishment of Popery and arbitrary power, by a ministerial parliament, in Canada; the raising Roman Catholic armies to butcher the Protestants into subjection, demonstrate the principles of those who advise the present measures against America.

A PROTESTANT.

(C O P Y.)

I PROMISE to give a bounty of half a guinea, to every able-bodied man, who shall enlist with Major Boyle Roche (my relation) for the service of his majesty: and I further declare, that I will shew every act of favour in my power, to the friends of such volunteers as shew a proper spirit on this occasion.

Killarney, Aug. 11. 1775.

KENMARE.

N. B. Lord Kenmare's bounty to be paid by Mr. Galwey, his Lordship's agent at Killarney, and by Mr. George Goold, his lordship's agent at Cork.

Hague, August 18. Their High Mightinesses the States General have this day issued a proclamation, of which the following is a translation;

THE States General of the United Provinces, to all who shall see, or hear these presents read, greeting:

Be it known that, as the reasons, which induced us heretofore to prohibit the exportation of ammunition to the English colonies still subsist, we have again thought fit absolutely to prohibit, and we hereby absolutely do prohibit, all exportation of ammunition, gun-powder, guns and shot, by ships belonging to the dominions of Great-Britain, for the further term of a year, on pain, not only of confiscation of the arms and ammunition, which shall be found there on board, but also of a fine of a thousand guilders over and above, at the charge of the commander, whose ship shall be answerable and liable to execution for the same.

That we have further thought fit to enact, and we do hereby enact, that, during the aforesaid further term of one year, no gun-powder, guns, shot, or other instruments of war, shall be embarked on board any other ships, whether foreign or belonging to this country, to be transported abroad, without consent and permission of the College of Admiralty, under whose jurisdiction the embarkation shall be made, on pain of confiscation of the arms, gun-powder, guns, shot, or other ammunition, which shall have been embarked without permission, and of the commander's incurring a fine of a thousand guilders, on board of whose ship the said arms and ammunition shall have been embarked, and his ship be answerable and liable to execution for the said fine.

And that no one may pretend ignorance hereof, we call upon and require the States, the Hereditary Stadtholder, the Committee of Council, and the Deputations of the States, of the respective provinces, and all other the officers and justices of these countries, to cause this our proclamation to be forthwith promulgated, published, and affixed in all places where the same is necessary, and where such publication is wont to be made; and we further charge and command the Counsellors of the Admiralty, the Advocate General, and Commis General, together with all Admirals, Vice-Admirals, Captains, Officers, and Commanders, to pay obedience to this our proclamation, proceeding, and causing to be proceeded against the transgressors thereof, without favour, connivance, dissimulation, or composition; for such have we found meet.

Given at the Hague, under the seal of the state, the signature of the President of our Assembly, and the counter-signature of our Grefrier, August 18, 1775.

(Signed) G. Van Hardenbroek.

By order of the States General,

(Counter-signed) H. Fagel.

To which was affixed the seal of their High Mightinesses.

St. James's, September 30.

The following address of the mayor, aldermen, burgesses, and principal inhabitants, of the town and county of Poole has been presented to his Majesty by Sir Eyre Coote, Knight of the Bath, one of their representatives in Parliament.

To the KING's most Excellent Majesty.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the mayor, aldermen, burgesses, and principal inhabitants, of your town and county of Poole, most humbly beg leave to assure your Majesty of our unfeigned duty and inviolable attachment to your Majesty's sacred person and royal authority, and with thankful hearts to acknowledge your Majesty's paternal care and vigilance for the honour of this nation, and the general good of your subjects.

Convinced as we are that nothing has been wanting on your Majesty's part to accelerate and promote these great and glorious ends, permit us, royal sir, to express how deeply we are affected and concerned to find; that our fellow-subjects in America still hold out an obstinate resistance to the legislative authority of this Kingdom: but nevertheless we hope, that the time is not far off, when these unhappy and deluded people may be brought to a sense of their duty, and obedience to the laws of their parent state: and it is our most ardent wish, that it may be the work of your majesty's justice to accomplish that great purpose.

Permit us, most gracious sovereign, to assure you, that we are steadfast in our allegiance, unalterable in our loyalty, unanimous in the defence of your Majesty's sacred person and government; and that we will cheerfully devote the utmost exertion of our abilities to crush all impious attempts, either foreign or domestic, to subvert our present happy constitution.

Poole, September 20, 1775.

George Phipard, Samuel White, John Butler, Moses Hooper, William Thomas, John Leer, Busey Ford, John Langdon, John Wood, Christopher Jolliff, John Fricker, William Walker, Richard Gleed, John Bidwill, William Lander, Joseph Rufe, John Bird, *mayor*, John Green, Tho. Hyde, Samuel Weston, Thomas Stroug, John Henning, Peter Jolliff, Samuel Bowden, Christopher Jolliff, jun. Thomas Wise, Thomas Nickleson, Edward Pike, Samuel White, jun. William Coward, Richard Weston, Farr Strong, John Lander, Stephen Puddicombe, Thomas Laugharne, George Glover, William Barter, Abraham Peterfon, Tho. Brickowe, William Pike, F. Merter, Adams Wadham, John Scapion, William Lander, jun. Thomas Jubber, *sheriff*, John Scaplen, jun. Ha. and Benj. List, Samuel Walker, George Wise, Benjamin Wise, John Jeffery, Samuel Rolles, Richard Linthorne, Henry Austen, William Mitchell, David Durell.

The following address of the Gentlemen, Clergy, Merchants, and Traders, of the town of Li-

verpool in the County Palatine of Lancaster, having been transmitted to the earl of Dartmouth one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State has been presented to his Majesty.

To the KING's most Excellent Majesty.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE the Gentlemen, Clergy, Merchants, and Traders, of the town of Liverpool, in the County Palatine of Lancaster, humbly beg leave to lay before your Majesty the address of a faithful and loyal people, to testify our firm and warm attachment to your Majesty's illustrious family, the honour of your crown, and the dignity of your empire.—We esteem it particularly our duty, at this time, to declare to the world our affection to your royal person, and our detestation of the open and daring contempt shewn to the legal authority and constitutional power of these realms of some your Majesty's deluded and rebellious subjects in America.

Firmly persuaded, that every part of your wide-extended colonies is and ought to be subject to the legislative power of Great Britain, is with the most affecting concern that we reflect on civil discord, and the effusion of bloodshed by the hands of British subjects against each other; and we do most sincerely hope, for the glory of your reign, and the welfare of all your people, that, when the present phrensy of your colonists shall subside, a happy reconciliation may take place; yet we cannot, without the utmost abhorrence look upon the hand of parricide lifted up against the parent country, it's most kind and generous protector.—As your Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects of Liverpoole have always been ready, on every the most trying occasion, to testify their sincere and unalterable allegiance to your royal house, so are we also equally ready now to exert our best abilities towards the crushing every rebellion, and silencing all disaffection, that may be harboured in the breasts of seditious and ill-designing men, who, under the specious mask of liberty, attempt to deceive and seduce the minds of your faithful subjects. We are justly and sensibly thankful for the real enjoyment of that inestimable blessing in it's most pure and rational form, under the mild and auspicious government of your majesty.—Deeply-impressed with these sentiments of gratitude, and the innumerable advantages we reap from our happy constitution, under your majesty's paternal care, we, with all due respect, present this our tribute of allegiance and fidelity to the best of princes; and that the crown of these realms may for ever flourish upon you, sire, and your royal posterity, is the earnest prayer of us your most dutiful and loyal subjects.

Peter Rigby, John Blackburne, jun. S. Colquhoun, Robert Brexton, rector of Liverpool, Nicholas Ashton, Thomas Seel, Jos. Brooks, jun. Thomas Golightly, Francis Gildart, Wal. Cahoun, James Aspinall, Thomas Fishwick, A. B. William Croftie, sen. Thomas Maddock, M. A. William Abbot,

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Ralph

Ralph Earl, Thomas Wilson, Henry Richmond, M.D. James Clemens, George Cafe, George Warren Watts, Edward Beddard, James France, Stephen Ford, John Drinkwater, Wright Gleave, Samuel Medley, Thomas Tarleton, William Hunter, A. M. John Smeathman, Samuel Kelley, Nicholas Crook, John Phillips, Richard Arkis, Thomas Taylor, John Shertcliffe, Robert Jones, Richard Harrison, Glover Moore, John Lyon, Cuth. Bisbrown, John Wilson, Philip Kitchin, A. B. John Henderson, D. D. John Crasbie, John Powell, James Worthington, M.D. Thomas Richmond, John Fairfax, George Kendall, William Stratham, John Richardson, William Davenport, John Latham, William Griffies, James Rathbone, Robert Rigby, John Williamson, William Gregson, Thomas Leyland, Christopher Wetherherd, Henry Haidwar, Robert Scott, John Gregson, William M. Mears, Potter Fletcher, William Barker, Thomas Houghton, John Parker, William Mason, Philip Rewley, John Elworthy, William Speers, William Hutchinson, Samuel Appleton, Abraham Critchlow, Gilbert Orrell, George Matthews, Samuel Kirkes, William Brown, William Bootle, William Earl, Nehemiah Holland, An. Grayson, William Gorton, Thomas Critchlow, John Haghes, William Hasketh, John Shaw, Philip Orton, Robert Green, Joseph Hall, Thomas Gill, William Stainifreer, James Johnson, John Tarlton, Thomas Bailey, John Shewell, sen. curate, John Shewell, jun. curate, John Parr, Henry Clarkfon, Thomas Widdins, Aug. Woodward, L. Spencer, Mat. Greenwood, John Owen Parr, Thomas Roberts, Isaac Oldham, Richard Downward, jun. John Baines, William Rigg, John Wilson, James Nottingham, John Dunbabin, William Rawlins, Christopher Butler, Thomas Bagge, Richard Gerard, John Rofcoe, Robert Green, Smauel Livesly, Thomas Holland, Peter Hunt, Peter Ellames, James Carruthers, Thomas Lickbarrow, William Higginson, Robert Pedder, Nicholas Boulton, J. P. Rofcoe, jun. William Boate, Jonathan Blundell, Thomas Dunbar, Charles Pole, Thomas Houlston, M.D. John Parr, Henry Blundell, Scrope Colquitt, jun. John Dixon, Richard Grime, Peter Banks, Stephen Tillinghaft, Thomas Hughes, George Parker, Richard Golightly, Richard Whiteside, William Ripley, James Lassell, Nath. McKnight, John Marsden, H. Ravenscroft, Thomas Pennington, L. Spencer, jun. John Birton, John Shaw, Thomas Preston, John Penkett, Thomas Shaw, R. Hankinson Roughsedge, clerk, A.M. William Atkinson, William Willock, James Blair, John White, Robert Oddie, jun. William Calvert, Johnfon Bradshaw, James Wickliffe, Thomas Norris, William Birkett, Anthony Tristram, Robert Wife, Samuel McKnight, John Rowe, J. Brooks, John Carver, John Kitching, William Wetwood, George Hodson, M. A. John Galley, James Barton, Joseph Leay, John Thompson, John Chambres Jones, John Kennion, Alexander Lawton, James Appleton, Edmund Lyon, Jonathan Blackburne, James Barrow, John Denham, George Drinkwater, Brom. Boulkes, Robert Grimshaw, Samuel Fluitt, Joseph Brooks, William Rowe, Thomas Hayes, Thomas Deare, John Walker, Thomas Manley, William Rice, Thomas Parke, James Hatton, John Colquitt, Henry Hamer, Bernard Birch, Thomas Sweettenham, Thomas Clay, George Byrom, John Wright, James Almond, Ralph Lowe, John Myert, Richard Machell, John Yeats, George Clutton, Thomas Cowell, John Clarke, John Mytton, Edward Rigg, Thomas Peake, Thomas Statham, Thomas Bridge, Thomas Twiss, Henry Roughsedge, William Saul, George Cals, Richard Dodd, Edward Rogers, jun. Arthur Onflow, John Simmons, Thomas Moore, William Collifon, William Denison, William Hatton, John Coleman, Thomas Houlston, Thomas Crook, John Kaye, William Wilson, Samuel Woodward, Samuel Warren, Robert Seddon, Ambrose Lace, Joseph Wayles, Smith Elliot, Robert Parry, Thomas Banner, John Fletcher, Samuel Collifon, Thomas Alison, Jos. Taylor, John Jackson, William Farrington, Thomas Jamefon, David Tuohy, Patrick Black, Edward Chatters, John Hope, Thomas Appleton, James Williamson, William Lolley, Edmund Rigby, jun. William Heyes, William Jackson, John Davis, Jos. Yates, Robert Crossland, Daniel Whilow, Henry Berry, Thomas Guy, John Hewitt, Thomas Swift, Arthur Ellison, John Lupton, Joseph Johnfon, Abraham Bolton, Michael Ranwick, Charles B. Hart, George Fleetwood, John Foster, Thomas Ralph, Richard Dutery, Thomas Hughes, Peter Kenion, William Tristram, Egerton Smith, John Banister, Robert Diggle, Henry Baldwin, Henry Park, John Copland, Edward Nicolls, Henry Wilckens, Thomas Earle, James Grundy, James Bridge, Robert Hesketh, Hugh Hindley Leigh, Thomas Birch, William Dickson, William Barnes, Thomas Hawarden, Samuel Johnson, Daniel Backhouse, John Preston, William Orpandy, George Duffy, William Johnson, Thomas Booth, George Bowdon, Joseph Jackson, jun. Arnold Meyer, Richard Statham, John Williams, Thomas Williams, John Fisher, Richard Nangreave, Francis Chalmer, William Banks, John Tench, John Oddie, Edward Rogers, William Tyre Young, Isaac Hind, William Ankers, James Lynch, William Dumbell, Ralph Eden, William Loftus, Nicholas Cross, Richard Downward, Jos. Broster, James Watkinson, Peter Allen, Isaac Giles, George Worrall, S. Norman, Thomas Middleton, Thomas Ratcliffe, Joseph Dutton, Robert Davison, John Lowndes, Richard Taylor, William Whiteside, Thomas Davies, Roger Fisher, Edward Grayson, Edward Mason, James Foster, Edward Howard, Thomas Bowman, Richard Loyd, J. Briscall, John Dean, Bernard Lightfoot, Joseph Dutton, Jacob Jackson, John Pottes, James Foden, James Dutton, Edward Alcock, Thomas Cordeux, John Harrison, Thomas Tillinghaft, Thomas Brown, John Wardley, John Grundy, Robert Od-

die, sen. John Renshaw, Jacob Nelson, John Brownell, John Yate, Thomas Hutton, Joseph Goldie, Alex. Banks, Jonathan Blundell, jun. Edw. Brock, John Howard, Will. Far, Will. Shepherd, John Smith, Thomas Cragg, John Walker, Thomas Price, William Gregson, jun. Robinson Cooke, William Bonney, Arthur Latham, John Ward, John Syers, Robert Bafnett, James Jefferson, Thomas Briarly, jun. John Part, John Potter, John Orme, Edward Smith, Edmund Gray, John Seager, John Bispham, John Sarjant, John Southart, Robert Hamilton, Richard Banks, Edward Alanfon, William Rownfon, John Marshall, William Brock, William Wood, William Maire, William Harvey, John Nightingall, Thomas Jen-nion, L. Oliphant, R. Wainwright, M. D. Robert Jennings, Colin M'Neill, Thomas Browne, Thomas Almond, Thomas Wright, William M'Kee, John Fayrer, Thomas Carlkman, Thomas Howard, John Prince, Edward Loxham, Edward Nixon, Robert Morris, Richard Drinkwater, Edward Ashton, Joseph Johnson, James Sidebotham, William Leadbeater, John Webster, Joseph Simpson, Robert Tyrer, John Robinson, Nathaniel Lee, Samuel Chubbard, John Parfon, Lawrence Tyrer, John Bailey, James Hargraves, William Farington, George Crook, Henry Fairclough, Thomas France, Henry Spence, John Cheshire, William Preston, Henry Wilson, Robert Fox, John Livesly, Philip Christian, sen. Philip Christian, jun, James Holliswell, John Woods, Samuel Poole, John Wyke, Thomas Green, John Dobfon, jun. Jon. Mercer, Robert Mercer, Thomas Place, Jos. Mercer, Thomas Perrey, John Banks, Joseph Wright, Robert Cotter, William Siddall.

The following addrefs of the gentlemen, clergy, traders, and principal inhabitants, of the city of Coventry, has been presented to his Majesty by Walter Waring, Esq; and Edward Roe Yeo, Esq; their representatives in parliament.

Coventry, Sept. 25, 1775.

To the KING's most excellent Majesty,
The humble addrefs of the gentlemen, clergy, traders, and principal inhabitants of the city of Coventry.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

IT is with the deepest concern we have for some time observed the progress of those pernicious principles which the patrons of sedition have been industriously insinuating into the minds of your Majesty's deluded subjects, and which have at length produced an actual rebellion among the unhappy colonists in America; a rebellion the most atrocious, because altogether unprovoked; the most unnatural, because excited and fomented by the false representation and encouragement of a desperate domestic faction.

At such an alarming crisis, silence, in the true friends to their country, would be utterly inexcusable; not to condemn the guilty, were, in some sort, to partake in their iniquity whilst therefore :

we deplore this error in our fellow-subjects, we cannot forbear to remark, how very inattentive those persons must needs be to the welfare of the community, who can wantonly interrupt the public repose by raising tumults and insurrections, from no other motive, and with no better view, than to promote the schemes of pretended patriotism, or to sooth the malice of disappointed ambition.

It might indeed, and with the greatest reason, have been expected, that the singular prudence and moderation, with which your Majesty hath ever held the reins of government, would have effectually composed every animosity among your people, and secured a general acquiescence in a conduct so irreproachable. It might have been hoped too, that the ministry you have so judiciously made choice of, and who, on the late trying occasions, have acquitted themselves with the most consummate discretion, should not have experienced so base and ungrateful a return. The continued series of ill-treatment, which your Majesty, the more immediate officers of the crown, and the great council of the nation, have met with at the hands of these nominal guardians of our rights and liberties, we sincerely lament; and it is our earnest request, that this testimony of our abhorrence of such scandalous and unjustifiable behaviour may stand recorded to the latest posterity. Renouncing therefore, thus openly, all fellowship with the men of this complexion, permit us, Sire, with all humility, to approach your throne with our most faithful assurances of an unalienable attachment to your Majesty's person, and of our most hearty concurrence in the prosecution of such measures, as, in your royal wisdom, you shall think proper to adopt, for the suppression of the present outrageous commotions abroad, for the restoration of peace and good order at home, for the maintaining a due regard to the authority of the legislature, and for the support of our admirable constitution, both in church and state.

Francis Wheler, William Smart, Charles Nutt, William Oldham, Thomas Ryley, John Joice, Richard Bird, David Rattray, M. D. Charles Elliott, William Aston, Robert Nutt, Richard Kevitt, Thomas Michell, C. Belcher, W. Grove, John Stanton, Throughton and Newcomb, Bird and Co. James Jones, Edward Davis, Jos. Pollard, John Jeayes, William Bant, Christopher Croxall, Richard Hill, John Simpson, Thomas Haines, Joseph Rann, vicar of St. Trinity, Edward Villers, Bradford Wilmer, J. Bunning, Matthew Payne, Lilley Smith, Richard Adams, Richard Pearson, John Priest, clerk, Charles Weston, Christopher Wright, John Villers, John Hill, Samuel Pinches, James Villers, George Owen, Daniel Gardner, William Folsbrooke, John Birch, William Marsh, Throughton and Burgh, R. Simfon, M. D. Samuel Moore, Roberts Jarvis, John Simpson, Benjamin Hawkes, Edward East, Thomas Bennett, Edward Lea, Thomas Huckell, William Newton, Samuel Boyce, William Ball,

Thomas Perkins, Charles Schuman, Thomas Ballard, Thomas Taylor, Henry Yardley, Joseph Worcester, William Elliott, James Crisp, Joseph Holmes, Thomas Little, J. Mander, F. Blick, B. A. Stephen Simpson, James Spicer, William Capper, James Hartlet, Robert Reynolds, John Pym, John Eyre, R. B. Staples, B. Newland, John Downing, Jaques Hufbands, Richard Kinmill, Isaac Steane, Hanbury Newark, Thomas P. Vernon, Abraham Baker, James Eyre, clerk, John Hubbard, Thomas Dayns, William Forster, John Cattaw, William Goodwin, Samuel Wetherilt, Francis Blick, Joseph Pratt, Joseph Bottrell, Joseph Parker, Edward Parr, M. Backhouse, Thomas Packwood, Charles Lilly, Joseph Smith, William Isfard, Amos Roberts, H. Garrat, John Brockhurst, Thomas Graves, George Huddesford, Thomas Lawson, Jos. Cattell, John Bradnick, John Sharp, Thomas Carr, Adie Cramp, W. Dadley, John Lilly, John Lowke, Thomas Shaw, John Cattell, William Pegg, William Cramp, Robert Atkins, John Taylor, William Joice, Richard Sadler, Jos. Marshall, William Field, Thomas King, William Mann, John Millward, Thomas Elliott, Samuel Knight, James Downing, Michael Thompson, William Grant, John Clowes, Francis Ryley, William Slate, John Bunney, Henry Cheshire, William Harrison, Richard Cattell, Joseph Asplin, John Peter, J. Jackson, S. Bailey, James King, Thomas Bird, Jonathan Wolf, Jos. Butler, H. Smith, William Meigh, Samuel Gibbons, John Gardner, Samuel Smart, Thomas Cramp, James Burrows.

The following address of the mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of Exeter, in chamber assembled, has been presented to his Majesty by John Rolle Walter, Esq; and Charles Warwick Bampfylde, Esq; their representatives in Parliament.

To the KING's most excellent Majesty,
The humble address of the mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of Exeter, in chamber assembled.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most faithful and loyal subjects, the mayor, aldermen and common council of the city of Exeter in chamber assembled, beg leave to pay our humble duty to your Majesty, and to express our gratitude for the many blessings we enjoy under your Majesty's government.

Convinced, as we are, of your Majesty's unwearied and impartial attention to the true interests of all your subjects, we cannot but behold with infinite concern, the unhappy differences, which subsist between this country and many of your Majesty's colonies in North America; where a most unjustifiable resistance hath been made to your Majesty's arms, in open defiance of the legislative authority of Great Britain.

We had our hopes, that this misguided people might ere now have been reduced to a proper sense of that duty and obedience, by which alone they can be connected with this country. In what manner this great object is further to be pursued, is a question, on which we presume not to express our sentiments; but relying with confidence on the wisdom, justice, and prudence of your Majesty's counsels, we doubt not but your Majesty, zealous of the honour of your crown, and deeply interested in the welfare of all your people, will act with firmness, and adopt such measures, as may most effectually tend to the establishment of peace, consistent with the support of that general principle on which the declaratory act is founded.

Far be it from us, however, to circumscribe the bounty of government; may every constitutional, every favourable indulgence be extended towards them: we are anxious that your Majesty's subjects should be all heartily and sincerely united in that dutiful obedience to your Majesty and the legislature of Great Britain, which constitutes the true strength of this great empire.

That a just and perfect reconciliation may soon take place is our most ardent wish: but should the unhappy contest be further prolonged, and America still contending for independence, obstinately continue to reject all reasonable offers of accommodation, we conceive they will one day feel the loss they have sustained, when, from having been deluded by their seditious leaders, they shall become a prey to their armies and their own intestine animosities, and shall then find by sad experience, that peace, happiness, and liberty, are only to be secured to them, by the protecting power of this country.

That your Majesty may long reign over a loyal, happy, and united people, is our most earnest and constant prayer.

Given under our common seal, this 15th day of September 1775.

The following address of the mayor, burgesses, clergy, freeholders, and inhabitants of the city of Bristol, at the Guildhall assembled, has been presented to his Majesty, by Charles Hotchkin, Esq; late mayor, John Durbin, Esq; late Sheriff, Richard Combe, Esq; one of the representatives in parliament for Aldborough in Suffolk, Jas Laroche, Esq; one of the representatives in parliament for Bodmyn, Matthew Brickdale, Esq; Thomas Tyn-dall, Esq; John Harcourt, Esq; Isaac Elton the younger, Esq; Will. Miles, Esq; John Crofts, Esq; George Daubeney, Esq; William Hart, Esq; John Powell, Esq; and John Taylor Vaughan, Esq;

To the KING's most excellent Majesty.

Most Gracious Sovereign, Sept. 28, 1775.

WE, your majesty's dutiful subjects, the mayor, burgesses, clergy, freeholders, and inhabitants of the city of Bristol, at the Guildhall assembled, beg leave to address your majesty on the

the present conjuncture of affairs between Great Britain and your American colonies.

With gratitude we acknowledge the many and great blessings we enjoy under your majesty's mild and auspicious government; during which, the trade and commerce of this ancient and loyal city have increased to a degree unknown to former times, to be attributed only to the wisdom of your majesty's councils, and the many excellent laws lately passed for the encouragement of those inexhaustible sources of wealth.

Truly sensible of your majesty's unwearied endeavours for the support of the religious and civil rights of all your subjects, we cannot but with astonishment behold the conduct of a few disappointed men, whose sophistical arguments, and seditious correspondence have, in a great measure, been the occasion of deluding your American subjects into open rebellion.

As British subjects, we testify our abhorrence of this unnatural rebellion; and, though we deeply lament the misfortunes our American brethren have brought upon themselves, yet we cannot but express our warmest wishes for the success of those measures your majesty hath adopted in support of the legislative authority of Great Britain over all our dominions, which we trust will now be permanently established; and hope, that the loyalty which prevails here, will soon convince our fellow-subjects in America of their error, and bring them back to a just sense of their duty and allegiance; his, and this only, can restore them to your majesty's favour, and to that flourishing state they so long have, and still might have, enjoyed.

May your majesty's councils ever prevail to the extirpating of licentiousness; and, by a firm establishment of real liberty, may you triumph over the enemies of our glorious constitution, and long continue to reign over a free, united, and happy people: to obtain these great ends, we assure your majesty of our utmost assistance and support; and declare, that a zealous attachment to your royal person and family, a veneration for the laws, and an ardent affection for order and good government, are the principles which direct and animate our conduct.

Charles Hotchkin, mayor, John Durbin, jun. James Hill and Jarrett Smith, sheriffs, Edward Whatley, Richard Combe, Matthew Brickdale, John Hugh Smyth, James Laroche, William Hart, Thomas Smyth, William Barry, D. D. William Hayward Winstone, Mau. Trevillian, John Hobhouse, Thomas Webb, Thomas Stretton, Charles Arthur, Isaac Elton, jun. Jeremy Baker, William Hartnell, Richard Vaughan, John Davie, A. M. Edward Willis, Jos. Haythorne, Daniel Harson, John Harcourt, A. Isaac Elton, Henry Muggleworth, John Calberd, D. D. John Camplin, M. A. James New, M. A. Henry Gresley, W. Lowder, B. D. James Smith, Thomas Tyndall, John Innys, George Daubeny, John

Freeman, John Freeman, jun. John Merlott, Richard Meyler, Slade Baker, S. Seyer, rector of St. Michael, Benjamin Spry, vicar of St. Mary, Redcliff, D. S. Haynes, minor canon of the cathedral, Carew Reynell, minister of St. James, Aaron Baker, curate of St. James, Wm Rothery, curate of Clifton, Alex. Catcott, vicar of Temple, Wm Camplin, curate of St. Maryport, Thomas Jones, curate of St. Jn Baptist, Tho. Robins, minor canon of the cathedral, Tho. Goddard, minor canon of the cathedral, John Taylor, minister of Clifton, Tho. Booth, H. B. C. Brent, minister, John Dolman, clerk, Daniel Debat, rector of Christ church, Charles Daubeny, clerk, James Daubeny, clerk, John Bryan, clerk, Josiah Tucker, D. D. Richard Collinson, clerk, James Stonehouse, M. D. Peter Grand, clerk, William Milton, A. M. John Crofts, John Tucker, Robert Lane, Eliza Thomas, John Punter, John Powell, John James, Thomas Garston, James Wallis, Isaac Elton, Michael Miller, jun. Timothy Powell, Timothy Powell, jun. John Fowler, John Fowler, jun. Thomas Paty, Edward Nicholas, Jer. Osborne, Joseph Barnsdale, Thomas Hobbs, William Arnold, John Milton, John Tyler, J. Bowden, James Vine, Edward Parker, Edward Davies, Mark Davis, William Reeve, James Ireland, jun. Joseph Hawkswell, William Kelson, Peregrine Bowen, John Roach, jun. Thomas Smith, William Heney, Thomas Pierce, sen. William Baker, John Merrick, jun. John Adderly, Jonathan Jones, Daniel Jappis, William Dyer, John David, William Bower, John Camplin, William Hipsly, David Hamilton, Thomas Martin, Jer. Osborne, jun. John Castle, Joshua Powell, jun. Jasper Hawkins, Edmund Fidge, John Tombs, John Seager, jun. Thomas Hungerford Powell, William Lewis, J. Butler, James Cook, Henry Willoughby, Thomas Curtis, Robert Dyer, Charles Horwood, jun. Edward Jones, James Lockier, William Miller, George Berry, jun. Isaac Camplin, Lamb. Schimmelpenning, John Vaughan, William Miles, William Smythe, Abraham Newman, Marmaduke Peacocke, John Gresley, jun. William Wansey, Edward Lewton, John Gordon, Andrew Daubeny, Thomas Pierce, jun. William Hartland, Isaac Hobhouse, James Allen, Peter Norton, jun. Thomas Sims, Samuel Whitchurch, John Thomas, Joseph Rigge, jun. William Hamilton, William Morgan, Daniel Henderson, Ferdinand Lyne, Edward Hawkesford, James Reed, Joseph Flower, Joseph Grove, Philip Foy, Joseph Dobson, Joseph Mayo, Robert Houlton, Charles Watkins, Abraham Gadd, Sampson Barber, William Heard, John Tustin, Simon Oliver, Peter Wells, John Eames, Charles Newcomb, John Paty, James Morfs, Thomas Smith, George Rogers, James Getly, James Rosser, Daniel Lane, John Wiley, Edward Jones, William Jones, Edward Bird, John Bird, Henry Bird, Richard Terrett, Henry Webb, Alexander Mackintosh, Noblett Ruddock, Charles Ridout

Ridout, Thomas Wigan, Thomas Catcott, John Jones, John Maff, Samuel Pye, Thomas Trust-
ed, Stephen Cumley, John Pigott, Robert Good-
win, Charles Smith, Samuel Lowder, William
Hutcheson, Henry King, John Cave, Israel Al-
ley, Charles Score Britten, Robert Smith, James
Ireland, Henry Durbin, Henry Morgan, Walter
Taylor, James Smith, jun. John Pullin, Robert
Priest, Robert King, William Edwards, Tho-
mas Pyne, William Miller, jun. Robert Vigor,
Thomas Keene, Thomas Warren, George Bush,
John West, John Holbrook, John Deverell, Wil-
liam Daniel, Joseph Sheppard, John Nash, Wal-
ter Swayne, William Parsons, Edmund Gomond,
John Hall, John Mares, William Cuninghame,
William Lewis, Thomas Rothley, Nathaniel Foy,
John James, James Hughes, Thomas Nocke,
William Rocke, Thomas Elford, John Crocker,
John Bush, William Hall, John Powell, jun.
Richard Cooke Winpenny, William Bush, John
Broughton, P. Collings, Thomas Coulson, John
Barlow, John Ford, William Barrett, William
Prattinton, Henry King, jun. Thomas Garfed,
Jacob Kirby, Walter Powell, Edward Forward,
Thomas Tustin, William Whittingham, Joel Gar-
diner, Richard Tombs, Richard James, John
White, David Jones, James Powell, Stephen
Love, James Price, Robert Watkins, William
Capel, jun. Thomas Andrewes, jun. J. Farrah,
Josiah Thomas, Edward Thomas, John Trev. Tre-
villian, Thomas Thrall, Clotworthy O'Neil, Jo.
Horwood, William Powell, Thomas Jones, John
Cockburn, James M'Taggart, John Lean, Fran-
cis Daniel, John Hunt, John Tucker, John Hobbs,
Thomas Jenkins, Henry Godfrey, Charles Har-
ford, Daniel Wait, Jos. Hinton, Richard Hawk-
swell, Samuel Wilmot, Thomas North, John Cloud,
Roger Watts, John Mills, John White, William
Organ, Thomas Saunders, John Chilcott, Wil-
liam Harding, James Nixon, Thomas Maggs,
Ezekiel Nash, William Dinham, G. Maskelyn,
George Lilly, George Attwood, Thomas Mease,
Jos. Goodwin, William Webb, William Wooles,
Thomas Dory, John Smith, P. Norton, Joseph
Lanfdown, James Norton, George Biggs, Peter
Goodwin, Thomas Hughes, Samuel Gomond,
E. Gravenor, jun. Mark Fothergill, William
Webb, Philip Chapman, Theophilus Haddock,
Richard George, James Williams, James Webb,
William Wasbrough, Richard Whittington, Ro-
bert Gillard, Thomas Phillips, William George,
William Slocombe, William Franks, Stephen
Miller, Edward Chilcott, Joseph Wilfon, Ste-
phen Holliter, William Henley, Thomas Miles,
Lawrence Ormerod, Thomas Shapland, James
Edwards, Abraham Davis, Henry Whatley, John
Ellis, Roger Martin, Samuel Berry, William
Moncrief, Thomas Clark, James Edwards, James
Plant, Daniel Rofs, George Lewis, William Pal-
mer, John Cocking, Richard Thomas, William
Williams, Fenwick Bird, John Morgan, Thomas

Reynolds, Matthew Mease, William Turton,
James Cadell, William White, George Adderley,
William Studley, William Delpratt, jun. John
Court, John Newton, John Wadham, Benjamin
Sharp, Jorathan Jaffer, William Tilly, George
Pew, Andrew Pearce, William Paty, Thomas
Webb, Richard Pranker, William Fry, jun. Tho-
mas Eagles, James Daltera, William Wayne,
George Inskip, John Stone, James Gaster, Rich-
ard Lewis, Thomas Rowe, John Hurn, John
Brooks, Samuel Bishop, Jacob Naish, William
Wright, James Chilcott, Robert Smith, William
York, Edward Elton, William Hetling, John
Gorton, Richard Browning, John Help, Thomas
Rawlins, James Smith, George Franklin, James
Hawkins, James Randell, James West, Edward
Parker, John Harbison, James Hoare, John
Watkins, John Thring, George Williams, John
Crocker, Phil. Crocker, R. Thorn, Kingsmill Grove,
Benj. Davies, John Groves, Daniel Hickee, Tho-
mas Lewellin, William Dyson, John Rees, Ro-
bert Walmsley, John Kestell, Griffith Jones, Ro-
bert Sayer, Thomas Harris, John Harding, Tho-
mas Hembury, jun. James Garfed, Thomas Ed-
wards, James Richardson, William Fry, Edward
Martin, Lowbridge Bright, William Hewlett, Jo-
seph Neal Lock, Charles Wilcox, Thomas Harker,
John King, Joseph Haffwell, Edward Esworthy,
Charles Tidmarsh, Deane Bayly, Richard Creed,
William Watkins, Joseph Whitchurch, Jonas Hill,
John Morris, William Matthew, William Del-
pratt, Richard Highatt, Thomas Quick, William
King, William Driver, Jenkin Watkins, William
Stevens, Stephen Perrott, George Luther, Chri-
stopher Dunston, William Moxham, John Lewis,
William Elton, Thomas Harris, William Lewis,
John Maxie, Henry Bush, John Grove, John
Morgan, Daniel Dryall, John Guy, Nathaniel
Watts, James Ingram, Samuel Cocking, Hugh Ash,
John Yeates, Thomas Perrin, Nicholas Cham-
pagne, John Usher, John Evans, Francis Browne,
William Clark, George Hardwicke, George San-
ders, Thomas Lawrence, John Ferry, Edward
Stock, Wm Davis, Jn Meecham, Wm Lloyd, Step.
Maxfield, Ed. Chubb, Sidenham Teaf Wilde, Sam.
James, Sam. Sanford, James Burnell, Benjamin
Weeks, Thomas Stone, John Hobbs, S. Criche,
Powell S. Criche, Geo. B. Criche, Edward Hum-
pheris, Sampson Sutton, Thomas Vaughan, Giles
Grevile, Edward Colston Greville, John Fayne,
John Thomas, Henry Hooper, Neville Bath, John
Pountney, Samuel Stone, John Cliffold, John
Bryant, Charles Smith, John Colmer, George
Grant, Benjamin King, Symons Dyer, James
Sutton, Daniel Burges, John Smith, Michael
Miller, Thomas Craufurd, John Pother, John
Rich, Isaac Bence, T. Bullman, William Vigor,
John Jackson, William Storey, Samuel Court,
James Holston, Richard Horfley, William Tre-
villian, John Wood, William Morgan, Thomas
Kington, William Vaughan, John Beckford Bar-
nett,

nett, John Whitehead, William Prosser, Leighton Wood, William Holbrook, William Shurmur, Thomas Rigge, John Sampson, Samuel Johnson, Arch. Drummond, J. V. Vaughan, Fran. Greville, Gilb. Davis, jun. In Read, Jn Eames, jun. In Thompson, Peregrine Stockdale, Geo. Merrick, sen. Jos. Forster, Henry Hobhouse, Thomas Jones, James Jefferies, Joseph Morris, James Perry, William Wanklyn, Joseph Bedbury, William Lerway, Henry Holmes, William Whitby, John Hooper, John Griffiths, Philip Gill, Thomas Skyrme, Daniel Jordan, Richard Swain, John Martin, Gabriel Rymar, John Browne, Tho. Pearce Allison, Miles Nurse, John Yeatman, Thomas Smith, George Grist, William Kingston, Thomas Roades, Samuel Edwards, Onesiphorus Power, William Hunt, Richard Haines Plomer, John Yeomans, J. Dyer, William Perris, Thomas Nemes, Chas. Ward, Abraham B. Cook, James Saunders, Jos. Thomas, Richard Jones, John Easton, Thomas Berjew, Thomas Rogers, Benjamin Cray, Butler Symons, William Toye, Richard Jefferis, William Giddis, Samuel Tompson, William Brett, J. Ellison, William Grimes, Robert Hewett, John Jones, George Ebberry, Robert Collings, Robert Collings, sen. James Wilkinfon, Samuel Pounsbury, Thomas Parker, John Hayman, Thomas Miller, Abraham James, Thomas Tipton, John Bayly, Jacob Meredith, John Speed, William Staight, John Thomas, William Smith, John Paine Berjew, Slade Baker, jun. James Dean, Thomas Bawn, Thomas Abbot, William Williams, Edward Westley, David Laurence, Edward Herbert, William Daniel, Joseph Benniett, Thomas Bevan, Nathan Windey, Rd. Parker, Julius Schroder, Thomas Granger, William Harris Stucley, John Cottop, Richard Roach, Richard Hill, Robert Collins, J. Thrall, Matthew Aston, Henry Webb, Fran. Smith, Jos. Springall, John Taylor, J. Robbins, jun. Hugh George, Jn Rufs, William Perry, Peter Williams, E. Chancellor, Joseph Pearce, John Merrett, Frafer Davies, Thomas Davies, John Hooper, George Smith, Joseph Toye, Thomas Jones, John Philpot, Thomas Woodall, John Barrett, John Barnsley, Daniel Smith, James Room, Benjamin Griffiths, John Stanton, Archibald Stuart, William Hulbert, William Salkeld, Richard Smith, John Powell, Rd. Stratton, James Norman, William Bayliss, Francis Gold, Matthew Hawkings, John Hawkins, James Plomer, M. D. W. Clutiam, James Brown, Jn Norman, Jos. Haslewood, J. B. Smith, H. F. Yeatman, Wm Cornish, John Day, Jacob Davis, Geo. Wilkins, Wm Barr, John Moore, Moon, Burgum, James Bridges, Solomon Roach, George Winter, William Jolleff, William Nassau Bird, Joseph Jefferis, Edward Bettington, William Warwick, William Bire, William Steede, William Hooper, Robert Bridle, Edward Rosser, William Beach, John Bettington, Thomas Lacy John Bettington, jun. John Room, John Jones, R. Mallard,

Ch. Horwood, William Spencer, Edward Carter, George Franklyn, James Cox, Benjamin Morgan, Boon Powell, Richard Edwards, R. Beauchamp, Thomas Pearce, John Huish, Thomas Farmer, jun. John Walters, J. Porter, Samuel Howell, Joseph Gillard, James Sewell, William Acraman, Henry Wits, William Westley, jun. Abraham Wigginton, Thomas Bate, John Acherley, Pharaoh Goulding, Thomas Day, Daniel Rowland, John Woodward, Harry Morgan, John Warner, Michael Wills, Richard Ivyleaf, William Oldham, Luke Willmot, William Capel, John Tandey, F. Hammond, James Beckett, David Spraeil, Samuel Fuller, John Humphreys, Richard Phillips, L. B. Gwyn, Richard Horne, Thomas Cotton, Richard Tombs, Samuel Newnam, John Harris, Richard Hill, Thomas Lewis, Thomas Sandell, William Ford, Philip Elliott, John Bradford, Samuel Sowerby, G. Edwards, William Watkins, R. Eyton, Joseph Smith, William Burges, Simon Uncles, John Howorth, William Dyer, Josias Cooke, Thomas Alker, Edward Thriffell, Archibald Robe, Edward Winter, Henry Beckwith, R. Greece, Joseph Callaway, Lewis Cannon, John Baftable, Jos. Smith, John Smith, Charles Montague, Robert Holden, James Bower, Anthony Swymmer, Arthur Broughton, James Bowditch, Thomas, Ficks James Thomas, Richard Walker, John Morgan, William Fowler, John Davis, Samuel James, James Weekes, Bartholomew Alston, W. Reeve, jun. Samuel Mattick, William Rogers, Ebenezer Browne, William Stringer, Thomas Hanmer, Rob. Gilbert, John Mathews, Thomas Easton, John Higgins, John Doole, Robert Marston, S. Cooke, Giles Daubeny, Nathanel Cope, Gilbert Davis, Philip Bower, Thomas Young, John Byrn, William Green, W. Tucker, Stephen Rogers, W. Lucy, E. Smith, Robert Smith, Thomas Aldridge, Thomas P. Pople, Samuel Thomas, John Weaver, John Mayo, Thomas Lewis, Francis Grefley, Benjamin Johnson, Philip Hall, John Walsbrough, J. Roberts, Richard Jenkins, James Hill, William Slocombe, M. Walsbrough, George Ford, John Tyndale, George Willway, William Philpot, William Tandey Barrett, James Huish, Samuel Prothero, Robert Kyrle Hutcheson, William Haggert, John Jones William Griffith, Stephen Baxter, John Crois, Abraham Adams, Partridge Smith, William Colmer Compton, James Ewer, William Land, William Foot, Jos. Bower, Samuel Jefferis, George Berry, John Jones, Henry Lugg, William Hole, James Vaughan, William Graves, William Helps, William Slade, Henry Hughes, James Saice, Thomas Whitehead, Robert Whitehead, James Payton, Richard Blaneh, Thomas Guyer, John Horseman.

The following address of the mayor, recorder, aldermen, burgesses, and inhabitants of the borough of Warwick, has been presented to his Majesty

jeſty by the honourable Robert Fulke Greville, one of the representatives in parliament.

To the KING's moſt Excellent Maſjeſty,

May it pleaſe your Maſjeſty,

WE, your Maſjeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the mayor, recorder, aldermen, burgeſſes, and inhabitants, of the borough of Warwick, unbiſſed by party, unawed by faction, and not blinded by falſe patriotiſm, but actuated by a dutiful and ſincere regard for your Maſjeſty's perſon, ariſing from the cleareſt conviction of your Maſjeſty's earneſt wiſhes and endeavours to promote the proſperity of Great Britain, humbly preſume to addreſs your Maſjeſty, with hearts replete with gratitude for the innumerable bleſſings, which, through Providence, and the wiſdom and mildneſs of your Maſjeſty's government, we now enjoy.

It is with the utmoſt concern we ſee the acts of the Britiſh legiſlature contemned and oppoſed by many of your Maſjeſty's ſubjects in North America, through the incitement and miſrepresentation of artful, deſigning, and ſeditious men, both at home and abroad; who, under the ſpecious pretext of preſerving the liberty of the people, are aiming at a total ſubverſion of all law and good government, and conſequently introducing the worſt of tyrannies.

And we cannot but ſincerely lament, that they have ſo far ſucceeded, under the cloak of mock-patriotiſm, as to incite numbers of your maſjeſty's American ſubjects to be guilty of open rebellion.

We therefore think we ſhould but ill deſerve the appellation of Engliſhmen, if we reſtrained from declaring to our ſovereign, and to the world, our utter abhorrence of the authors and abettors of ſuch outrageous and traitorous proceedings.

And, at this alarming criſis, we conſider ourſelves obliged, as loyal ſubjects, and real friends to the true intereſt of Great Britain and it's inſeſtimable conſtitution, to aſſure your Maſjeſty, that, as the lenient treatment of your Maſjeſty's inſatuated and miſſed ſubjects in America has been inſufficient to induce and prevail on them to return to their reaſon and allegiance, we apprehend compulſory and effectual methods are not only juſtifiable in law and conſcience, but abſolutely expedient to be exerted with vigour and reſolution.

And we beg leave to aſſure your Maſjeſty, that we will, with alacrity and ſpirit, ſupport, to the utmoſt of our ability, ſuch meaſures as your Maſjeſty ſhall think proper to purſue, for enforcing and maintaining obedience to the laws in every part of your Maſjeſty's dominion; entirely conſiding in your Maſjeſty's goodneſs, becauſe we are fully ſatisfied, that, upon this important occaſion, every plan which your Maſjeſty ſhall adopt will be ſo judiciously concerted and wiſely directed, that it will preſerve the freedom of the conſtitution inviolate, and advance the honour and proſperity of this kingdom.

Given under our hands, and the common ſeal of the borough of Warwick, this 28th day of September, 1775.

Robert Moore, Mayor, WARWICK, Recorder, Edward Croft, Iſaac Twycrofs, F. R. N. Hiorn, George Eborall, John Hands, Hugh Taylor, Geo. Cattell, William Roe, Aldermen, Tho. Greenway, Town-clerk, M. Wiſe, Robert F. Greville, J. Wilmot, D.D. A. Gregory, J. Mills, clerk, John Warner, John Coles, Robert Miller, clerk, Cha. Porter Packwood, Richard Wright, Joſ. Eberall, Charles Ward, James Roberts, Geo. Weale, Fulk Weale, Joſeph Lee, Peter Gibbons, John Farmer, Thomas Mills, Thomas Bentley, Thomas Bird, Robert Roe, William Eborall, Ed. Clark, Thomas Johnſon, Joſ. Badams, Benjamin King, Thomas Gibbons, Ar. Whiter, Robert Fullwood, James Wheeler, Thomas Harris, Joſeph Cook, John Watſon, W. Morris, Francis Dawes, Thomas Briſcoe, ſen. Thomas Briſcoe, jun. Thomas Hawkes, John Garland, Thomas Wright, John Bird, Thomas Bond, William Wright, William Thompson, William Morris, Bernard Gary, Joſ. Wright, Richard Taylor, John Tanton, John Jones, Francis King, James Wright, Robert Goode, John Perry, Val. Cooke, Francis Alexander, ſen. John Ward, Tho. Hands, L. Weſtgarth, S. Farbrough, John Biſhop, John Cox, Robert Kington, Alexander Henderſon, William Curtis, David Hughes, Henry Wilſon, Thomas Peſtell, Thomas Atkins, Thomas Summerfield, Richard Tibbitts, Robert Atterbury, John Neall, Richard Boy, Gregory Hukman, William Holmes, James Byrn, John Lamb, Thomas Kington, Ralph Morris, Thomas Appleton, John Davis, Iſaac Alſop, John Heritage, George Lillington, clerk, John Winn, George Shepur, John Smith, William Butler, John Parker, John Southam, William Southam, Simon Ward, William Durlam, Humphry Hinks, William Arkeſden, William Glover, John Baker, Jonathan Cockbill, James Butler, James Perry, William Ruſſell, John Payne, Francis Holmes, David Sanders, Samuel Edwards, Joſeph Bayly, Abraham Aſplin, Nathaniel Sugar Bayly, William Evans, Samuel Muddiman, Abraham Owen, Peter Taylor, William Salloway, William Smith, George Page, Richard Morrill, Charles Bloomer Baly, Thomas Ceynolds, John Tatnall, William Holtum, Tho. Toms, Joſeph Atliband, John Peſtell, James Howell, Clerk, Jo. Edwards, Joſeph Radford, Richard York, James Keating, Joſeph Smith, John Garland, L.L.D. William Umbers, Jonathan Hobbs, James Williams, Thomas Thompson, Thomas Baylis, William Biddle, John Thomas, William Aſhwin, Joſeph Phillips, Jonathan Butter, Thomas Weſton, John Radford, John Wotton, Thomas Woolley, Joſeph Ruſſell, Francis Ruſſell, George Caſhmore, James Webb, Samuel Dyke, J. Palmer, Thomas Peſtell, John Cattell, William Roe, jun. J. Williams, W. Malory, Rich. Sanders, W. Wilſon, Henry Baylis, Rich. Blick, jun. James Cook, John Gill, J. Bruce, George Tipping, Bened. Bradley, Joſeph Clarke, Rich. Buſhel, Tho. Butler, Richard Harrison, John Hands, Iſaac Caſhmore, John

John Owen, John Holmes, Jos. Winn, William Collins, William Boddington, James Essex, John Latimer, John Phillips, Richard Lapworth, William Buttler, Thomas Ashmore, Henry Butler, Thomas Wotton, Richard Robbins, William Wilson, Edward Williams, Robert Twist, Timothy Thomas, John Hine, James Heath, Thomas Cross, Thomas Masters, Thomas Goodby, Samuel Hartle, Lawrance Standish, Job Scott, John Coles, Thomas Hawks, Joseph Mead, Thomas Cook.

The following address of the mayor, aldermen, burgesses, and commonalty of the borough of Great Yarmouth in common council assembled, has been presented to his Majesty by Charles Townsend, esq. one of their representatives in parliament.

To the KING's most Excellent Majesty.

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Mayor, Aldermen, Burgesses, and Commonalty of the borough of Great Yarmouth, in common council assembled, beg leave, at this important juncture, to lay at your Majesty's feet the strongest assurances of our faithful and zealous attachment to your Majesty's royal person, and to the supreme legislature of Great Britain.

We have observed the tender and humane reluctance with which your Majesty and the parliament have entered upon measures of coercion against your Majesty's disobedient subjects in America; and, at the same time, we cannot but have remarked, with the deepest concern, that the demands of those deluded men have risen in proportion to the unwillingness they have seen in the parent state to have recourse to measures of force, till at length some of your Majesty's Colonies have dared to enter into an open rebellion. Their troops have taken the field; Money has been raised to pay them; and an illegal assembly, now sitting at Philadelphia, has usurped, and is executing with a heavy hand, those powers which have been denied to the legislature of Great Britain.

In this situation of affairs, we think it our duty to express our abhorrence of the rebellion now carrying on in America, and to make a tender of our lives and fortunes towards the suppression of it; beseeching your Majesty to take care, that your empire be not dismembered, nor the supreme authority of the British legislature impaired. Exert, great Sir, your whole force, would it be necessary, in the support of these important objects when they are secured, we know, from the experience we have had of the mildness of your Majesty's disposition, that you will restore peace to your misguided subjects in America, with as much pleasure as you have evidently had pain in entering upon hostile measures against them.

Given under our common seal at our Guildhall, the 26th day of September, 1775.

The following address of the gentlemen, clergy, merchants, and principal inhabitants of the burgh of Great Yarmouth in the county of Norfolk, has been presented to his Majesty by Charles Townsend, esq. one of their representatives in parliament.

To the KING's most Excellent Majesty,

The humble address of the Gentlemen, Clergy, Merchants, and Principal Inhabitants, of the Burgh of Great Yarmouth in the county of Norfolk.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE beg leave to approach your Majesty in the most loyal manner, to express the sentiments of our hearts in an undisssembled duty and affection to your Majesty and our happy constitution.

We cannot but lament the misery, and abhor the conduct, of many of our deluded fellow-subjects in parts of your American colonies, who have plunged themselves into an open rebellion, by preferring the influence of seditious men to the mild government and tender protection of their sovereign and the supreme legislature.

We equally admire your Majesty's wisdom and goodness, in taking the gracious means to avert their ruin. The measures now adopted, we trust, will speedily conquer the evils, and restore the general tranquility; being agreeable to the spirit of our laws, and for the true honour and happiness of all your Majesty's dutiful subjects, amongst whom we intreat your Majesty to believe none shall excel us in the most faithful and grateful zeal.

Given under our hands the 30th day of September, 1775.

Gibson Lucas, William Taylor, John Ramey, Thomas Martin, W. T. & W. Palgrave, John Reynolds, W. & J. Fisher, J. Cornan, Clerk, John Spurgeon, Hen. Palm. Watts, Edm. Lacon, D. H. Urquhart, John Norfor, Thomas Pitt, Robert Woolmer, Robert Lancaster, Nath. Symonds, John Riches, Anthony Taylor, W. Fisher, jun. Job Bickerton, B. Gibbs, John Backler, George Thompson, Richard Miller, Chris. Sayers, J. Whitesides, jun. William Creed, Sam. Steele, jun. Tho. Evans, Robert Curtis, William Williams, W. Browne, William Butcher, Stephen Godfrey, S. & B. Costerton, Henry Mayes, J. G. Spurgeon, Clark, Nath. Fish, Edw. White, Clerk, Fra. Turner, Clerk, T. Adkin, John Laycon, William Woodbine, John Chamber, James Dawson, John Ives, Hill. Morley, Thomas Utting, Benjamin Cooke, Thomas Watson, Parson Cistance, James Turner, Samuel Tolver, William Downs, Man. Holden, Clerk, John Fisher, jun. John Withers, Rob. Warming-ton, Abel Clifton, Thomas Carman, W. Franklin, Sam. Whitesides, Thomas Howes, Jos. R. mey, Benjamin Balls, John Sayers, Charles Eldcar, Thomas Bird, John Master, John Priok, Francis Seals, Francis Parson, John Dunn, John Taylor, D. Disney, Simon Smith, J. Ives, Suffolk herald, Francis Richards, William Burton, Hugh Mitchell,

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Matthew Cufaude, Thomas Ramer, Robert Waller, Stephen Pightling, John Sowden, Gilbert Fairlie, Benjamin Lane, Peter Kirkman, Thomas Davis, John Ditcham, Dover Colby, E. Wickstead, W. S. Motts, Charles Chandler, N. Nicholson, sen. Philip Scott, William Rye, Thomas Howes, Benjamin Lambert, Meddow Lane, Josiah Peartree, James Royal, John Simpson, John Watfon, Richard Fuller, W. Wetherhill, Robert Thompson, Gard. Whitesides, John Symonds, John Orton, Edmund Tolver, R. Moyse, Martin Hall, James Sley, Robert Grinling, Samuel Ditcham, John Moxfon, John Robfon, sen. Timothy Silvers, Colman Manclarke, E. White, jun. Clerk, B. Fielding, J. Killetr, F. Turner, jun. Jos. Dunthorne, Thomas Whitton, R. Miller, jun. Meadow Frost, jun. Howard Jacobfon, William Eaton, William Phinn, John Watfon, W. Smith, Surgeon, Samuel Lewis, Thomas Turner, Nath. Symonds, Richard Smith, N. Nicholson, jun. William Daniel, John Spanton, John Thompson, Joseph Dobfon, William Mully, Thomas Beteman, Edward Crabtree, J. Preston, attorney, Thomas Ellys, John Whitesides, Henry Cooper, Tho. Howes, jun. Tr. Carrington, Edmund Durey, Rob. Clayton, jun. John Brown, Samuel Barmby, George Clabon, John May, Nathaniel Hunt, James Wright, Greg. Harrison, John Baker, Thomas Burton, Samuel Colby, Job Smith, Tho. Adkin, jun. James Sayers, Tho. Howe, Clerk, Meadow Frost, Benj. Hill, clerk, John Symonds, John Button, John Bell, John Brown, Hugh Hill, clerk, Samuel Martin, John Vout, W. Howard, W. Bracy, Jacob Master, James Fisher, jun. Thomas Clowes, James Sancroft, William Boog, Thomas Newstead, John Burrage, John Smith, John Bradford, John Lawrence, Robert Cory, William Brook, Rob. Pargrave Miles, R. Ferricr Burton, Samuel Haw, Richard Harley, Thomas Wall, John Mash, Jacob Preston, Isaac Ayton, William Sherrington, Thomas Hitchman, Thomas Dade, Matthew Kett, Jos. Campbell, Robert Nightingale, John Brooks, William Capon, Samuel Moulton, John Gourley, John Fisher, William Boulst, John Adkins, Godfrey Gurney, Nath. Palmer, John Crombie, Richard Pitt, Benjamin Howes, Thomas Tolver, Allison Davie, Robert Cubitt, Thomas Barber, J. Kent, P. Fox. Tho. B. Bryant, Samuel Steele.

The following addrefs of the mayor, justice, aldermen, capital and inferior burgesfes of the borough and town of Taunton, in common-council assembled, has been presented to his Majesty by col. Roberts, the mayor.

To the KING's most Excellent Majesty.

Sire!

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Mayor, Justice, Aldermen, capital and inferior Burgesfes, of the borough and town of Taunton, in common-council assembled;

Truly sensible of the many blessings we enjoy under your Majesty's mild and auspicious government, beg leave most humbly to approach the throne with our unfeigned thanks for the happiness which, next under God, we owe to your Majesty's paternal care and tenderness, and which, under divine providence, have brought this country to it's present height of glory and power.

The wisdom of your Majesty's councils, the benevolence and goodness of your heart, would have preserved a continuance of those blessings to the whole empire, if unfortunately there did not exist here, as well as in America, men, void of all principle, are hardened enough, at the expence of every duty they owe your Majesty and their country, to become at once (under the masque of patriotism) disrespectful to your sacred person, and disturbers of the publick peace. Their machinations have driven headlong the Americans into a rebellion, which cowardice only prevents their joining in.

In this alarming crisis, it is our duty, and we do most cheerfully offer your Majesty our lives and properties, in support of your person, crown and dignity; and we rely on your Majesty, that the indubitable rights of this kingdo mwill be inviolably preserved, and the traitorous attempts to subvert its legislative authority in America, will never be submitted to; nor a successful rebellion be suffered to sully the glory of your Majesty's reign.

Given under our comon seal, this 22d Day of September, 1775.

John Roberts, Mayor.

The following addrefs of the principal Inhabitants, and Manufacturers, of the borough and town of Taunton in the county of Somerset, has been presented to his Majesty by John Cabbell, M. D. one of the aldermen.

To the KING's most Excellent Majesty,

The humble addrefs of the principal Inhabitants, and Manufacturers, of the borough and town of Taunton in the county of Somerset.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

TRULY sensible of the many blessings we enjoy under your Majesty's mild and auspicious reign, permit us to approach your throne, and express our abhorrence of the deluded spirit which prevails in your colonies of America, where most of the inhabitants are in arms and open rebellion against your crown and the laws of this realm.

We beg leave to give your Majesty the most solemn assurances, that we shall be ready on all occasions to sacrifice whatsoever is dear and valuable to us, to enable your Majesty to bring your rebellious subjects in America to a just sense of their duty; to defend your royal person and illustrious family; and support our constitution both in church and state.

William Fortye, John Newton, Thomas Gunf-ton, John Roberts, H. W. Gale, John Webb, J. Foy, William Muilk, J. Cabbell, Tho. Sweeting, James

James Hare, John Furse, Robert Taylor, Jos. Allen, R. Hoare, John Hurrell, George Bourrough, William Stone, George Borry, Thomas Foy, Thomas Hancock, Henry Rowell, Richard Hembrow, Je-
 miphay Paynter, John Every, John Tamlin, William Corfield, John Periam, George Townsend, An. de Visne, W.S. Strangeway, C. Wen. Roberts, Matt. Franklin, Syd. Leppin, G. Adams, John Doman, William Cogan, jun. H. Sweeting, John Rendall, Daniel Pursey, W. Davies, Richard Scadding, Philip Trott, Robert Turell, David Ponsbery, Robert Stone, John Dell, Jos. Tapley, Jonathan Harman, Abraham Jones, Josiah Gardner, John Kingsbury, W. Kingsbury, Alexander Samall, William Milton, Alexander Warren, Joseph Parkhouse, John Parson, S. P. Chaplaine, John Dollen, Jos. Harman, Robert John Foy, James Stowey, John Gill, John Gadd, William Spiller, William Collard, R. Hoare, jun. James Dickinson, Philip Townsend, Edward Ball, James Manll, Thomas Alford, Robert Wring, William Tratt, Will. Penny, jun. John Hill, Thomas Bishop, Abraham Collins, Thomas Hammett, Benjamin Bowen, William Trott, Henry Newton, Benjamin Viney, John Burges, Thomas Locke, Edward Webb, Nehemiah Webber, Isaac Hancock, Thomas Spiller, John Squire, John Cawley William Talbot, John Maynard, Robert Coale, John Tuttel, John Tetterdell, John Parsons, John Wrens, John Rowell, John Bale, John Lake, G. Withers, Edward Bond, jun. Jeremiah Beves, Thomas Bery, David Pritchard, Thoms Virgin, William Saunders, J. Harcombe, William Penny, Richard Sweet, John Graham, Ben. Spiller. James Hurley, James Hurley, jun. Daniel Suttup, Samuel Smith, Robert Mockridge, John Taylor, Philip Horn, James Gadd, Richard Gannett, Edward Bond, John Best, Samuel Syms, John Coxhead, Robert Bartlett, William Upham, William Manning, Joseph Turle, Robert Crofs, John Fick-
 us, Benjamin Weslake, William Casely, Will. Casely, jun. John Casely, William Jenkins, Lewis Cogan, Jane Senechall, Ja. Senechall, jun. William Jeanes, Thomas Every, Matthew Taylor, Richard Hancock, George Rew, John Parratt, Thomas Bowen, Samuel Hathaway, James Poole, Thomas Barnes, James White, William Bell, Robert Green, John Williams, Francis Hall, Joseph Spiller, William Foy, Thomas Pile, Hugh Payne, John Parkhouse, Ed. Johnson, Edward Pittman, Alex. Ridge, James Berry, Alex. Gray, Charles Cox, Charles Cox, jun. Richard Warren, Thomas Bale, John Kemplin, sen. John Spratt, John Rendell William Brayley, Caleb Stower, James Knidler, Josias Harman, John Chapman, Abraham Francis, John Nowell, John Waters, Thomas Viney, John Adams, Francis Webb, B. Spiller, jun. George Phillips, Thomas Harman, William Jerman, John Baker William Cogan, Jesper Dennis.

The following address of the Provost, Magistrates, and Town-Council of Montross, in coun-

cil assembled, having been transmitted to the earl of Suffolk, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, has been by him presented to his Majesty.

To the KING's most Excellent Majesty,

The humble address of the Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of Montross, in council assembled.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

DEEDLY impressed with a sense of the many blessings we enjoy under your Majesty's most clement reign, we beg leave to express our grateful sense thereof, and that of the good people of this your ancient town, of whom we at present represent.

We have beheld, with surprize and uneasiness, that the forbearing and lenient measures pursued by your Majesty, in order to bring our fellow-subjects in North America, to reflection, reason, and attention to their own true interest, have, through their insatiation hitherto, not had the desired effect. We sincerely regret their folly, condemn their obstinacy and ingratitude, and are much concerned they have allowed themselves to be so deluded as to rise up in arms against their mother country, by which they have been nourished and protected, and who lately, at an expence of so much blood and treasure, rescued and defended them from their enemies. But wile we lament their misconduct, and their misimprovement of the great advantages they enjoyed under your Majesty's mild government, we disapprove of and bear testimony against their rebellious proceedings, and are still filled with greater astonishment and horror at the unnatural and seditious practices of some of our own countrymen, who, under the mask of patriotism, but in order only to serve their own selfish and mercenary designs, have we fear instigated them to and encouraged them in such illegal and disorderly practices.

We very much detest and disclaim all such proceedings; and we do assure your Majesty, that, as we highly approve of the prudent measures you have hitherto taken in support of the honour and independence of your crown, and the supremacy of your parliament; so we will in our several stations exert ourselves to the utmost of our power for supporting your Majesty therein, and in all such future measures as the wisdom in your parliament may find necessary for securing and preserving unimpaired the just and constitutional rights of Great Britain over all her colonies.

We are happy in acquainting your Majesty, that the trade and manufactures in this town and neighbourhood have not in the smallest degree been hurt or affected by the American ports being shut against us; that at present our people are all duly employed in their several occupations, our manufactures find a ready demand, and peace and harmony prevails amongst all your Majesty's subjects here.

We should rejoice, and do most earnestly wish, that a reconciliation would yet take place, that so the further effusion of human blood might be prevented, and peace, with all the blessings thereof, restored to your Majesty's dominions. But as, through the wantonness and unreasonable conduct of the colonies, this nation has been long severely agitated and distressed, great expence incurred, and the lives of many of our countrymen causelessly taken away, in defence of the nation's lawful rights and property; we therefore humbly hope, and beg your Majesty, that vigorous measures be adopted and continued, until such a settlement takes place as shall be found consistent with the just and equitable claims of America; and the honour, the safety and true interest of Great Britain. And for this purpose we pray that God may bless your Majesty's councils with wisdom, grant success to your arms, restore peace and brotherly love to all your subjects, and spare your Majesty long, very long, to reign with glory over a happy, a free, and united people.

Signed in name and by appointment of the rest of the magistrates and town-council, at Montreal, the 23d of September, 1775, by
Alexander Christie, Provost.

The following address of the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses, of the town of Beverley in the county of York, in common council assembled, having been transmitted to the earl of Dartmouth, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, has been presented to his Majesty:

To the KING's most Excellent Majesty,

The humble address of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the town of Beverley in the county of York, in common-council assembled.

WE, your Majesty's most loyal and faithful subjects, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses, of Beverley in the county of York, should think ourselves wanting both in duty and gratitude to your Majesty, did we not take this occasion of joining with the rest of your Majesty's loyal subjects, in giving this publick testimony of our utmost abhorrence of the present unnatural rebellion in some of your Majesty's colonies in North America, as well as of those factious and evil-minded men, both at home and abroad, by whose means the same hath been, and still is, principally promoted and abetted.

When we consider the many blessings we have enjoyed since your Majesty's accession to the throne of these realms, by the great extension of trade, and the consequent increase of wealth; by the many good and salutary laws which have been enacted; and, above all, by your Majesty's just and lenient government over us; we cannot sufficiently express our detestation of all those societies, or sets of men, who (contrary to the allegiance they owe, and have sworn unto your Majesty) are now, by their inflammatory letters and publications, in

a most daring manner, sowing the seeds of sedition among us, and thereby endeavouring, as much as in them lays, to involve us at home as well as abroad in all the calamities of a civil war.

We beg leave, therefore, in the most respectful and dutiful manner, to assure your Majesty, that we will, at all times, to the utmost of our power, be ready to support your Majesty, and the honour and dignity of your crown, as well as the legislative authority of these realms, in the defence of our most valuable constitution, against all such attempts of your Majesty's seditious or deluded subjects either at home or abroad.

Given under our common seal, this 27th Day of September, in the year of our Lord 1775.
Jo. Midgley, Mayor.

St. James's, October 14.

The following gentlemen, viz. Isaac Hughes, Esq. chairman, the right honourable Thomas Harley, Zachary Philip Fonnereau, John Cornwall, John Rily, Samuel Smith, George Stainforth, Peter Cazalet, Richard Willis, John William Anderson, Benjamin Winthrop, Edward Forster, J. Bogle French, Bignall Porter, and Peter Hodgson, esquires, waited on his Majesty with the following address.

To the KING's most Excellent Majesty.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, merchants and traders of the city of London, filled with the deepest concern at the unjustifiable proceedings of some of your Majesty's colonies in America, beg leave to approach your royal throne to testify our entire disapprobation and abhorrence of them; with the most solemn assurances that we will support your Majesty with our lives and fortunes, in maintaining the authority of the legislature of this country, which, we conceive, does and ought to extend over and pervade every part of the British dominions.

With regret and indignation we see colonies, which owe their existence, and every blessing that attended their late prosperous situation, to this their parent country, unnaturally regardless of the fostering hand that raised and supported them, and affecting distinctions in their dependence, not founded in law, or in the constitution of Great Britain.

We are convinced, by the experienced clemency of your Majesty's government, that no endeavours will be wanting to induce our deluded fellow subjects to return to their obedience to that constitution which our ancestors bled to establish, and which has flourished, pure and uninterrupted, under the mild government of the house of Hanover.

May that Being who governs the universe so direct your Majesty's councils and measures, that, from the present confusion, order may arise, and peace again be restored.

That

That your Majesty may long reign over a happy and united people, is the earnest prayer of,

May it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most faithful and loyal subjects,
 Isaac Hughes, Z. P. Fonnereau, George Wombwell, Richard Willis, E. Forster, Benj. Winthrop, J.W. Anderson, Bignall Potter, Peter Hodgson, Thomas Harley, Peter Cazalet, James Bogle French, John Rily, George Stainforth, John Roberts, Philip Jackson, William Black, James Esdaile, William Raikes, Thomas Raikes, Charles Raikes, Alex. Anderson, Alex. Shaarp, John Coghlan, Joseph Shawe, Thomas Langley, Richard Lee, John Rogers, James Johnson, Harry Thompson, Christ. Hake, Peter Harisson, Ra. Knox, G. Farqu. Kinloch, Joseph Watkins, Edm. Boehm, Roger Boehm, Edm. Boehm, jun. Josiah Cottin, Sam. Mercer, Wm. Snell, John Wilkinson, Cha. Lindegren, Andrew Lindegren, George Peters, Tho. Thomas, Will. Calvert, Geo. Hayter, Godf. Thornton, John Thornton, jun. Sam. Beachcroft, Ja. H. Langtion, John Cranke, Ja. Reade, Peter Stapel, Mark Weylard, Rob. Darell, Tho. Furdy Forster, Arnold Mello, J. P. Rucker, William Viner, Robert Porteus, John Skurray, Edward Ellicott, William Caslon, William Hanson, Henry Hanson, James Leigh, Richard Bosanquet, Anthony Herry, Isaac Thompson, Walter Shaarp, William Ellis, Thomas Gorman, Thomas Fenn, Jukes Coulson, Benjamin Adams, John Smith, G. H. Daniel Lambert, James Calvert, jun. Tho. Luffingham, John Wilson, William Collow, W. Tod, Tho. Porteus, Colin Mackenzie, Carter Daking, Oliver Toulmin, Rich. Horton, John Free, James Mathias, John Duval, John Valle, John Hughes, Gilbert Slater, Wm. Mills, Tho. Lansdown, Francis Vincent, Jerem. Parker, Evan Pugh, Theyer Townsend, Thomas West, John Hainworth, Wm. Townsend, Wm. Stephens, Wm. Watlington, Matt. Carrett, John Buckholm, Will. Pallard, Tho. Moore, William Webster, Joseph Foskett, Joshua Green, jun. John Garfed, Rob. Wilkinson, Walter Humphrys, Aime Garnault, Lewis Duval, Richard Crawshaw, J. Sabatier, jun. Tho. Burfoot, Will. Innes, George Low, Gilbert Rofs, William Welbank, John Anth. Rucker, John Shoolbred, James Bradley, Alex. Tullloh, Sam. Lawrance, John Stephenfon, Haughton Wills, Henry Cranke, Martyn Fonnereau, Thomas Fonnereau, Joshua Readshaw, Will. Arnold, John Hopkins, John Staples, J. Jul. Angerstein, Thomas Walker, Dan. Mackay, Alex. Davidson, Henry Seward, John Gibson, Step. Guion, John Bowdon, John Spiller, Cha. Triquet, James Calvert, Jonathan Avis, John Cottin, Tho. Roebuck, Thomas Bell, Wm Stevens, John Cornwall, Samuel Smith, Rich. Speed, Nath. Thomas, W. Thornton, H. Blencowe, And. Thomfon, Will. Hahled, Arthur Stert, John Heaniker, Dan. Booth, Rob. Alfop, Nath. Pattison, Tim. Yeats, J. Beverley Watts, Hugh Atkins, Francis

Baring, Edward Hunt, William Wilson, John Leapidge, John Warren, John T. Reade, Wm Cazalet, Thomas Scott, Guy Bryan, Tho. Wellings, John Duval, jun. Tho. Witherby, Abra. Oforio, jun. Wm Shobrooke, Hilborne Withy, Nath. Modigliani, John Kent, sen. George Webster, John Jacob Appach, George Giberne, Gabriel Leckey, Charles James, Peter Turquand, R. P. Beachcroft, George Hooper, George Friend, Francis Hutchins, Rob. Browne, Peter Bostock, Sam. Bainbridge, John Wright, Jos. Kinder, Charles Dalbiac, Francis Bergoin, Henry Sharp, Peter Thompson, J. Swayne, John Taylor, Henry Ferguson, John Hopkins, Rich. Bowen, Lewis Chauvett, John Meggot, Humphry Bache, J. J. Vaughan, Thomas Maxfield, Edward Webster, Isaac Hughes, jun. James Lee, Tho. Nixon, Tho. Beach, Wm Robinson, Wm Humfrys, George Field, Richard Buller, James Chapman, Henry Dinsdale, Robert Knipe, Fr. Creuzé, Isaac Ardesoif, John Horsley, Wm Horton, Wm Rofs, Henry Poole, Thomas Jacomb, Wm Murrell, Wm Strahan, Mich. James, Francis Moore, Wm Browne, Nath. Free, R. Richardson, Christ. Springer, Hammett Townley, If. Jef. Alvares, Tho. Hughes, Rob. Young, Wm Watts, John Koe, Hilton Wray, Tho. Nisenor, H. H. Deacon, John Saffory, John Walford, Thomas Langdale, Wm Ward, Ab. Lara, Rich. Clay, James Reynolds, Francis Pyner, James Brown, John Bullock, Robert Stevenson, E. B. Batson, John Wilson, Edward Seward, Wm Duncan, Robert Irvine, Alex. Thomson, Geo. Abel, Mark Ord, George Lempriere, John Bigge, John Ward, Thomas Tryon Cotton, John Ball, Geo. Glenney, Tho. Hooke, Isaac Willshire, Robert Scruton, Wm Hallier, Anth. Planck, Roger Griffin, William Hopkins, Henry Meriton, A. F. Haldimand, John H. Schneider, Christ. Heincken, Samuel Westwood, Alex. Warrant, James Anderson, John Mugeridge, J. L. Richter, John Gibson, Rich. Holden, Moses Willats, James Phipps, Henshaw Russell, Christ. Richardson, Josiah Holford, Wm Cranke, John Hindley, Samuel Townley, James Atkinson, Matthew Perchar, Ph. De Gruchy, Wm Nicholson, John Hind, John Planner, John Berney, Wm M'Call, Tho. Legge, C. Grill, John Bates, Dan. Bayne, Wm Sheldon, Wm Hillyer, Edward Grace, John Henderson, John Bate, Rich. Quelch, Philip Grafton, Wm Matthews, Cadwallader Coker, John Mason, Ciprien Rondeau, Thomas Greenough, David Pugh, John Vetch, Matt. Wilson, John Evans, Daniel Mesman, John Rogers, J. Le Messurier, Alex. Watts, Wm Blake, Richard Hill, Sam. Justice, Tim. Mangles, Cha. Merry, Wm Barlow, John Cruikshank, Henry Bates, Simon Wilson, Samuel Gribble, James Swan, James Benfon, Wm Portal, Wm Wilson, Simon Fraser, Edward Bull, John Jolly, Robert Coker, Thomas Walton, Ja. Garden, Abm. Crowley, John Rowley, Thomas Croft, Daniel

Daniel De St. Leu, Wm Power, Samuel Read, Thomas Brown, George Smedley, Robert Knox, W. Johnston, J. Hunt, Benjamin Fuller, Frederick Teufel, George Flower, Samuel Ibbetson, jun. J. Rod. Bartenhlag, Wm. Price, Wm. H. Price, John Foxcroft, Henry Maundy, Peter Ogier, Wm. Andrews, Robert Barnettt, Thomas Cogan, John Durand, Rob. Furnass, Sam. Malbon, John Barchard, Tho. Crew, Luder Hoffham, R. R. Mure, Philip Milloway, Wm. Benford, R. Kjrky, Row. Stephenson, R. Moser, Tho. Cooper, Tho. Whitehead, John Kenworthy, John Alder, Will. Petrie, John Harrison, Robert Wilson, Tho. Ja. Lawrence, Hugh Connor, Peter Thornton, R. Browne, Char. Rivington, Alex. Ougiton, Andrew Johnston, Lacey Primart, Wm. Reynolds, J. Palmer, William Dalmer, Wm. James, Jerem. Royds, John Royds, Tho. Hodson, Richard Atkinson, Fred. Raven-camp, Josef Browne, Wm. Norman, Wm. Adair, Wm Gaskarth, Cha. Higgins, Wm. Wilcox, La. Arnold, Alex. Eddie, Rob. Royds, Tho. Cotton, Tho. Forsyth, Alex. Cottin, J. Newbold, T. Gray, John Willet, Ed. Evans, J. Thomas, If. Van Assendelft, Tho. Robinson, An. Moffatt, Jam. Allardes, L. R. Cousinmaker, Ja. Oliphant, Joseph Waugh, John Stevens, Rob. Stupart, Joseph Porter, John Thomas, James Clark, Tho. Hanbey, James Brander, Joseph Boone, James Hanson, David Harvey, Rob. Thompson, U. Bristow, Tho. Smith, Sam. Sharp, Edw. Wix, Robert W. Halhed, Noah Chives, Emman Williams, James Itherwood, Rob. Poole, Lawrence Laforest, Wm. Judd, John Pinfold, John Orton, Tho. Sterrop, Ja. Moffatt, J. Powell, Robert Morris, Archibald Gairdner, John Trotter, Nath. Barnardiston, William Ayton, jun. Edw. Clarke, Chamberl. Goodwin, John Paris, Fran. Meryweather, Luke Alder, Chris. Taddy, John Le Brefon, Rob. Batson, Rich. Jupp, John Wellings, Joseph Ballmer, E. Watson, George Wyatt, Edw. Johnson, Rob. Horne, John Furnish, Ja. Baril, Tho. Jackson, John Moore, J. Pell, Wm. Brymer, John Ranson, Edward Jeffs, Tho. Hodson, J. N. Cousinaker, Dav. Roberts, Rob. Fleetwood, John Creuzé, Philip Bell, Rob. Sorsbie, James Hunter, David De Caveau, Jos. Butterworth, Christopher Huddy, Tho. Clarke, Luke Alder, jun. Tho. Dun, Geo. Harvey, Rob. Smith, John Leathley, Isaac Walker, Ben. Grahame, Tho. Clark, R. Moore, Tho. Poynder, Rob. Edmonds, Wm Dadds, John Taylor, Will. De Jersey, H. Sherwood, Rob. Grant, John Ranson, jun. W. L. Grofvenor, T. Rigby, Sam. Whitford, James Watts, Joseph Dalmer, John Huddy, Rob. H. Larpent, Thomas Hunt, Alex. Baxter, James Sanders, R. W. Fitzhugh, John Travers, Oliver Beckett, Jeremiah Wheate, Tho Harrison, Sam. Brooke, Charles Price, William Smelt, An. Girardot, jun. Joseph Gibson, Benfon Hawkins, R. Jackson, Tho. Tracy, James Webster, David Webster, William Willis, John Rigg, Alex. Squair, John Watts, Edw. De Santé, John Mount, Wm.

Devaynes, John Sawyer, John Walker, sen. Hen: Taylor, John Yates, Wm. Surman, W. Goldsmith, John March, Robert Waltham, Wm. Cooke, Ang. Mackay, George Curling, John Jones, Wm Wilson, Cha. Bowker, Peter Ogier, jun. Joseph Green, Samuel Peach, Rich. Austin, Jos. Keays, George Wolff, Ernst Wolff, John Lightfoot, John Maylin, James Williamson, William Willats, Theodore Campbell, John M'Intosh, Edw. Roberts, James Manbey, Tho. Page, John Stables, James Davison, William Kerfill, Anth. Brunn, jun. Barnard Turner, Wm. Warne, Mark Haley, John Grier, Charles Eyre, Geo. Ward, John Marsh, Paul Agutter, Wm. Pitt, Sa. Bofanquet, Thomas Cooper, Henry Shakespear, L. Wm. Walford, J. Lewis André, John Hammond, Wm. Worsfold, John Yarrant, William Sharp, Rich. Sexton, Matt. Bloxam, Jos. Wright, Step. Reynolds, Tho. Fletcher, Henry Kitchen, John Taylor, John Cooper, Peter Serret, Alexander Bartlett, C. Paxton, Daniel Weale, Chancellor Homes, Lewes John, Will. Curtis, J. James, Elias Brownsword, Geo. Seddon, Geo. Brucker, John Lind, Sam. Jacomb, S. Wilson, Geo. Shepley, Philip Hall, W. Rogers, T. Perring, David André, Geo. Smirhwaite, John Hewetson, W. Frampton, Benj. Wood, Thomas Palmer, John Wiltshire, Joseph Moorhouse, George Dwyer, William Hynatt, Thomas Budgen, John Sweet, John Read, John Michie, John Gittton, John Willis, John Cockshutt, Tho. Bennett, Chr. Atkinson, Thomas Ewer, Cha. Cole, Noah le Cras, John Wilson, Peter Thel-lusson, Robert Wilson, J. Robert Le Cointe, Simon Foster, Charles Wilson, Robert Wilkins, W. J. Kenworthy, John Parrock, Thomas Hill, Jarvis Adams, Edward Darell, William Harper, Thomas Broomwich, Robert Willock, Thomas Jackson, Thomas Wilkinson, John Elmslie, Cha. Vere, John Read, J. P. Blaquiere, Tho. March, Henry Fletcher, William Mair, Tho. Hinchliff, James Dalbiac, Thomas Fielder, sen. Thomas Wilson, Luke Foreman, J. V. Gandolfi, E. John Collett, R. Puller, John Bond, George Farmer, John Edis, Peter Symons, jun. John Crocker, William Moore, John Dorrien, William Aberdein, William Goodman, Edward Barnard, Paul J. Le Cointe, Isaac Rimington, William Withy, Matthew Hill, Francis Gillyatt, William Gemmel, John Rigg, jun. Peter Perchard, William Poit, John Maxwell, John Salt, John Timms, William Story, Row. Page, William Beverly, Joseph Barr, D. Harvey, James Baillie, N. Donithorne, William Gilchrist, William King, Colin Currie, James Taylor, Rich. Watlington, Sam. Sanders, C. Best, John Tickell, Samuel Farmer, Fra. Perigal, John Hart, Joshua Hobson, Thomas Patrick, Thomas Dorrien, John Hufsey, John Turner Harris, John Dixon, Edward Reilly, Thomas Verner, James Walton, Ja. Spalding, Wm White, Tho. Horne, Alex. Gibbs, John Tate, Edw. Davis, Pat. Heron, Tho. Baker, Jn Ri-

ngton,

vington, Henry Shepherd, James Richardson, William Roberts, H. Holland, George Young, Peter Hiller, Francis Rivington, John Barnard, Henry Iſherwood, John Crutchfield, John Anderson, Nicolas Hane, Thomas Prickett, W. Ranſon, George Wellings, John Pippier, David Maxwell, A. Aberdein, Samuel Jacam, Thomas Brown, Gilbert Bertram, Edward Barwick, Robert Thornton, David Jones, W. Shepherd, William Tapp, Edward Holmes, Walter Brind, William Adam, Robert Gemmell, Moſes Alſep, E. Kirby, John Mullins, Abraham Haigh, Edward Morley, Jaſ Dewey, John Wood, Samuel Ellis, John Robinson, Chriſtopher Smith, David Young, Alexander Clark, Stephen Comyn, James Fruſhard, Samuel Smith, jun. James Cox, John Jacob Zornlin, Iſaac Wilſon, Chriſtopher Puller, Charles Foreman, William Collins, E. Thomas, Peter Gauſſen, Gabriel Clermont, William Loutit, Alexander Mitchell, Roger Haſſewood, James Tilleard, W. Sampſon, John Wyatt, Thomas Harding, Thomas Nowell, Thomas Simpkin, John Fonteneau, John Henderſon, James Griffiths, William Barwick, John Payne, Edmund Hill, Joſeph Pickersgill, jun. Richard Till, James Eſdaile, jun. William Portal, Edward Jones, David Hennell, Thomas Eſcort, George Burton, John Oliver, Fra. Childs, R. Gathorne, James Sykes, Brackley Kennett, Thomas Fothergill, John Smith, Abr. Pitches, Boyce Tree, Chriſ. Henderſon, Aaron Norden, Benjamin Hodgſon, Robert Hamilton, William Young, Robert Arthur, Thomas Crawford, Alexander Sangſter, James Hare, Thomas Hawes, Wm Pocock, Ab. Portal, J. Pardee, R. Aiſlabie, Richard Morriſon, Thomas Clegg, James Breſſe, Tho. Powell, H. Shute Cox, H. C. Arrhenius, John Stewart, John Atkinſon, Thomas Johnſon, George Hall, John White, Edward Pickard, Richard Grape, John Batchelor, Charles Hamerton, John Spencer, Abr. Dyſon, Thomas Handiſyde, Edward Wilſon, Rd T. Blunt, John Wood, Samuel Watſon, Edward Lambert, Samuel Williams, William Child, W. Blackborow, W. Cope, George Waſhington, John Ward, Henry Holland, jun. Neville Noble, Blanch. Coward, Robert Harding, Wm Brander, Broome Witts, George Diggles, John Lane, Henry Wix, W. Bartlett, J. M. Juſtus, Edward Layton, John Parker, Robert Combe, ſen. Benjamin Bradley, Robert Combes, jun. Robert Childs, John Ham, Matthew Chalié, John Dolignon, Wm Grainger, Wm Emonſon, Thomas Mitchell, Wm Soppitt, Thomas Butterfield, John Kerr, Arthur Jennings, George Rigby, Benjamin Chalié, J. Bate, Thomas Smith, John Barnard, ſen. Gam. Gardener, Thomas Bradshaw, Law. Irvine, Peter Romilly, Robert Todd, Peter Laſcelles, Jonathan Michie, Wm Stodhart, Robert Campbell, Robert Brown, Francis Hilton, George Moore, Nicholas Dennys, George Adams, Bryant Barrett, Thomas Walker, John Pittway,

Michael Harris, William Gilbert, John Perigal, John Turner, Joſiah Stanley, Thomas Sword, Ja. Dixon, John Bleaden, John Henry Erniſt, Stracey Till, Robert Parkinſon, R. Burford, George Gould, Fran. Baronneau, Wm Kinerſley, Joſeph Hill, George Ward.

The following addreſs of the provost, magiſtrates, and council, of the antient burgh of Irvine, in council aſſembled, has been preſented to his majeſty, by the right honourable Sir George Macartney, knight of the Bath, their repreſentative in parliament.

To the KING's moſt Excellent Majeſty.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the provost, magiſtrates, and council of your antient burgh of Irvine, in council aſſembled, reflecting with abhorrence upon the rebellious diſpoſition of ſome of your majeſty's American ſubjects, and their unjuſtifiable attempts to oppoſe the laws of this realm, and to diſturb the tranquility of your majeſty's mild and merciful reign, which even the unthankful as well as we have experienced, humbly beg leave to aſſure your majeſty, that as in laſt war a number of brave ſailors from this port diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the glorious cauſe of your majeſty and their country againſt natural and foreign enemies, ſo we have ſtill numbers equally brave and willing to aſſiſt your majeſty and the laws, in reducing unnatural and unprovoked rebellion, in whatever part of your extended empire it ſhall rear its head.

Deeply ſenſible of the bleſſings of that peace and liberty which we enjoy under your majeſty's auſpicious reign; fully convinced of the uprightness of your majeſty's government, and moſt firmly attached to your majeſty's perſon and family; we alſo aſſure your majeſty, we are ready on all occaſions to ſupport and defend your royal perſon and the conſtitution of our country with our lives and fortunes, againſt all foreign or domeſtic enemies.

Signed, in our name, and by our appointment, at Irvine, the 22d of September, 1775.

Alex. Montgomerie, provost.

The following addreſs of the juſtices aſſembled at the general quarter ſeſſions of the peace held at the caſtle of Exeter, in and for the county of Devon, on the 5th day of October, 1775, has been preſented to his majeſty by Sir Richard Warwicke Bampfylde, baronet, one of the repreſentatives of the ſaid county in parliament.

To the KING's moſt Excellent Majeſty.

The humble addreſs of James Carrington, clerk, chairman, Sir Richard Warwicke Bampfylde, baronet, Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, baronet, Sir John Duntze, baronet, Thomas Putt, Paul Orchard, Francis Baſſett, Francis Buller, Rd Inglett,

Inglett, Thomas Taylor, James Pitman, Wm Kidon, John Wills, John Russel Moore, esqrs. Samuel Newte, John Crawys, Richard Lewis, George Cooke and Richard Bawden, clerks, justices assigned to keep the peace, and to hear and determine divers felonies, trespasses and misdemeanours, within the county of Devon, assembled at their general quarter sessions of the peace, held at the castle of Exeter, in and for the said county, the 5th day of October, 1775.

WE, your majesty's very dutiful and loyal subjects, duly sensible of the many blessings which we enjoy under your majesty's auspicious government, beg leave to approach your throne, in this alarming crisis of public affairs, with every testimony of our sincerest duty and affection for your majesty's sacred person and government, and to assure your majesty, that, although we cannot divest ourselves of those feelings of humanity which induce us to lament the miseries which our deluded fellow-subjects in America have brought upon themselves by that daring abuse which they have made of your parental tenderness and forbearance towards them, whereby your majesty has been compelled, much against the benevolent sentiments of your own heart, to make the last appeal, in order to reduce them to their duty; and although we earnestly wish, agreeably to those feelings, to stop the further effusion of human blood, by every conciliating measure which can be devised, consistently with the dignity and safety of the supreme legislative authority of this realm; yet, as good subjects, we cannot forbear testifying, at this important juncture, our unfeigned readiness to strengthen the hands of your government, by giving every assistance in our power towards accomplishing this most desirable event; that, by the wisdom and firmness of your councils, you may be enabled to bring back the misguided inhabitants of your American dominions to a just sense of their duty, and a peaceable submission to the laws of their mother country.

And we should be wanting to ourselves and to our duty, as the guardians of the public peace, did we pass over in silence, and were we not openly to declare our disapprobation of those associations which have been endeavoured to be procured by circular letters and seditious emissaries, dispersed throughout the kingdom, in order to disturb the peace of your majesty's dominions, and in open defiance of your late royal proclamation; for which daring insult (big with every mischief) offered to the powers with which your majesty is invested for the security of the public tranquility, we beseech your majesty, that the propagators and abettors of such insidious measures may be brought to speedy and condign punishment.

And we earnestly supplicate the great disposer of all things, to give stability and success to every constitutional measure, which your majesty's wis-

dom and care for your people shall deem necessary, for re-establishing the public peace and tranquility of your colonies: and that you may long continue to reign in the hearts of a dutiful and united people, in the full enjoyment of every earthly blessing, is our most earnest and ardent prayer.

By the court, John Helliar, clerk of the peace.

The following address of the officers of the First Regiment of the Devonshire Militia, has been presented to His Majesty by Colonel Acland, Lieutenant-Colonel Orchard, and Major Bassett.

To the KING's most excellent Majesty,

The humble address of the officers of the First Regiment of the Devonshire Militia.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the officers of the First Regiment of the Militia of your County of Devon, now assembled at Exeter, hope we shall not be esteemed presumptuous, if, in the name of the regiment, we venture to approach your royal person with our unanimous assurances of that fidelity and attachment, which a mild, just, and equal government must ever produce in the minds of Britons.

Conscious that, under your Majesty's benign government, and the influence of this happy constitution, we enjoy every species of liberty compatible with the existence of society, we should think ourselves inexcusable if we did not take this opportunity of joining our uninfluenced voice to that of our countrymen, publicly to express the just abhorrence in which we hold every attempt to alienate the minds of your Majesty's subjects.

Fully persuaded that that Constitutional Body, of which we form a part, will be always found a firm support to your Majesty's government, we should not have intruded on your Royal Presence, but that, in times like these, we think it as much the duty, as we know it is the interest, of every man of property, to shew a more than negative allegiance to the best of sovereigns.

None can hold in greater detestation than we do the unnatural behaviour of your American subjects. The constitution has prescribed to us our sphere of action; but we must beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we shall at all times be as ready to exert our utmost efforts to suppress any internal enemies of your Majesty's Government and this constitution, as our gallant countrymen have been in asserting the just rights of the British empire in America.

May your Majesty's reign continue glorious; may the united efforts of a great, free, and loyal people render your Majesty's endeavours to re-establish the violated supremacy of the British legislature over every part of your Majesty's dominions as effectual as they are just.

John Dyke Acland, colonel; Paul Orchard, lieut. col. Francis Bassett, major; Edward Payne, Edward Chave, Michael Southcote, Tho: Dykes Acland,

Acland, John Laroche, Thomas Sheppard, captains; Samuel Savery, lieutenant and adjutant; William Robbins, Nath. Perkins Pyne, A. B. Peppin, Henry Thornhill, lieutenants; William Andrew, Ensign.

The following addresses have been presented to His Majesty by Robert Manners, Esq.

To the KING's most Excellent Majesty,

The humble address of the mayor, recorder, and aldermen of the town of Kingston upon Hull, in common-council assembled.

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the mayor, recorder, and aldermen of the town of Kingston upon Hull, deeply impressed with a sense of those royal virtues, which have happily distinguished your reign, and are the great support of our civil and religious liberties, beg leave to approach your throne, and to declare our abhorrence of the unnatural rebellion which prevails in some of your Majesty's colonies in North America. We have beheld with that indignation that becomes good subjects, in those parts of your Majesty's dominions, and impatience of good order and government, seditious assemblies, traitorous addresses and correspondencies, insolent and daring violations of private property and legal authority, and at length an open and hostile defiance of the whole power of the British empire: crimes of such magnitude, so unprovoked, so deliberately committed, have justly merited the heaviest punishment: yet the benignity of your Majesty's Councils and disposition long suspended the stroke of justice. Happy for these deluded men, if the delay of punishment had removed the cause for this so necessary an exertion of power! But the Malignity of their councils, and the factitious designs of men, who have abetted their cause in this country, suppressed in them all sentiments of gratitude and loyalty, and misled them from their own interest and preservation, to almost inevitable ruin. In a situation so distressful to a good prince, we lament the necessity, but we applaud the firmness of your resolution to use vigorous measures in the support and protection of the laws and liberties, which these licentious men have so unjustly violated, but which we value and enjoy.

And we humbly beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we will exert our utmost endeavours, at the expence of our lives and fortunes, to support your Majesty in the defence and maintenance of our constitutional rights, and the honour and dignity of the crown of these realms.

Given under our common seal this 19th Day of September, in the year of our Lord 1775.

Ralph Darling, mayor, R. Beattie, recorder, Richard Bell, Charles Poole, John Booth, Thomas Mowld, Henry Etherington, John Porter, Jos. Outram, John Mace, John Melling.

Kingston upon Hull, Sept. 26, 1775.

The humble address of the gentlemen, clergy, merchants, and principal inhabitants, of the town of Kingston upon Hull.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's loyal subjects, the gentlemen, clergy, merchants, and principal inhabitants, of your town of Kingston upon Hull, with grateful hearts, crave leave to approach your royal throne with the tribute of our sincere and hearty thanks for the happiness we have enjoyed under your Majesty's just and mild administration, and at this time particularly for your paternal care in the conduct of the public and national affairs in the present unhappy differences with the British colonies in America. Permit us to testify our abhorrence and detestation of the violent and unnatural rebellion which those deluded people have been hurried into by our and their enemies, who, under the mask of friendship and zeal for public liberty, have, by malicious calumnies and pernicious insinuations, (propagated in the newspapers, and by various other means) incited measures tending to the utter destruction of all true liberty, and all duty and loyalty to your majesty. But we hope your Majesty's wise and resolute proceedings against those your rebellious subjects will at length bring them to a due sense of their duty, and submission to the laws of their mother country so that all differences between them and this nation may be settled upon a permanent foundation, to the mutual happiness and prosperity of both, which we ardently wish. And we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we (confiding in your justice and goodness) shall always be ready, to the utmost of our several powers and abilities, to support your Majesty in all such just measures, as you in your wisdom shall think fit to take to this desirable end.

Ralph Darling, Tho. Broadly, Richard Bell, Josiah Colthine, John Mace, John Jarrat, Arthur Robinson, vicar of the Holy Trinity, Christ. Wray, clerk, Joseph Milner, lecturer of the Holy Trinity, Thomas Reaston, Robert Thorley, William King, William Kirkby, Edmund Popple, Samuel Atkinson, Thomas Kirk, William Jolliffe, Christopher Thorley, John Crompton, Jos. Outram, Walter Brown, William Richmond, Benjamin Metcalfe, William Keeling, Nathaniel Cliff, John Hendry, Jacob G. Hoppins, Thomas Brown, Henry Broadley, Josiah Prickett, Robert Ramsey, Wm. Runsiman, Thomas Outram, Eye Rob. Mingay, John Lambert, William Sherman, Carleton Monckton, George Fowler, E. Codd, R. Howard, J. Howard, Thomas Jackson, Michael Jackson, Benj. Manclin, Richard Barrowby, Thomas Sherman, John Shipman, Robert C. Broadley, Charles Pool, John John Porter, G. Thompson, clerk, Daniel Bridges, Jonathan Cowper, V. Budd, Robert Jameson, J. Hutehinson, Daniel Waudley, Peter Hunter, J. Fallowfield

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Fallowfield, J. Fallowfield, jun. John Wray. Josi. Fitchet, John Whitehead, William Bolton, Cor. Cayley, John Johnson, Tho. Mowld, John Stephenson, Isaac Thompson, Thomas Walton, Jos. Haworth, John Nuter, Abel Smith, jun. Marmaduke, clerk, Samuel Horner, James Green, Tho. Hewson, Nicholas Wight, Thomas Lee, John Green, Francis Hall, Rob. Gildart, Thomas Sewell, John Woolf, Samuel Dewitt, Jos. Atkinson, Nathan Wood, John Meggit, Edward Riddell, Thomas Sketchley, John Harris, Francis Bine, James Kiers, William Holmes, John Dixon, B. Haworth, Edw. Johnson, John Clarkson, Will. Varley, John Lind, Joseph Peale, Hugh Ker, W. Shields, John Tong, John Baker, Thomas Hall, John Melling, Benj. B. Thompson, Richard Terry, Samuel Lawton, Thomas Nicholson, Charles Patrick, George Ferraby, Thomas Whitehead, John Robson, William Billings, Joseph Godmond, T. Mulcaster, John Simpson, John Ferraby George Sinklier, Joseph Chapman, Peter Peasgood, Stephen Bramston, Benjamin Hickson, Edm. Bramston, Edward Sharp, T. J. Thomson, William Mantle, William Sparks, Rob. Ramsay, jun. T. Hudson, William Huntington, James Clarke, Archibald Stuart, A. Renwick, John Sharp, Jos. Berry, Joel Foster, Henry Etherington, John Staniforth, William Walmisley, Robert Gardner, Rich. Gibson, Samuel Dunn, William Cutsforth, Rob. Gee, Thomas Austin, Edward Hardy, Edward Thompson, George Thompson, J. Coulter, Anthony Emmett, Robert Schenckwar, George Furbank, Thomas Browne, Robert Alder, Christopher Field, G. Slovin, Thomas Hatler, Joseph Moore, sen. William Pridgin, John Storm, John Walker, Edmund Foster, Matthias Johnson, John Huck, Robert Coluiff, B. Metcalfe, Heneage Lupton, William Banks.

To the KING's most Excellent Majesty.

The humble address of the guild or brotherhood of masters and pilots seamen of the Trinity-House of Kingston upon Hull.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the guild or brotherhood of masters and pilots seamen of the Trinity-House of Kingston upon Hull, consider the many privileges granted to our ancient corporation by your royal predecessors, and the great advantages derived to us, as a maritime body, and to the town of Hull by your majesty's kind attention to encourage and secure the navigation and commerce of these kingdoms, as very great and substantial blessings.

To minds thus greatly inspired, and uninfluenced by party, nothing can create deeper concern than to behold attempts made to disturb public tranquillity, and to overthrow the peaceable enjoyment of every thing that is dear or valuable.

We therefore think it highly incumbent on us, at a period so truly alarming as the present, when we see the people in most of your Majesty's provinces in North America, cherished and assisted by ill-designing persons, so insatuated as to deny the legislative authority, and so daringly wicked as to act in open rebellion, to give your Majesty this testimony of our unfeigned attachment to your Majesty's person and government, by earnestly assuring your Majesty, that we hold in the utmost abhorrence, men capable of such proceedings; and that we think it our duty, as far as we are able, to assist your Majesty in bringing those unhappy and deluded people to a sense of their allegiance, and in carrying into execution the legislative authority of Great Britain.

Given under our common seal the 23d Day of September, in the year of our Lord, 1775.

Thomas McFarland, } Wardens.
John Staniforth, }

The following address of the magistrates, incorporated societies, and principal inhabitants of the town and port of Leith, having been transmitted to the earl of Suffolk, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, by Henry Dundas, esq; lord advocate in Scotland, and representative in parliament for Edinburghshire, has been presented to his Majesty.

To the KING's most Excellent Majesty.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's faithful subjects, the magistrates, incorporated societies, and principal inhabitants of the town and port of Leith, think it our duty on this occasion, with unanimous voice, to testify our loyalty at the foot of your throne.

The differences between Great Britain and some of her colonies have now come to such a crisis, that every community feels itself a part of the nation, and every good citizen is interested in the public cause.

We cannot reflect, without concern, on the agitations that must have arisen in your sacred and paternal breast upon this unnatural division; nor think, without horror, on those of your Majesty's subjects, who have sown the seeds of dissension, and kindled the flames of civil war, between one part of your Majesty's dominions and another.

Attached to that order flowing from good government, which is the basis of human felicity, and fully satisfied with that liberty which is derived from the laws, we look upon the audacious attempts to overturn our happy constitution, with indignation; and abhor the vile artifices that are used to alienate the affections of your people from the best of sovereigns.

Sensible of the great increase of our trade and commerce, and certain that industry, when cherished by liberty and protected by valour, will ever be

be crowned with success, our hearts overflow with gratitude for the happiness we enjoy under your Majesty's government; and we rest with confidence upon the wisdom and rectitude of your Majesty's measures, for bringing the present unhappy differences to a conclusion, which shall be consistent with the honour of Great Britain.

But if our unhappy and deluded fellow subjects in America shall continue in their unnatural and unprovoked rebellion, with our fortunes and with our lives we will assert the supremacy of our king and parliament over every part of the British Empire; and teach the sons of anarchy, that the same arm, which was lately stretched out for their defence and security, and which drove all their enemies far from their borders, can with equal ease chastise ungrateful and rebellious subjects; happy that the rod is in the most mild and merciful hand, in the hand of the father and friend of his people.

Signed in our name, in our presence, and at our appointment, by our præses, one of the magistrates of Leith, and the seal of the said town is hereto affixed.

James Cundell, Præses.

Leith, Oct. 12, 1775.

St. James's, October 21.

The following address of the gentlemen, clergy, clothiers, and other tradesmen, of the towns and neighbourhood of Bradford, Trowbridge, and Melksham, in the county of Wilts, having been transmitted to the Earl of Suffolk, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, by Philip James Gibbs, Esq; Thomas Johnson, Esq; and Paul Newman, Esq; has been presented to his Majesty.

To the KING's most Excellent Majesty.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's dutiful and faithful subjects, the gentlemen, clergy, clothiers, and other tradesmen, of the towns and neighbourhood of Bradford, Trowbridge, and Melksham, in the county of Wilts, approach the throne at a season we think critical and alarming to the honour, peace, and welfare of our country, to testify our affectionate attachment and loyalty to your Majesty's person and government, our sincere abhorrence of that rebellious spirit, which has appeared among our American fellow-subjects, and our unfeigned sorrow for those inquietudes, which, from humanity, and concern for the common welfare of your people, your royal mind must feel, on account of those unnatural and dangerous convulsions, which at present rend the British Empire.

Though we declare ourselves stedfast friends to constitutional liberty, and disdain the imputation of appearing as abettors of oppression and slavery; though we wish our American fellow-subjects all that indulgence and encouragement, which justice

to the rest of your Majesty's people, and the common interest, safety, and welfare of the empire will admit of; yet we cannot but condemn that uncandid and malignant spirit, with which they have boldly imputed to the British legislature odious and iniquitous designs against the just rights and liberties of your Majesty's subjects; with intention to inflame the minds of your people here, and hurry them likewise into unnatural acts of violence; whilst we can perceive no ground for so black an imputation, but the legislature's endeavouring to protect the persons and properties of peaceable subjects from injury, to support order and government, and to maintain its own constitutional authority. We cannot but condemn that want of equity which leads them to urge the advantages Great Britain derives from their commerce as a sufficient reason for their not being subjected to bear an equitable proportion in the public burdens in the state, whilst, from the same commerce, themselves derive superior advantages, according to their property employed in it, and their different ranks and conditions in life. We cannot but condemn their want of gratitude to their parent country, and of tenderness to their poorer fellow-subjects here, shewn in the rash, unwarrantable prohibition of all commerce with your Majesty's European dominions; by which they designed and hoped to deprive those of the means of subsistence, who, by the sweat of their brows, had long contributed to the protection and prosperity of America; though, we have the pleasure to assure your Majesty, we as yet feel no such melancholy effects of American ingratitude and unkindness, by any unusual failure of demand for our manufactures, or of employment for our poor.

Ardently wishing for the speedy restoration of peace and harmony throughout the British empire, upon an equitable and constitutional foundation, we at the same time think it our duty to assure your Majesty of our determined readiness to use any lawful means in our power, to support the constitutional rights of your crown and of the British parliament in and over every part of the British dominions; not doubting but that, from the purity of your Majesty's intentions, and the benevolence of your heart, all desirable mercy will be mixed with any severity that will with deep regret be seen needful for accomplishing that important end.

That your Majesty may long reign with glory and honour over a free, a united, a happy and grateful people; that your descendants, adorned with princely virtues, and friends to the rights and happiness of mankind, may inherit your crown to latest ages, is the fervent prayer of your Majesty's dutiful and faithful subjects,

Richard Long, Philip James Gibbs, John Hawker, John Wreath, Jonathan Reynolds, John Martin,

in, clerk, William Waldron, Nicholas Crotts, John Cooper, Charles Dilke, James Shrapnell, James Coles, Esau Reynolds, John Vine, Samuel Cook, Isaac Greene, Richard Casswell, James Morley, Joseph Smith, Robert Neale, Jos. Mortimer, Thomas Bythessea, Paul Newman, Thomas Johnson, James Gibbs, John Bailward, Charles Hodgkin, James Bulgin, John Laugharn, clerk, Thomas Drinkwater, John Ledyard, Harry Willoughby, Thomas Sartain, Jeremiah Godwin, John Godwin, James Sartain, William Cookworthy, Samuel Briant, George Eyles, John Savage, William Stone, clerk, Henry Herbert, William Whitaker, John Clark, James Selfe, John Clark, James Selfe, jun. John Silverthorn, John Mortimer, William Stephens, Nathan Noyes, Samuel Wilkins, James Counsel, Thomas Naish, Robert Davis, William Ball, Abraham Martain, Robert Bright, James Taunton, John Morley, John Humphry, Thomas Whitaker, John Newman, John Brooks, Thomas Fudge, clerk, John Rutty, Thomas Collett, Thomas Rogers, Samuel Bailward, William Palmer, William Miles, Samuel Raynolds, Charles Palmer, Henry Halliday, Thomas Jotham, Benjamin Spender, George Freeman, Thomas Stephens, Richard Pearce, James Sidnell, Israel James Hudson, Thomas Gale, George Sokes, James Shaul, jun. Jos. Mortimer, jun. William Shrapnell, George Togwell, George Edwards, Richard Weaver, George Foster, Samuel Gillman, George Gillet, Thomas Miles, James Elderton, Thomas Martin, Samuel Norman, Thomas Gibbs, Charles Blake, Daniel Hill, Edward Singer, J. Read, Robert Boyd, Samuel Way, Eph. Salter, James Shrapnell, Thomas Gaby, J. Baskerville, John Allen, R. Halliday, Thomas Carter, George Edwards, William Hart, John Marshman, William Machin, Richard Wilshire, John Warman, Philip Shrapnell, James Palmer, John Renison, John Baber, George Spender, Thomas Scotcher, William Davis, William Bennett, Jos. Dike, James Rawlings, William Palmer, R. H. Bythessea, Samuel Ledyard, Thomas Whitaker, Nicholas Greene, Samuel Bythessea, John Spalding, William Hart, William Waldron, jun. John Clark, jun. Jeremiah Hart, John Gaby, Stephen Dark, John Smart, John Hayward, Henry Butler, Paul Harding, John Baines, William Warman, Francis Saunders, John Beverstock, William James, jun. Samuel White, William Mockridge, Thomas Gray, James Orwood, Robert Davis, Richard Stafford, William Bell, Thomas Ferris, Thomas Timbrell, William James, William Hagley, Samuel Godden, Edward Lee, Samuel Collings, Charles Bell, John Strawbridge, William Burcombe, Richard Smith, Richard Pearce, William Browne, Thomas Baskerville, jun. James Bulgin, George Symes, James Gale, James Sartain, John Hunt, James Sartain, sen. Thomas Butler, Henry Hunt, William Stevens, Jos. Shaul,

Drew Townsend, Robert Bayley, John Godwin, John Bayly, John Bulgin, John Redman, R. Stokes, Charles Collingbourn, James Beaven, Charles Arnold, Samuel Mountjoy, John Davis, Thomas Hulbert, Robert Hulbert, James Cox, John Wadman, Edward Batten, clerk, William Arnold, Robert Hulbert, William Hulbert, John Stump, John Turner, James Matravers, Samuel Clement, Thomas Turner, Charles Page, Stansfield Davis, Isaac Silby, James Watson, John Fillis, John Bulgin, jun. John Cook, John Hiller, Jos. Smith, William Stevens, William Pitman, Charles Palmer, jun. John Gray, Robert Hulbert, John Marler, H. Bythessea, Samuel Bethell, William Davis, John Kelson, Thomas Webb, Isaac Crouch, Samuel Sargent, Richard Gale, George Drinkwater, Robert Godwin, Paul Randall, Silas James, William Miles, Stephen Bourne, William Crook, Robert Deverall, Richard Pinnock, William Eyles, Stephen Flower, Samuel Rumsey, Isaac Belwell, James Wilshire, William Been, Michael Naish, Jacob Hayward.

The following address of the mayor, bailiffs, burgesses, and inhabitants of the town of Southampton, has been presented to his Majesty by the right hon. Hans Stanley, and John Fleming, Esq; their representatives in parliament.

To the KING's most Excellent Majesty.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the mayor, bailiffs, burgesses, and inhabitants of the town of Southampton, humbly approach your throne, expressing our acknowledgements of the many blessings we enjoy under your Majesty's auspicious reign.

Zealous for the honour of our Sovereign, the prosperity of our country, and the support of the laws of this kingdom, we ardently wish your Majesty may very long rule in the hearts of all your people, wherever dispersed through your extensive dominions, and cannot but lament that our fellow subjects in America, forgetful of the success and protection so constantly afforded them by this their parent state, have suffered themselves to be deluded by the arts of wicked and licentious men, and proceeded to acts of rebellion against your royal person and government. In testimony therefore of our abhorrence of those pernicious maxims, by which they pretend to justify their conduct, we presume to intreat your Majesty to use the most effectual means to assert your royal authority, vindicate the injured supremacy of the British legislature, and recal the infatuated colonists to their allegiance. And because we fear the milder influence of reason and persuasion will still be found

found inadequate to those truly desirable ends, while those unhappy men continue wilfully ignorant of your Majesty's gracious intentions towards them, and blind to the pleasing prospect of accommodation, we beg leave to assure your Majesty that we will, at the hazard of all that is valuable to us, support the dignity of your crown, and exert all our power to preserve the utmost limits of your empire undiminished, and in due obedience to your Majesty and your illustrious family.

May the God of Wisdom and of Power direct your Majesty's councils for the restoration of harmony and peace, or go forth with your fleets and armies in the prosecution of your undoubted rights over every part of the dominions which he, by whom kings reign, has committed to your care.

In testimony whereof, we the said mayor, bailiffs, and burgeses, have affixed our common corporate seal and names, and we the said inhabitants have subscribed our names, the 13th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1775.

H. Hartley, mayor, Samuel Blount, Thomas Guillaume, bailiffs, W. Bulkeley, sheriff, J. Monckton, late mayor, Robert Sadleir, William Purbeck, R. Vernon Sadleir, Richard Serle, George Miller, Robert Ballard, jun. R. Vernon Moody, Edward Noble, John Mullins, George Hammond, R. Hughes, Bart. James Scott, M. A. clerk, Mat. Woodford, M. A. clerk, Rd. Hughes, jun. Jos. Copley, Alexander Irvine, E. Falkingham, C. Vignoles, G. Foyle, J. Peverell, A. M. clerk, Miles Hatton, M. A. clerk, Robert Jefferies, Harry Lawrence, J. Langford, jun. Adam Clutterbuck, John Smith, John Reed, Samuel Scott, Thomas Jeans, Thomas Sadlier, Richard Collins, Ph. Lempriere, Stephen Gualy, Joseph Sherer, W. Thring, Walter Taylor, Charles Webb, Cha. Clutterbuck, Thomas Collingwood, John Hoadly, L.D.D. Ste. Lintott, W. Watfon, E. Wynne, Isaac John Barnouin, clerk, William Smith, Robert Read, Richard Suckett, Richard Archer, William Brice, William Mackett, William Fry,

The following address of the mayor, aldermen, and burgeses of the town of Shrewsbury, in common council assembled, has been presented to his Majesty by the mayor, William Owen, Esq; a lieutenant in his majesty's navy.

To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the mayor, aldermen, and burgeses of the town of Shrewsbury, in common council assembled, actuated by the warmest zeal for your royal person, and the firmest attachment to our most excellent constitution, humbly pre-

sume to approach the throne, and to offer up our tribute of gratitude for the many blessings we have enjoyed under your Majesty's mild and impartial government.

Firmly persuaded that it has been the great object of your Majesty's reign to cherish and preserve true liberty in every part of your dominions, it is with the deepest concern that we behold our fellow subjects in America hurried into an unnatural rebellion against their Sovereign, not only rejecting every reasonable overture of accommodation, but imperiously dictating to the parent state, which, at the expence of it's blood and treasure, hath raised, nourished, and protected them.

With equal grief, but not without indignation, we look upon a discontented faction at home, promoting and encouraging these unhappy disturbances. In this situation we rely upon the wisdom of your Majesty and the great council of the nation, under the direction of Divine Providence, to adopt such measures as shall be most consistent with the dignity of the crown, the honour of parliament, and the safety and welfare of the whole British empire: And we think it an indispensable duty we owe to your Majesty, to the state, to ourselves, and to posterity, to express these our sentiments of loyalty and affection, and to make a tender of our most faithful services to support by every means in our power the due authority of the legislature, and to enforce that good order and obedience to the laws, so essential to government, and so conducive to the welfare and happiness of the people.

Given under the common seal, in the Guildhall at Shrewsbury, this 6th day of October, 1775.

William Owen, Mayor.

John Ashby, Town Clerk.

The following address of the freeholders and justices of the peace for the county of Dunbarton, has been presented to his Majesty by Sir Archibald Edmonstone, Bart. their representative in parliament.

To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty,
The humble address of the freeholders and justices of peace for the county of Dumbarton.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the freeholders and justices of peace for the county of Dumbarton, being deeply impressed with the innumerable blessings we and all within your Majesty's dominions have constantly enjoyed during your most auspicious reign, feel our minds sensibly affected with just indignation and abhorrence of the bold and repeated instances of disloyalty and rebellion amongst your Majesty's subjects in America, who, unmindful of all the sacred ties which ought to connect them to the parent state, have impiously dared to raise the stand-

and

ard of rebellion, covering the most lawless anarchy and licentiousness with the specious veil of the love of liberty. Since experience has convinced us, that the tender lenity hitherto exercised towards them by your Majesty's natural humanity and love of your subjects, has rather tended to provoke these deluded people to more violent attacks upon the British constitution, we, with dutiful submission, though with the deepest regret, humbly apprehend more vigorous measures are become absolutely necessary to correct and punish their rebellious spirit; in the prosecution of which, we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we are ready to sacrifice our lives and fortunes.

By order, and in presence of the meeting,
Dumbarton, John Hamilton, Preses.
October 3, 1775.

The following address of the justices of the peace for the county of Middlesex, in general session assembled; and also of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the same county, has been presented to his Majesty by Sir John Hawkins, Knight, chairman of the session, the Rev. Sir George Booth, Baronet, and John Brettell, Esquire.

To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty,

The humble address of the justices assigned to keep the peace, and to hear and determine divers felonies, trespasses, and misdemeanors in the county of Middlesex, in general session assembled, and also of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the same county, whose names are hereunto subscribed.

WE, your Majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, resident in this opulent county, sensible of the blessings which we derive from your Majesty's mild and gracious government, during which justice has been administered with an impartiality unknown to former ages, and under which every subject has felt himself protected in the enjoyment of all those benefits, which it is the ultimate end of civil institutions to ensure, humbly presume to address your Majesty at a crisis, which we conceive to be a most important one, and such as is not to be paralleled in the history of this or any other country.

We look back with awful reverence on that period towards the end of the last century, when, by a revolution, from which it were impiety to exclude the interposition of Divine Providence, the bounds of regal authority, and the measures of civil subjection, were mutually adjusted and ascertained, upon principles coeval with and interwoven in the very constitution of this country. To those genuine patriots and friends of religious and civil liberty, the actors in that noble cause, we at this day owe it that persecution is banished

to the realms of despotism; that illegal restraints of civil liberty are guarded against; that the ancient power of parliaments over every part of the British dominions is recognized; and the supreme legislative authority, by a wise and happy temperance of various interests, declared to reside in the three estates of king, lords, and commons.

Reflecting on the above auspicious event, and the numerous benefits that have followed from it, we seek in vain for the motives of that unnatural rebellion in North America, into which the inhabitants of some of the provinces thereof, not less by the artifices of a disappointed and impotent faction than their own aversion to our religious and civil constitution, have been precipitated.

To attain the ends of a lawless association, which aims at nothing less than an independence on the mother country, that would draw down destruction on their own heads, the legal government of the colonies, now in rebellion, has by degrees been subverted, and the allegiance due to your Majesty from your loyal subjects there has been extorted by and transferred to a few usurpers, whose regard for the public is absorbed in the hope of private advantage: In the prosecution of their traitorous purposes, the hostilities originally commenced by the Americans have been continued in a manner practised only by savages; and in the conduct of a war, on which, with unhallowed lips, they implore the Divine Blessing, we behold, with equal amazement and horror, the violation of those rules of war to which humanity and the practice of all civilized nations have given a sanction.

Miseries, greater if possible than those of a war thus conducted on the part of our enemies, have been denounced against the mother country by its rebellious sons, who, by resolutions of non-importation, have endeavoured to cut off the sources of our wealth, and by the dread of famine to stimulate the industrious manufacturers of this kingdom to oppose that power which has been their constant support. But, thanks be to God, the flourishing condition of our trade, the quick circulation of wealth, the state of public credit, and the amazing encrease of buildings and mercantile improvements which presents themselves to our eyes in every part of this country, are evident proofs of the futility of all such attempts; as they are of the flourishing state of the kingdom in general.

With very little attention to the merits of the dispute, and without being able to controvert that fundamental principle of civil society, that protection and allegiance are reciprocal, the colonies in rebellion resist the payment of taxes which their preservation has made necessary; founding their pretended exemption, not on reason, equity, or natural justice, but upon the construction of those grants to which the colonies owe their political existence.

The

The rights, whatever they are, which the Americans claim, are founded in charters from time to time granted by your Majesty's royal predecessors, under proper limitations and restrictions: with the greatest professions of zeal for liberty do these infatuated people exalt the regal into arbitrary power; and from principles of law and logic, which are now for the first time advanced, contend, that the acts of the aggregate legislative body are of less force to bind the subject than those of an integral part thereof; and with all the infamous arts of adulation, your Majesty is courted to accept of that absolute power which you have uniformly disclaimed, as well by the whole tenor of your conduct, as by referring the means of preserving the supremacy of this country over the colonies to the great council of the nation.

For this singular instance of moderation, as for every other benefit which we derive from your Majesty's paternal care and watchful regard for our interests, receive, most gracious sovereign! the sincere and humble acknowledgements of us your Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects; and as the merciful forbearance hitherto shewn to the colonies in rebellion would, if farther extended, be injurious to the interests of the whole British empire, accept also this tender of every assistance which we are capable of rendering towards establishing the authority of the British legislature over its colonies and dependencies; while with unfeigned zeal we supplicate the supreme disposer of all events for prosperity on those wise and lenient, but steady councils which have been resolved on, and we doubt not will be pursued for effectuating this important and necessary purpose.

John Hawkins, chairman, Wm Blackborow, Saunders Welch, George Mercer, George Mercer, John Walford, Thomas Fellows, J. Miller, David Walker, John Brettell, William Kitchiner, Wm. Gascoigne, J. Barnfather, Henry Lamb, J. Cox, Philip Dyot, T. Treslove, R. Butler, John Powell, Robert Pell, Joseph Keeling, John Sherwood, David Wilmot, John Staples, Charles Triquet, J. Marshall, John Sugar, William Hillyer, R. Rutson, John Spiller, William Farrington, John Powsey, Henry Hall, Thomas Duffield, Philip Parker, R. Voux, Christopher Horner, Henry Smith, William Greenwood, Stephen Guion, J. Kenrick, W. Adington, John Machin, George Reid, John Lane, James Croft, John Fielding, William Hyde, John Goodchild, Paul Vaillant, Stephen Cole, Samuel Wood, John Bullock, Husband Messiter, Edward Holland, Thomas Barnsley, Richard Fleming, Samuel Wegg, Jonathan Durden, G. Howard, Araon Lambe, George Allcock, Charles Carne, Thomas Collins, F. Milner Newton, Jos. Wilton, John Lewis, Thomas Preston, Tho. Brooksbank, J. S. Colepeper, Geo. Colson Smith, T. Richards, William Shakespear, Herbert Mayo, D.D. rector of St. George, Middlesex, Robert Markham, D. D.

rector of Whitechapel, Roger Griffin, Tho. Moore, John Stevens, Thomas Cooper, James Sufflee, John Baker, James Merceron, William Goodman, Robert Harding, Solomon Taylor, J. Penleaze, Robert Wrighton, John Horton, Guy Bryan, E. Kimpton, lic. curate of St. Matthew, Middx. John Wolveridge, Mich. Foster, J. Wilmot, J. Milward, Richard Dann, John Ogilvie, John Unwin, John Thompson, John Tuach, Tho. Tryon Cotton, Parker Rowlands, clerk, T. Colver, Charles Beck, Edmund Brown, Thomas Gofs, Rup. Mugreave, William Allum, James Hopkins, Peter Renvoize, Thomas Tannatt, John Grigg, Joseph Brettell, G. Robinson, John Merceron, J. Smartt, W. Crocker, Robert, Parker, James Clark, J. Howord, Hum. Bache, Thomas Celicut, William Allington, John Robinson, Edmund Tanner, John Bucknall, Sam. Thorpe, James Marriott, James Webb, J. Baffington, Alexander Easson, George Robinson, Anthony Willan, John Loveland, John Scarr, J. Hughes, Wilbraham Philips, George Brighenshaw, William Hinchliff, Peter Arnaud, Daniel Dowse, W. Archer, Tho. Goodenough, W. Machon, Cecil Pitt, James Watts, John Mann, George Wills, W. Munday, John Jones, Adam Lanton, Robert Wilkins, Luke Flood, W. Clarkson, Thomas Taylor, Abra. Poole, John Hollis, Michael Bate, Richard Spiller, Rob. Rutter, William Beverly, W. Wildman, Carsten Dirs, John Shaw, John Seppings, William Clark, Owen James, Nathaniel Dunbar, John Ginns, R. Brooke, Thomas Hodgkins, Charles Digby, Peter Barnshaw, of St. Catherine, H. Jackson, G. Tower Hill, Michael James, John Vernon, Michael Dale, David Owen, Edmund Pepys, Dormer Lord Fortescue, David Franco, James Lacy, John Taylour, Hew Dalrymple, John Inwood, Thomas Ash, Ja. Spencer, Thomas Browne, S. Cole, jun. Th. Tunstall Mason, Andrew Smith, Richard Morrison, J. Blake, Samuel Prime, jun. Robert Gale, Ephraim de Aguilar, Charles Barrow, Edward Johnston, R. Baker, John Court, John Farnell, Charles Paveay, Henry Rowley, Thomas Richards, Matthew Dick, Redm. Kelly, Thomas Carter, J. Berckenhout, Thomas Ripley, R. Owen Cambridge, W. Johnston, John Haynes, Robert Gray, Edward Hippsley, John Devall, A. Annesley, Robert Gapper, Thomas Hudson, F. A. Hindley, Colston Carr, R. Car, J. Davis, John Waterhouse, John Cofens, James Whitchurch, Henry Probyn, Edward Ironside, George Bryan, John Jorden, William Dobson, Samuel Billingley, John Perigal, Philip Beauchamp, James Harding, Thomas Butler, Charles Hamilton, John Williams, G. Pocock, R. Twining, John Ket, Francis Plumer, Stafford Briscoe, James Wood, Arnold Finchett, William Nettle-ship, Edmund Hill, Benjamin Radcliffe, Richard Dalton, Thomas Stanton, Thomas Toundrow, S. Prime, R. Perryn, Butler Corfe, G. Goffling, Fr. Lister, G. Costard, William Lake, Edward Newman, Thomas Dean, Leonard Martin, J. Archambe,

Thomas

Thomas Nettlefield, John Kirby, John Goose, jun Benjamin Soper, John Goose, sen. William Quar-
rill, William Blackmore, John Robinson, John
Orton, William Pell, Philip Tyldt, Geo. C. Smith,
James Savage, Ralph Cleghorn, William Potter,
Burford Camper, John Woodham, Ja. Spalding,
Peter Greene, Richard Hare, William Downes,
William Twedale, R. Davis, Alexander Chrystie,
Richard Cole, James Marsden, James Jackson, J.
Irish, Thomas Faylor, Alexander Scott, George
Sinclair, John Camper, R. Salmon, John Perry,
Joseph Hankey, John Williams, Thomas Duffield,
Curtis Fleming, Leo. Hammond, Jer. Hargraves,
John Bristow, John Haymer, G. Haddon, D. D.
Robert Smith, Henry Voguell, Robert Furnals,
William Thorns, Richard Newcomb, J. Pressley
Redford, William Grigges, Edward Mann, Fran.
Matringley, Richard Smith, John Harley, John
Tylor, John Wolley, John Curtis, Tim. Bellamy,
William Lindus, Robert Buttery, John Rogers,
James Johnson, William Bedell, Jukes Coulson,
Peter Mellish, jun. Charles Smith, Tho. Harding,
Rev. Christopher Scott, M.A. W. Sweeting, Allan
Harrison Eccles, rector of St. Mary Stratford Bow,
John Leapidge, Rev. John Prichard, rector of
Christ-church, Middlesex, Joseph Hill, John Coop,
James Spagg, Matthew Glanvill, Jeremiah Isley,
Simon Golding, George J. Cooke, Thomas Fel-
lows, William Gascoigne, Gervase Scrope, H. M.
Evans, John Truedale, Thomas Clarke, John
Crozier, Richard Dodd, James Hunt, John Sleath,
William Atrick, James Tillyer, jun. Sparks Philp,
Jabez Goldar, Richard Biggs, W. Burton Raynes,
John Medlam, Thomas Hanks, John Smith, Mark
Hill, John Hampton, Joseph Packer, Thomas
Weed, Edward Cole, Daniel Fanick, Samuel Line,
John Compton, John Millard, William Alden,
Thomas Webb, Thomas Crouch, sen. John Cop-
land, Thomas Weatherly, sen. George Glover,
Richard Guy, John Micklem, John Read, Samuel
Walter, William Pope, Joseph Jeffery, John Cha-
sley, John Atlee, Ralph Ratcliff, Elias Edwards,
William Cotterell, Richard Randall, Thomas
Weekly, Timothy Marshall, Bernard Dagnall,
Thomas Dagnall, Edward Ashlee, Nicholas Mer-
cer, Thomas Warner, William Best, Richard
Mills, John Lane, George Ernest Eller, F. Wil-
liam Drake, Edward Benton, Thomas Bishop,
Anthony Hinton, John Batty, J. Garnet Turner,
Lillie Ayncombe, Thomas Ludford, Thomas
Chandler, Joseph Goddard, John Williams, Wil-
liam Smith, William Combes, Matthew Batt, John
Watts, John West, Thomas Hall, Daniel Norton,
William Johnson, Benjamin Johnson, Jos. Busbey,
Matthew Leno, Thomas South, George Booth,
Edmund Byron, John Steele, Thomas Bickerdike,
Eardley Norton, John Robinson, J. Wood, Ansley
Pellatt, W. P. Allatt, Geo. Fillingham, Richard
Jupp, Thomas Arnold, W. Loveday, Joseph King,
Thomas Pugh, Walter Bellinger, John Perry,

Thomas Fox, James Armstrong, Thomas Moore,
Thomas Milward, John Willshire, Edward Gat-
ward, William Sellon, John Drury, John Severn,
U. Bristow, Robert Wier, William Amery, Tho.
Cogan, Roger Altham, Nathaniel Bishop, Chr.
Bartholomew, W. Wildman, T. Adams, Samuel
Holmes, George Stow, George Strahan, Jos.
Manwaring, Richard Wiggins, John Rule, Tho.
Wade, jun. Matthew Hill, George Haslewood,
Thomas Maxfield, Thomas Holgate, John White,
John Crawford, Rd. Rees, James Esdaile, Benj.
Barnsley, James Calvert, John Pricklow, John
Chippindale, Gabriel Leekey, Thomas Brown,
Stephen Crouch, New. Hooke, Edward M'Carty,
William Ayscough, Charles Walford, Geo. Friend,
Thomas Francis, Thomas Godman, David Dean,
Cadwallader Coker, Thomas Iherwood, James
Iherwood, Edward Bond, Joseph Saunders, Henry
Waring, Jos. Fortie-Pryor, Thomas Sawtell, John
Garth, Roger Meredith, William Baggalley, John
Woolley, William Cocken, Thomas Gibbons,
Thomas Gibbons, jun. John Mathew, William
Cox, Daniel Rider, John Wrench, Thomas Cox,
John Beaumont, William Salmon, James Crane,
George Rogers, John Jersey, John Cassidy, Tho.
Richmond, James Baddeley, George Burrell, Tho.
Baker, John Burnill, Thomas Wood, R. Palmer,
Thomas Nowell, William Turner, Joseph Brayne,
B. Robertson, Thomas Mills, Geo. Roadley, Ri-
chard Dore, Thomas Allen, John Brown, Samuel
Carr, Richard Neate, Charles Matthews, Lomax
Ryder, George Power, William Seward, Peter
Calvert, J. Burrows, James Quilter, Charles Hot-
trel, J. Dickinson, James Wardell, George Wil-
son, Radcl. Sidebottom, Elbro Woodcock, Chris-
topher Hill, Thomas Brettell, W. Bleamire, James
Bindley, G. Crawford, Michael Moseley, W.
Gregson, James English, Maurice Griffith, John
P. Blaquiére, T. Rumfey, Henry Sayer, John
Stock, Robert Simmonds, T. Manning, T. Hum-
phreys, clerk, John Arderoif, Anth. Dunclet,
Josiah Holford, William Beaumont, Robert Vin-
cent, C. Whitworth, W. Baillie, W. Blair, R.
Lateward, Cadwallader Coke, Henry Fletcher,
Sampson Carver, Elias Brownsword, Oliver Hum-
phreys, John Brown, Thomas Briggs, Henry
Stevenson, Edward Westmore, Thomas Lott, Mat-
thew Graves, of Chifwick, G. Wright, Robert
Palmer, Thomas Browne, W. Bonnin, curate and
lecturer of Fulham, J. Madden, H. Holland,
William Burchell, William Cadogan, Phil. Lau-
rents, Cor. Martin, John Paulin, H. Whitfield,
D.D. William Howard, Robert Gray, Samuel
Webb, A. Hamilton, D.D. William Howard,
jun. Robert Greenall, Husband Messiter, John
Grinstead, Thomas Bavan, Thomas Smith, Delia
Smith, John Townshend, Thomas Harrison, Tho.
Bush, William Gowan, William Law, John Lewis,
William Matyear, Thomas Braffett, Philip Ste-
phens, H. Holland, jun.

SEPTEMBER 19.

Committee Chamber, New-York, 4th August, 1775.

WHEREAS the Continental Congress, by their resolve of the 27th of May last, ordered that no provisions of any kind be exported to the Island of Nantucket (except from the Colony of the Massachusetts) from whence they were to be supplied with provisions only for their internal use; and the said Congress deeming it of great importance to North-America, that the British fishery should not be furnished with provisions from this continent through Nantucket, did by their said resolve earnestly recommend a vigilant execution thereof by all committees: And whereas it appears to this committee, by the confession of Abraham H. Van Vleck, of this city, merchant, and the examination of George Coffin, that the said Abraham H. Van Vleck, being owner of the sloop Henry (whereof the said George Coffin was master) did about the 23d of June last send from this port the said sloop, laden with provision, to Nantucket, on account and risque of the said Abraham H. Van Vleck; and that the said George Coffin sold the same there for the use of the inhabitants: And whereas it also appears on the said examination and confession, that the said Abraham H. Van Vleck hath again, during this present week, laden the said sloop at New-York with provisions, for a like voyage to Nantucket, and that the said George Coffin was to proceed on the same as master of the said sloop, but was detected in such design, and the vessel and cargo detained by this committee.

Resolved 1st. That the examination of the said George Coffin, and the confession of the said Abraham H. Van Vleck, be published in the several news-papers of this Colony.

Resolved 2d. That the said Abraham H. Van Vleck and George Coffin, have knowingly violated the before-mentioned resolve of the Continental Congress, and the general association entered into by the inhabitants of this city and county.

Resolved therefore 3dly, That the said Abraham H. Van Vleck and George Coffin, have severally acted inimically to, and been guilty of a high infringement of the liberties of the associated American Colonies.

By order of the committee,
HENRY REMSEN, Dep. Chairman.

Gentlemen,

I Acknowledge to have bargained with George Coffin, about the latter end of May last, for the sloop Henry, of which I was owner; but as our agreement fell through, I then, by advice of the said George Coffin, concluded to load her for Nantucket, with a cargo of provisions, and gave

the command of the vessel to him. Soon after the resolve of the Hon. Continental Congress was made public, respecting the non exportation of provisions to said place; notwithstanding which, through ignorance of the consequences, and a strong imagination that it would not hurt the cause of America, I very imprudently proceeded to load the said sloop for Nantucket, for which place the said George Coffin immediately went, and on his arrival there was solicited by the inhabitants to go to New-York, and return as soon as possible with another load, as they were in great want of provisions; and she was nearly completed loading with a like cargo, on the same event as last voyage at this period. The vessel and both cargoes were owned entirely by me, and no person whatever, either directly or indirectly, had any share or part in the same; and I likewise do most solemnly exculpate my father, Henry Van Vleck (who had been out of town a long time) and every other person, from having any knowledge in the matter; and I will, if required, satisfy the same by an oath. Now, Gentlemen, after having made this open confession, I throw myself on the mercy of my country, hoping that every indulgence will be allowed me, consistent with the interest of the public. I can, and do appeal to my fellow-citizens, that I never did in any one instance transgress against the liberties of America; and had I thought the provisions shipped by the aforementioned vessel would have fell into the hands of the King's troops, no consideration whatever could have induced me to have sent the same. I again beg leave to crave the lenity of the public; and I am, Gentlemen,

Your and their most devoted servant,

ABRAHAM H. VAN VLECK.

I further certify, that Capt. George Coffin, on his voyage to Nantucket, had orders to sail out of Sandy Hook, and on his voyage to avoid all vessels he should happen to meet or see, and not to speak to any vessel whatever until he got to Nantucket, in order to avoid his falling in the way of any King's vessels which might carry him into Boston.

ABRAHAM H. VAN VLECK.

Portsmouth, July 25. Saturday se'nnight the Governor adjourned the General Assembly to the 28th of September next, having previously sent the following Message to the House, and received their Answer.

Message from his Excellency the Governor to the General Assembly.

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the Assembly.

I FIND by your votes of the 13th of last month, that you have taken upon you to exclude three, returned members, called by the King's

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Writ

writ from sitting and voting in the House of Assembly, thereby depriving the electors of their privilege, and a whole county of any representation in the legislature; you must be sensible that I cannot, consistent with my duty, pass by a measure so essentially infringing on his Majesty's prerogative, and the rights of the people, and I do therefore recommend to you to rescind the vote for excluding the said three members from the House, that they may be entirely free to take their seats without interruption, according to the constant usage heretofore practised.

J. WENTWORTH.

Fort-William and Mary, New-Hampshire, July 14, 1775.

The following Answer was sent by the House of Assembly to the foregoing Message.

May it please your Excellency,

In answer to your Excellency's message of this day, wherein you desire that this House would rescind their vote of the 13th of last month, respecting their dismission of the three members for the county of Grafton, who were called by the King's writ only, without an act of Government for that purpose; we are sorry to find that your Excellency should intimate that our dismissing said members was depriving the electors of their privilege, as we did not apprehend that any one person in the English empire could have had such an idea; and trust that the good people of the county of Grafton will not think that we have deprived them of any part of their rights or privileges by our dismissing the said members, as it is very notorious that this and former Houses of Assembly have long wished that this Province might be more generally represented in a constitutional way; and have long endeavoured that an act of Government might be passed, enabling the Governors to issue writs to such town, to send members, as might be provided for in said act, (as is the case in the other governments on this continent) but have not been able to have such an act established, for what reasons your Excellency may know better than we do. As the Council are appointed for this Province by the Crown, we think it not only a cruel, but an arbitrary stretch of prerogative, for your Excellency to issue writs to such towns as you think proper to send Representatives, without the concurrence of the other branches of the legislature therein; for by that means the Representatives, as well as the Council, would in effect be chosen by the Crown. We cannot think that such an attempt was ever made in any other government within the English dominions.

Upon the whole, this House have determined unanimously (as they look upon it their un-

doubted right and privilege to regulate themselves) not to rescind their said vote.

We would also inform your Excellency, that we have been expecting that you would order the Treasurer's accounts to be laid before the House, agreeable to your promise, that we might be thereby enabled to proceed in the ordinary business of the government; but we are sorry to find that your Excellency has ordered the Treasurer not to lay them before the House, as he informs us.—We hope you will direct, that we may be furnished therewith as soon as possible, as you must be sensible, that it is not only very expensive, but very disagreeable to us, to be from our respective places of abode at this season of the year.

Province of New Hampshire.

In House of Representatives, July 14, 1775.

Voted, That the foregoing be presented to his Excellency, in answer to his message to the House of this day.

J. WENTWORTH, Speaker.

IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS.

New York, August 9, 1775.

RESOLVED, That it be recommended that every county, city, manor, town, precinct, and district, within this colony, (where the same is not already done) be divided into districts or beats, by the respective Committees, in such manner, that out of each may be formed, one military company, ordinarily to consist of about eighty-three able bodied and effective men, officers included, between sixteen and fifty years of age. (The battalion commanded by Col. Lasher, the companies of artillery, light horse, and hussars in the city and county of New York, and the troops of horse, companies of grenadiers, and associated companies, already formed in the several cities and counties within this colony, excepted.)

Resolved secondly, That in each company so formed, there be chosen (in the manner herein after mentioned) one Captain, two Lieutenants, one Ensign, four Serjeants, four Corporals, one Clerk, one Drummer, and one Fifer.

Resolved thirdly, That two Committee-men at the least, attend in each district or beat, on a day to be by them appointed, for the purpose of choosing the above-mentioned officers, who shall be persons within such district or beat, who have signed the general association recommended by this Congress.

That such choice or election be made in the manner following, viz. After the company is drawn up, the Committee-men who preside at the election, may repair to a station at some convenient distance from the company, then let the men pass

S E P T E M B E R 22.

From the BOSTON GAZETTE of July 24.

Watertown, July 24, 1775. Wednesday last the General Assembly of this Colony convened at the Meeting-House in this town, when they unanimously made choice of the Honourable James Warren, Esq; for their Speaker, and Mr. Samuel Greenman for their Clerk.

On Friday last the following gentlemen were elected Counsellors for the current year, viz.

For the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. Eldad Taylor, Esqrs.
For the Colony of Plymouth.

Hon. James Bowdoin

James Pitts

Benj. Greenleaf

Caleb Cushing

John Hancock

John Winthrop

Joseph Gerrish

John Adams

Jedidiah Foster

James Prescott

Michael Farley

Thomas Cushing

Samuel Adams

Joseph Palmer

Benj. Lincoln

Jabez Fisher

Azor Orne

Hon. James Otis

William Sever

Walter Spooner

Robert Treat Payne,

Esqrs.

For the Province of Maine.

Hon. Benj. Chadbourne

Enoch Freeman

Char. Chauncy, Esqrs

For Sagadahock.

Hon. John Taylor, Esq;

At Large.

Hon. Moses Gill

Samuel Holton, Esqrs

The same paper contains a list of the gentlemen returned to represent the several towns and districts of the Province.

The following are COPIES of three GENUINE Letters from General WASHINGTON's AID DE CAMP, and SECRETARY, to their friend in Philadelphia.

Cambridge, July 25, 1775.

I have just time to inform you, that Capt. Dowdle, with his company of rifle men from Reading, in Pennsylvania, arrived here about one o'clock, and since have made proposals to Gen. Washington to attack a transport stationed in Charles River. He will engage to take her with 30 men. The General thinks it best to decline at present, but at the same time commends the spirit of Capt. Dowdle, and his brave soldiers."

Cambridge, July 27, 1775.

"The last three weeks have afforded no occurrences in either camp, that are any way interesting. Our army has been employed in strengthening their lines, forming redoubts, and drawing down cannon, so as to make any attack upon this town, or penetration into the country this way, impracticable. The enemy have done the same on their side, and in this condition both armies are looking at each other. In this interval
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pass in a single file between them, each man giving in the name of the person he chooses to fill the office in question; the majority of such votes to determine the election: But in case the votes shall be so divided, that no one has the majority, then the presiding Committee-men to acquaint the company therewith, and call them to a new election; the same to be repeated till such majority be obtained, or the company agree upon some other mode of choosing the officers. The names of the Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns so chosen, to be returned with all convenient speed, to this or some future Provincial Congress of this colony, or during their recess, to the Committee of Safety to be commissioned by them.

Resolved fourthly, That whenever a vacancy shall happen in any company, by the promotion, death, or resignation of an officer, such vacancy to be filled up in the before-mentioned manner.

Resolved fifthly, That those companies in the above excepted battalion, commanded by Col. Lasher, which are now under the direction of field officers, shall for the future be commanded by Captains, who are to be chosen in the manner aforesaid.

Resolved sixthly, That for the purpose of completely carrying into execution, the recommendation of the Continental Congress; after the whole militia is formed as above, every fourth man of each company be selected for minute man, of such persons as are willing to enter into this necessary service. That the officers of the militia make with all convenient speed, a return of the names of those persons to the committee of their respective counties, who shall thereupon arrange those men into companies, and who are to recommend to such new arranged companies, the choice of their officers in the manner above-mentioned, provided that where whole companies offer their service as minute men, they shall be commanded by the officers already chosen, and the remaining number of minute men shall be completed out of the other companies as above.

Resolved seventhly, That the several committees do return to the Secretary of the Provincial Congress of this colony, the names of such persons as do refuse to conform to the above resolves.

A true Copy from the Minutes,

ROBERT BENSON, Secretary.

S E P T E M B E R 21.

The government have contracted with Felix Calvert and Henry Thrale, Esqrs. to furnish 5000 butts of strong beer each, to be shipped with all possible dispatch for the use of his Majesty's troops at Boston. A contract is also entered into with Mr. Slade to furnish 5000 chaldron of coals; and Mr. Duffy, of Tooley-street, a very large quantity of potatoes.

also the army has been thrown into three grand divisions. General Ward commands the right wing at Roxbury, General Lee the left at Prospect Hill, and the center, in which is included a corps de reserve, is commanded by General Washington. The men are healthy and in good spirits, so that we have nothing to fear but a surprise, which is guarded against by the utmost vigilance. The enemy on the other hand, are sickly, totally destitute of fresh provisions, and vegetables; the scurvy, fevers, and fluxes, carry off numbers every day, and most of their wounded die from their bad habit of body. Four deserters have come out within these 24 hours, all of whom agree in the account of their sickness and mortality."

Cambridge, July 28, 1775.

"Within a day or two we have had five deserters from the advanced posts of the enemy, two of them are sensible, honest looking fellows, one that came in this morning particularly so. They have brought a return of the enemy's killed and wounded, amounting to 1052; most of the wounded are dead or in a dangerous way; they have had no fresh provision since the affair of Noddle Island, and are not likely to have any without fighting for it. One of the deserters went off last night, with leave for Philadelphia; he is a grenadier of the Royal Irish. The deserters say, that yesterday morning General Gage surrendered, in the orders of the day, his command to General Howe, and now acts as Civil Governor; that he is lampooned and despised by the whole army; that Howe is much censured for his mode of attack on our lines last month; that their artillery was wretchedly served, and what is more strange, that all the spare carriages which they brought out were 12 pounders, and they took out only nine pound cannon; so that when our people were obliged to quit their lines, the enemy had not one round of artillery cartridge left. That young Richardson was the first person who mounted our parapets; you know him well, he is of the 18th or Royal Irish, he is dangerously wounded; that their number of effective men is 4000 in Boston, and 2200 on Bunker's Hill; that they despair of forcing our lines, but talk of getting round us if they can; that they have erected a large bomb battery on Bunker's Hill; and have amongst others two 18 inch mortars. That our morning gun yesterday threw an 18 pound shot into their encampment on the top of Bunker's Hill; that the grenadiers of the Royal Welsh fusiliers amounting to 40 at the attack last month, are now reduced to eight men; that the 52d regiment had 22 grenadiers killed out of 39; that the inhabitants of Boston are ill used and miserably fed; that the army begin to clamour for their pay, there is no cash, and bills

will not sell under 50 per cent. discount. The resolution of the Congress against Government bill^s was wise, and has distressed the enemy exceedingly. The Reading company of rifle men came in on Tuesday, the rest are hourly expected, and much wanted. We have frequently thrown into their lines, on the wings of the wind at night, hand bills, and propose to send in a few to night. These bills are blown into their camp, and get into the hands of the soldiers, without the officers being able to prevent it. Major Bruce complained at an interview the other day of such usage. We retorted his decoying our centres from the posts, two rascals having left us a day or two before, by his, or some other officers means. We expect they will begin to bombard us in a day or two, they cannot hurt but benefit us; they will by such means harden our men and discourage their own; this we have experienced by their bombarding of Roxbury. One of the deserters has brought us a compleat plan of all the enemy's works, you shall have a copy soon."

SEPTEMBER 23.

By ARCHIBALD COCKBURN, Esq; of Cockpen, Advocate, his Majesty's Sheriff Depute of the Sheriffdom of Edinburgh.

"WHEREAS a letter was received by me some time ago, from his Majesty's Advocate for Scotland, intimating, That on account of the present rebellion in America, it was proper a stop should be put for the present to emigrations to that country; and that the necessary directions were left at the different sea-ports in Scotland to that purpose: I think it my duty, in obedience to his Lordship's requisition contained in that letter, to take this public method of notifying to such of the inhabitants within my jurisdiction, if any such there be, who have formed resolutions to themselves of leaving this country, and of going in quest of settlements in America, that they ought not to put themselves to the unnecessary trouble and expence of preparing for a removal of their habitations, which they will not, so far as it lies in my power to prevent, be permitted to effectuate.

(Signed)

AR. COCKBURN."

From the PENNSYLVANIA MERCURY.

St. Vincent's, July 11. From Dominica we hear that there have been lately very great disputes between the Council and Assembly of that island, relative to a bill for laying a duty of four and a half per cent. on the produce; insomuch that the Council sent a message to the Assembly, that they had unanimously come to a resolution to do no farther business with their House; in consequence

sequence of which the Assembly addressed his Excellency Governor Shirley, requesting him to suspend the Members of his Majesty's Council, dissolve the House of Assembly, or adopt such other remedy for the evils complained of, as his Excellency should think meet. Accordingly, the 15th of June, his Excellency, by message, required the attendance of the House of Assembly in the Council Chamber, and, addressing both Houses, lamented, that instead of putting an end to the session with a speech conveying such an applause as proceedings distinguished for wisdom and utility could merit, that such heats and animosities had been introduced as seemed to make a reconciliation between both Houses impracticable, and a dissolution of the Assembly unavoidably necessary. He consoled himself that no endeavours had been unemployed by him to obviate such a step, though he was sorry to say they had not had the desired effect: he assured the House of Assembly, that from the experience he had of their ready attendance on public business, it was with great reluctance he dissolved their House; but had the satisfaction to think, that it was one among the number of those expedients they themselves had pointed out for the ease and tranquillity of the colony,

S E P T E M B E R 25.

The Congress of Georgia have passed a number of resolves, among which are the following: Resolved, That this province will adopt and carry into execution all and singular the measures and recommendations of the late Continental Congress. Resolved, in particular, That we, in behalf of ourselves and our constituents, will adopt and approve of the American declaration or Bill of Rights, published by the late Continental Congress. In consequence of several infractions thereof, Resolved, That we will not receive into this province any goods, wares, or merchandizes, shipped from Great Britain or Ireland, or from any other place, any such goods, wares, or merchandizes, as shall have been exported from Great Britain or Ireland, after this day (July 7th;) nor will we import any East India tea from any part of the world; nor any molasses, syrups, paneles, coffee, or pimento; nor wines from Madeira, or the Western Islands, nor foreign indigo.

It is the fixed resolution of the Cabinet to carry on the war against America with the utmost vigour; and to begin the next campaign as early as possible in the spring. The outlines of the plan to be pursued, are, an army of eighteen thousand men to be employed in New-England, and another army of twelve thousand men are to act in Virginia and the middle Provinces. Two fleets are to co-operate with these armies;

one commanded by Admiral Shuldham (*vice Graves*) and the other by Admiral Byron.

It is not necessary to make many observations on this resolution, and this plan. The American towns will, of course, be destroyed; carnage, plunder, rapine, and murder, will be the constant spectacle every where; and when the coast, and the country, are laid waste by fire and sword, what is to become of our trade? And what is the honour, or the profit of this mighty conquest, if it can be achieved? Can the landed interest alone support the enormous expence of this ruinous war? And of what benefit are the Colonies, when they are desolated? But suppose, what is not quite improbable, that the armies are defeated, and the fleets are burned, will not the Colonies hereafter abhor us, for this attempt to destroy them? Either way the trade to America is lost. And Great-Britain, if not literally ruined by the separation and expence, will however be so essentially injured and impoverished, she cannot support herself as she has hitherto done. She will indeed exist, but it will be in a languishing state. Yet the Ministers, indifferent to every thing but their salaries, are incessantly flattering and cajoling the country gentlemen with a parcel of crude, idle, visionary tales and expectations, of an American revenue, in order to obtain their votes in Parliament; for they well know, that their date in office depends upon their carrying on this American war.

It may be relied upon, that as soon as the American Continental Congress are informed of the treatment their last Petition met with, they will open all their Ports, and invite all the States in Europe to trade with them. Foreign assistance, in such a case, there is no doubt they will receive. And are we next to fight all Europe to keep the present Ministers in Office, because they are approved by Lord Mansfield and Lord Bute?

Lord North, seeing the manner in which Lord Bute and the ——— have managed, and carried on business for a series of years, by a Junto, has set up another Junto. This new Junto, at present consists of only three persons, viz. Mr. Whitshed Keene, Mr. Robinson, and Mr. Wedderburne. Mr. Keene's house, in the Stable-yard, is the place of consultation, and Mr. Wedderburne is the Chairman; they do nothing, say nothing, think of nothing, without first advising with Mr. Wedderburne.

All the force sent, and to be sent, to America, are to be paid in hard money remitted from England; for no Paper, Bank, nor no other, (but their own) is now taken in any part of America. — *Nothing but specie*. This American War will soon drain England of her Coin, and enrich America.

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The Army and Fleet at Boston, have discretionary orders to winter wherever they shall think it most convenient and safe.

The scene of the war is on the other side of the Atlantic ocean. There we have no assistance or alliance, not a single friend; thither we are to transport the flower of the English youth, consigned to slaughter, disease, and famine. Every thing necessary to the support of war, or to the sustenance of life, even to the minutest articles of both, must be conveyed to them from hence, at the expence of millions, at the mercy of winds and seas. The supply of great armies, even in the midst of the most plentiful countries, and in commodious situations, is chargeable and difficult, and sometimes precarious. What a work then must the subsistence of an army be, I mean an army sufficient to produce any effect, three thousand miles distant from home? In a country where the provision for a single day cannot be purchased? Every sinister incident, every unfavourable event, must be repaired, if it can at all be repaired, from the distance of 70 degrees of longitude; and the least decay or misfortune attending the supply, puts an end to the operation of a campaign. Whilst the ministerial operations are clogged with these difficulties, the Americans are training and hardening themselves to war. The continuance of the quarrel inures them to the state of things into which they are fallen. They are in the midst of their resources. With whatever vain hopes Ministers may flatter themselves they can delude us, we may be assured, that where recruits, provisions, wood, and iron, are furnished by the country, the rest of the instruments of war are easily procured. No seaman will assert, that powder cannot be conveyed to the Colonies from abroad. No naturalist will affirm, that it cannot be made by them at home.

The African trade has felt the blow already. The West India trade staggers, and is doomed to fall the next. No trade can long stand the present unwise contest. The loss of the American commerce is a lasting evil; the substitute for it, in the flush which the Russian peace and the Spanish armament have caused, is contingent, casual, inadequate.

SEPTEMBER 26.

A very numerous meeting of the Freeholders of the county of Middlesex was yesterday held at the Mile End Assembly room. At one o'clock Mr. Sagrist Momer, having been voted in the chair, opened the business; and after some time spent in deliberation, and answering the cavillings of several Middlesex Justices, the Freeholders almost unanimously agreed to instruct their representatives,

Instructions from the Freeholders of the County of Middlesex, to the Right Honourable JOHN WILKES and JOHN GLYNN, Esquires, Knights of the Shire for the County of Middlesex.

"WE the Freeholders of the county of Middlesex, summoned here by public advertisement of the Sheriff of this county, acknowledge our approbation and grateful sense of your conduct as our representatives during the last session of parliament; and though we have no reason to doubt your steady perseverance in the true interests of your country, yet we think it our indispensable duty to acquaint you with our sentiments at the present awful crisis, big with the fate of this great empire, and the happiness, glory, and prosperity, of the whole people.

"We behold, with all the horror and grief natural to a free people, the fatal stab given to our excellent constitution, by a majority of the last *venal* parliament, whereby the most sacred and unalienable right of the freeholders of this county, the right of election, was in the most impious manner wrested from the electors, and assumed by the elected, who placed a person as our representative in parliament, contrary to the sense and will of the county, expressed by a very great majority of legal votes, thereby establishing a *precedent* of the most dangerous tendency to the rights of all the electors of Great Britain; which injury has been again confirmed, by the malice of our inveterate enemies, in the present parliament (chosen by surprise under a national delusion) suffering that vote to appear in their journals, a standing record of the *injustice, venality, and corruption* of their predecessors.

"We are called upon to redouble our attention and zeal for the defence and preservation of all our constitutional rights, from seeing the iron hand of oppression extended to our fellow subjects on the other side of the Atlantic; *Papery*, that bane of civil and religious liberty, established in an extent of country infinitely larger than all our possessions in Europe, thereby arming, as it were, many of our fellow-subjects with the *crucifix* in one hand, and a *dagger* in the other, against our Protestant brethren; a *Papish Bishop* appointed, and the greatest comfort and encouragement given to the clergy of that church, while the pastors of our own pure and excellent faith are suffered to remain without support and provision, but what *Romish* priests and *Romish* councils shall deign to afford them; other cruel and oppressive acts passed against our fellow subjects in America wholly repugnant to the ancient, just, and generous proceedings of British councils and British assemblies, destructive of that glory of the *English* law, the trial by jury, and many other undoubted rights

rights and privileges of English subjects; in violation of charters and royal covenants of the most solemn nature, which acts and oppressions, under the influence of the present ministers, have been productive of a most impolitic, unnatural, cruel, and destructive civil war, against our suffering and much injured fellow subjects in America.

"We lament as a commercial people, the inevitable injuries that must be sustained by the loss of a most valuable branch of our commerce, the decay of trade and manufactures, and consequent distresses of the industrious poor.

"To remedy all these evils, the melancholy experience of past times evincing, how insufficient is the removal of a ministry, while their maxims and views are entailed upon the government. We desire that you will not only continue strenuously to oppose them, but endeavour to procure us such constitutional security, by shortening the duration of parliaments, and enacting such other laws as may prevent the nation from suffering by the like errors and iniquities for the future.

"And we instruct you to exert yourselves in procuring that vote of the late House of Commons to be rescinded, which in the most injurious and unconstitutional manner deprived the freeholders of this county of their undoubted right of election.

"We also instruct you, to forward an enquiry into the expediture of the public treasure, so peculiarly necessary at this time, and in a nation burdened with taxes, and oppressed with debts; that you will not suffer the people to be imposed on by the sly artifices of a minister, pretending to lessen, while he is, in reality, increasing the public burthens.

"Should any additional land tax or new imposts be proposed, in the ensuing session, we expect that you will not assent to them without a previous redress of grievances; and that you will strenuously oppose all votes of credit, or taking any foreign troops into the pay of Great Britain, unless another attempt should be made by *Tories* and *Jacobites* against his Majesty's person, family, or government.

"The state of the navy, that great bulwark, safety, and protection, of the commerce of this nation demands, and we hope will engage your serious attention; and that you will enquire by what fatal mismanagement and corrupt influence, after such immense sums have been voted during a peace-establishment, that it is in its present deplorable condition.

"We particularly instruct you to exert yourselves in preventing the further effusion of the blood of our innocent fellow-subjects in America, and to put a speedy end to the present unnatural and ruinous civil war.

"We also desire you to use your unwearied endeavours to assist and support the representatives of the city of London for obtaining a repeal of every obnoxious and unconstitutional act, and in bringing to the justice of their country the advisers of such nefarious measures as have been adopted during the last fourteen years, tending to subvert the constitution of this country, and which we are convinced will very soon effect the ruin and destruction of the British empire."

This motion for instructing the members being carried in behalf of public liberty, it was then moved, "That a letter should be addressed from the Freeholders of Middlesex to those of Great Britain." The letter was read, and the motion "That it be addressed to the Freeholders of Great Britain" passed. The letter is verbatim as follows:

A letter from the Freeholders of Middlesex to the Freeholders of Great Britain.

"THE perilous situation of public affairs, and the calamities which threaten the whole empire are the reasons, and we hope will be a sufficient apology for our addressing you.

"The vote of the late House of Commons, by which a representative was forced upon us, to the immediate violation of our rights, and the eventual injury of those of all the electors in the kingdom, remains yet on record. It remains as a precedent against the most sacred and fundamental franchise of the people, to authorise the same violence, by ministers as *arbitrary*, and representatives as *corrupt*.

"We trust, Gentlemen, that you will not cease to co-operate with us, till that dangerous and shameful record be condemned and done away, in the most solemn and effectual manner.

"The present state of America is such as ought to give the deepest alarm and concern to every man, who regards the rights of human nature, the liberties of Englishmen, and the happiness and safety of the whole empire. The arbitrary and inhuman conduct of the present administration, has driven our most affectionate American fellow-subjects into despair and resistance. Seven years supplication for a redress of their grievances has been answered by an *army* to enforce them. Their petition last year to the King implored—peace, liberty, and safety. In return they received acts of the most inhuman restraints; and open hostilities, in the desolation of their country, the destruction of their people, and the conflagration of their towns. They have again besought his Majesty, in a late humble petition, "to stop the further effusion of blood; and to direct some mode by which he would be pleased to receive the united proofs of their devotion, as most dutiful subjects, and most affectionate colonists."

nists." They declare their most ardent desire that the former harmony between them and the parent state, may be established upon the most lasting foundation. They expressly declare, they do not "request such a reconciliation as may be in any manner inconsistent with the *dignity* or *welfare* of this country." We cannot conceive what can be offered, fairer or fuller, on their part.

"But the ministry, it seems, have advised his Majesty to give this petition no answer; and thereby to deprive the petitioners of every hope of redress and reconciliation. They are farther making the most open and extensive preparations for war. Even Roman Catholics are allured and incited to take up arms against our Protestant fellow-subjects. Thus we see these most pernicious measures, prosecuted by the worst and most dangerous means.

"The immediate injury of such a war to our commerce and manufactures,—the consequence of that to the produce of the land—the additional taxes necessary for such distant and expensive operations must sink this unhappy country, already over-burthened with the enormity of her debt, into unavoidable ruin. Upon the *land* must the whole expence ultimately fall. Upon the *landholders* then, it is especially incumbent to use their utmost influence in stopping the course of this unnatural and fatal war.

"The Americans have repeatedly appealed to the justice and humanity of their fellow subjects in Great Britain. We hope such an appeal will never be made in vain. We lament the fate of those brave British soldiers, who have been sacrificed in so inglorious and hateful a contest. We are persuaded our fellow-subjects in America, are contending in the cause of liberty; and are cruelly oppressed. We will never willingly aid in urging the oppression, or trampling upon the rights of any part of the dominions. We cannot see any probable consequence from the prosecution of this ministerial war, but misery, shame, and ruin to the whole empire.

"Upon these principles we have instructed our representatives in parliament; upon these principles, Gentlemen, we wish for your co-operation, in establishing liberty, peace, and harmony, through all his Majesty's dominions." The following resolutions were then passed, and carried with loud plaudits of approbation.

"That the thanks of the Freeholders assembled be given to the Right Hon. the Earl of Essex, the soldier and citizen, for having refused to draw his sword against the majesty of the people, and the rights of his fellow-subjects, in acting up to the principles which he professed.

"That the thanks of this meeting be given

to the Sheriffs, for their readiness in calling the meeting."

The meeting was then adjourned.

SEPTEMBER 27.

If it be true, as has been asserted, that General Schuyler is on his march towards Canada, the different tribes in that province will unquestionably join him. He is most intimately acquainted with them, their manners, and their languages; and by them greatly respected. His first attack will be on Fort Stanwix; after which he will proceed to Lake Ontario, making himself master of all the Forts to and upon that Lake. The acquisition of these Forts will be of the utmost importance to the Americans; as it will command the whole trade of the Mohawk River, and prevent any excursions of General Carleton that way into the confederated colonies.

Major Rogers is arrived at Philadelphia from England.

SEPTEMBER 28.

Extract of a letter from Watertown, July 24.

"A letter from Machias was laid before the Congress, containing advices, that in consequence of an application from Ichabod and Stephen Jones, of Boston and Casco-bay, for lumber, to supply the navy and army, Mr. S. Jones was arrested by the inhabitants, and put under a strong guard; and in the mean time his friend escaped to the woods. That Capt. James Moore commanding the Preston's tender, was sent to protect two sloops, which the above persons intended to have loaded with wood; one of them was secured, and the other escaped to the woods; upon which the commander of the tender clapping a spring on the cable, threatened to burn the place unless the prisoners were given up; in consequence of this demand an engagement began between the people on shore and the vessel's crew; but the latter were obliged to cut and put to sea. The inhabitants immediately manned the taken sloops, came up with the tender, and began a second engagement. That an obstinate resistance was made, but the tender was obliged to submit to superior force. The Captain, Mr. James Moore, was mortally wounded, and died the next morning; five more were wounded, and one marine killed; and two of the Provincials were killed, and five wounded."

SEPTEMBER 29.

The General Post Office have given notice, that a Mail will be dispatched from thence on Wednesday next for New York, and also one for Charles Town; after which there will be no regular conveyance of letters from that Office to North America.

S E P.

S E P T E M B E R 30.

Yesterday Mr. Alderman Sawbridge was chosen Mayor for the year ensuing.

Mr. Wilkes acquainted the Livery, "That he had received a letter from the Continental Congress: that it was addressed through him to the Livery of London, and was signed JOHN HANCOCK. It is as follows:

My Lord;

PERMIT the Delegates of the people of twelve ancient Colonies, to pay your Lordship and the very respectable body of which you are head, the just tribute of gratitude and thanks, for the virtuous and unfolicited resentment you have shewn to the violated rights of a free people. The City of London, my Lord, having in all ages approved itself the patron of liberty, and the support of just government, against lawless tyranny and oppression, cannot fail to make us deeply sensible of the powerful aid our cause must receive from such advocates. A cause, my Lord, worthy the support of the first city in the world, as it involves the fate of a great continent, and threatens to shake the foundations of a flourishing, and until lately, a happy empire.

North America, my Lord, wishes most ardently for a lasting connection with Great Britain on terms of just and equal liberty; less than which generous minds will not offer, nor brave and free ones be willing to receive.

A cruel war has at length been opened against us; and whilst we prepare to defend ourselves like the descendants of Britons, we still hope that the mediation of wise and good citizens will at length prevail over despotism, and restore harmony and peace, on permanent principles, to an oppressed and divided empire.

We have the honour to be, my Lord, with great esteem,

Your Lordship's
Faithful friends and

Philadelphia, Fellow subjects,
July 8, 1775. By Order of the CONGRESS,
JOHN HANCOCK,
PRESIDENT.

Right H. the Lord Mayor and Livery of London.

Mr. Deputy Piper moved, "that a letter addressed from the Livery of London to the Electors of Great Britain should be read."

This motion passing in the affirmative, Mr. Luke Stavelly read the letter. It is *verbatim* as follows:

To the ELECTORS of GREAT BRITAIN.

Gentlemen,

THE mischiefs which have already arisen, and the greater calamities which are threatened, from

the unnatural war excited, in America, by the arbitrary and inexorable spirit of his Majesty's ministers, and advisers, have impressed our minds with alarms and apprehensions, which occasion this address to you.

As Electors we are more particularly called upon to take into consideration these dangerous proceedings against our fellow subjects in America; because the representatives of the people, are unhappily made the instruments of these measures.

It is impossible we can see, without the utmost alarm, preparations making for the prosecution of an expensive and ruinous war with our own colonies, from which so much of our commerce, and therefore the sources of our wealth are derived. The inevitable consequence of this must be, an increase of taxes, already too heavy, and an addition to the national debt which presses us with intolerable weight. We beg you to consider, what must be the situation of this kingdom, under an augmentation of taxes, and a diminution of commerce—an increase of national debt, and an equal decrease of national resources.

These are the immediate and unavoidable consequences of this war. The probable ones are still more fatal. If our natural and inveterate enemies should fall upon us when we are exhausted of men and money,—when our most valuable commerce is ruined, and our bravest and veteran troops sacrificed,—what is it that can shield us from immediate ruin? If we involve ourselves, then, in this obstinate and expensive civil war, we must owe our safety to the forbearance of our enemies. Neither do we think it improbable, from the desperate valour with which the Americans defend their dearest liberties, that all our efforts will be unsuccessful, and that we shall at last be obliged to sit down, under a grievous addition of debt, the shame of defeated armaments, and the total loss of our useful and affectionate colonies.

The provision that is making for the introduction of Hanoverian and Hessian troops, instead of removing, confirms our apprehensions; because we cannot have any confidence in the protection of foreign mercenaries; and feel at once the shame and folly of that policy, which is to burthen us with taxes for the payment of foreign protectors, while our own brave troops are slaughtered in an unnatural, unnecessary, inglorious contest.

For the certain expences of this war, we see no reparation, even in conquest. Desolated fields, and depopulated provinces, are little likely to contribute to our necessities, either by revenue or commerce. No complaint from the merchants and manufacturers in Great Britain

tain, of illicit trade, and acts of navigation infringed, has called for these coercive measures. On the contrary, they have repeatedly petitioned against the principles upon which the war is founded. To secure our commerce therefore, can neither be the aim, nor issue of this war.

Neither can it be to settle a due subordination of the colonies, upon the parent state, since they have repeatedly and solemnly acknowledged their subordination, and submitted to our control.

We cannot, therefore, discover any real object, or possible event of this dispute (should we be successful) but that of establishing the arbitrary power of the crown over our fellow-subjects in America, which must greatly endanger the constitution here, and increasing the number of *placemen* and *penioners*, already so enormous, as to threaten the utter destruction of freedom and independence among us.

The people of the colonies have appealed to their fellow subjects in Great Britain, for the *justice* and *necessity* of their conduct. *We* are convinced of their having been *injured* and *oppressed*. *We* sympathize in their griefs, and revere their fortitude; every motive of humanity, of justice, and of interest, calls upon us to *condemn* the measures of which they complain, and to declare, that we will never willingly contribute to urge their oppressions, or abridge their liberties.

It has been our grief and our misfortune to see, that the repeated petitions from his Majesty's subjects in America, supported by many in this country, have not availed to prevent the dreadful extremities we now lament. The petitioners have been studiously driven to the last resources of despair, by a denial of redress, and an accumulation of grievances, too severe to be endured by a free people.

In the united petition last year, from all the colonies, to the King, they asked for peace, liberty, and safety. Did it become us to refuse such a request; or to persist in *violating* the peace, liberty, and safety of any part of our fellow subjects? They pledge themselves, "that in time of war, they will be ready and willing to demonstrate their loyalty to his Majesty, by exerting their most strenuous efforts, in granting supplies and raising forces."—What can we in justice require more from a part of the empire, restrained, in points of commercial advantages, for our benefit; and labouring, in consequence of that restraint, under a heavy and accumulating debt? Can we expect success from a war, founded in such *flagrant injustice*? Appealing, say they, "to that being, who searches thoroughly the hearts of his creatures, we solemnly profess, that our councils, have been influenced by no other motive, than a dread of impending destruction."

That dread has been realized. Famine, fire, and sword have answered their reasonable requests, and earnest applications. Utter destruction, or unconditional submission, is the only alternative left them, by this imperious and intemperate administration.

Yet still they were determined to try the force of fresh supplication. This they have done in their late petition to the Throne, more humble, but still fruitless as the former. They say "knowing to what violent resentments and incurable animosities, civil discords are apt to exasperate and inflame the contending parties, we think ourselves required by indispensable obligations to Almighty God, to your Majesty, to our fellow subjects, and ourselves, immediately to use all the means in our power, not incompatible with our safety, for stopping the further effusion of blood, and for averting the impending calamities, which threaten the British empire."

We feel these as the most amiable sentiments of men, cordially interested in our welfare, and earnestly aiming at peace and reconciliation.

In pursuit of these laudable purposes, they solemnly declare their most ardent desire that, "the former harmony between the two countries may be restored, and a concord may be established between them, upon so firm a basis, as to perpetuate its blessings, uninterrupted by any future dissensions to succeeding generations, in both countries:" They declare that "they do not request such a reconciliation, as might, in any manner be inconsistent with the dignity or welfare of Great Britain;" that "they are ready and willing, at all times, as they have ever been, with their lives and fortunes, to assert and maintain the rights and interests of his Majesty, and of their mother country." They therefore implore his Majesty, "to take measures for preventing the further destruction of the lives of his subjects; and that he will be pleased to direct some mode by which the united applications of his faithful colonists to the throne, in pursuance of their common councils, may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation; and that the wished for opportunity may soon be restored to them, of evincing the sincerity of their professions by every testimony of devotion, becoming the most dutiful subjects, and the most affectionate colonists."

To this petition an answer has been refused. The unhappy petitioners are left to deplore the prospect of inexorable war, and desolation, and to seek protection in those fatal resources, which self preservation suggests against impending destruction.

This, Gentlemen, is the alarming state of America, which fills us with anxiety and apprehensions.

We

We lament the blood that has been already shed ; we deplore the fate of those brave men, who are devoted to hazard their lives, not against the enemies of the British name, but against the friends of the prosperity and glory of Great Britain. We feel for the honour of the British arms, sullied, not by the misbehaviour of those who bore them, but by the misconduct of the ministers, who employed them, to the oppression of their fellow-subjects. We are alarmed at the immediate, insupportable expence, and the probable consequences of a war, which we are convinced originates in violence and injustice, and must end in ruin.

These are the sentiments, Gentlemen, which we take the liberty of communicating to you, as the reasons upon which we have acted, trusting that, if they met with your approbation, you will co-operate with us, in endeavouring to bring the authors of these evils to the justice of their country.

MOVED, " That this letter be entered on the city records ; that it be signed by the Lord Mayor and Livery, counter signed by the Town Clerk."

Passed unanimously in the affirmative.

Extract of a letter Philadelphia, Aug. 12, 1775, to a gentleman in Bristol.

" The Provincial Congress came to a resolution a few days ago, not to give any orders in future to those merchants who have publicly or privately favoured those measures, which are inimical to the trade and liberties of the American continent ; and I am credibly informed the Congress is well acquainted with the complexion of them on your side of the water."

Extract of a letter from Plymouth, Sept. 24.

" Our streets have exhibited a scene of distress for this week past ; soldiers walking and crawling about, some with the loss of an arm, and others of a leg, with wounds in different parts of their body ; poor widows, with their helpless children, begging from door to door, some hundreds of miles from their friends and homes (being mostly from Ireland). All these miserable objects have been landed here out of the transport from Boston. The gentlemen of this town and neighbourhood have made a collection for the women and children ; the same was divided amongst them yesterday at Guildhall, which amounted to 16 shillings each.

OCTOBER 2.

We can assure the public, upon unquestionable authority, that tho' the Ministry flattered themselves with the assistance of 20,000 Russians to act in America, and plumed themselves upon this savage accession of strength, yet when they thought

the treaty ready to be concluded, they found themselves deluded ; and are now in that situation, which all men are, who find themselves the dupes of their own bad policy.

The following is part of a genuine letter from a gentleman in London to a friend in the country, dated Sept. 27, 1775.

" My opinion is not a whit changed from what it was last winter. Ministers and Parliaments cannot alter common sense. A majority in both Houses is devoted to the Minister, and the Minister to the *invisible power*, which rules in the Cabinet. The landed interest are as ignorant, as the trading interest are venal. Hence the desire of the country gentlemen to tax America, and hence the addresses of several towns to pursue the war. The Ministers promote, and receive, with a greedy pleasure, these addresses ; as they equally assist in imposing upon the King, and keeping them in office. A few circumstances have happened, which the mass of the people do not understand, but which men of discernment say, have lulled the kingdom into a most fatal error. The loss of the American trade has not been felt, owing to the large orders from Spain, for the Flota ; from the Baltic and Germany, owing to the peace between Russia and the Porte, and the troubles in Poland having ceased. These orders came very opportunely ; together with large remittances from America, than usual ; the very considerable quantities of grain from America, the advanced prices of oil and tobacco, have enabled the Americans (except those in Boston) to discharge their debts, this year, better than formerly. This prodigious influx of money has been placed in the stocks, for a little temporary interest, (and this has kept up the funds) in expectation that the American trade will, in a short time, be opened again. My opinion is, that the American trade will never be opened again : That the Colonies are lost. Owing to the temporary orders, which I have already explained, some weak people persuade themselves, that if the American trade should be lost, we shall not suffer by it. How ignorant are those men ! Is the consumption of three millions of people no loss ? Such men deserve no notice : Time alone can undeceive them. Six months from this date, this country will begin to awake, and not sooner. Disputes of another complexion will happen next summer ; all of them originating in this ruinous American war. I am confident there will be no more petitions from America ; and I am also confident, that as soon as the Delegates to the Continental Congress are informed of the treatment their Petition has met with, a system of civil government, for that great country, will make its appearance, that people here have no idea of ; and that Foreign Assistance,

Assistance, which intelligent men know very well was offered to them a few months ago, will be accepted, on condition of granting to that foreign power, certain exclusive, commercial advantages. From that instant Great Britain must date her decline, and I fear her downfall. America has offered to compromise this unhappy difference. She wishes most ardently for a reconciliation with Great Britain. But such is the false policy of this unhappy reign, no distinction seems to be made between the duty of subjects, and the condition of slaves. America is ready and willing to submit to the absolute authority of Parliament, to regulate and controul her trade, in whatever mode, channel, and restriction, Parliament shall think proper; if the idea of taxation is totally done away, and all the acts since 1763, are repealed. But if a revenue is insisted upon, fix a sum, in proportion to what is raised here, and she will pay it, provided she may have an open trade; because she can buy the articles, she has hitherto bought of us, cheaper elsewhere; which will enable her to pay the required sum. In a word, she will give us, either Trade or Revenue, but not both. She asks only to be put upon the same footing with ourselves. But it must not be. The resolution at St. James's is against her. Though the Court is not a little embarrassed, by the failure of the Russian negotiation. Application was made for twenty thousand Russians, to be sent to America in the spring. It has met with a negative at Petersburg. The idea of the Bedford party is, to prosecute a littoral war in America next summer. The fleet and army must be supplied with provisions from England. Reflect, for a moment, on the extreme folly, of making Smithfield the shambles of America. The Lord Mayor might prevent this. Every pound of mutton sent to America, costs government two shillings, at least. How long can the landed interest support this expence? Every tax has been continued (except a small temporary diminution of the land tax) that supported the late glorious war. It was an increase of trade that enabled us to bear this continuation of taxes. But the Elector of Hanover, may, possibly, get money by this American war. If five regiments of his troops are taken into British pay, their former pay out of the revenues of Hanover, is saved of course, and goes clear into his pocket. He got a hundred thousand pounds last year by the job of Somerset House. Parliament meets to grant money; the Ministers cannot go on without it; they have expended every shilling of last year's supplies; therefore it was called so early, that there might be no stop to carrying on the American war. *Astonishing insatuation !*

Guildhall, Bristol, Sept. 27, 1775.

AT a numerous and respectable meeting of

the merchants, traders, and others, interested in, and well-wishers to *American commerce*, held at the Guildhall, at eleven o'clock this morning, Mr. Hayes, an eminent American merchant in the Chair, the following resolutions were agreed to.

Resolved, 1. That the trade with North America is of very great advantage to Great Britain in general, and to this city in particular.

2. That any measures which contribute to the destruction of that trade, are an essential injury to the internal commerce and manufactures of this kingdom.

3. That the present unhappy contest between Great Britain and her Colonies hath a manifest tendency to destroy the commercial connection, and political union which have for many years subsisted between the two countries.

4. That the loss of our trade to America will deprive many thousand industrious poor of the means of procuring a daily subsistence, (a melancholy fact!) of which we have already ample experience in this city.

5. That the late importation of American grain into this city, hath greatly contributed to lower the price of all the necessaries of life, and has been the means of preserving multitudes from the calamitous consequences of famine.

6. That an approbation of measures calculated to destroy the commercial intercourse between the two countries, and spread the horrors of a civil war over a very considerable part of the British dominions, would be highly disgraceful to the inhabitants of a city that depends solely upon trade for its support; and to every friend to humanity and the general happiness of society.

A motion was then made, that a petition be presented to his Majesty, praying his interposition to put a stop to a ruinous civil war, that our trade may thereby be restored to its former flourishing state. One person objected to it, and very improperly grounded his objection on a supposed disinclination in his Majesty to receive petitions respecting the American dispute. A petition was then produced, read paragraph by paragraph, and passed without a dissenting voice.

OCTOBER 4.

On the 19th of August the Generals in Boston held a council to consider upon abandoning Boston, and where they should take up their winter quarters. Long Island was talked of, but no place was fixed upon. They resolved not to quit Boston (though they had discretionary orders to go when, and to what place they thought proper) without positive orders from England. Though the Ministers have for some time been acquainted with this resolution, they have sent no instructions.

Extra

Extract of a letter from Charles-Town, South Carolina, Aug. 5.

"Be assured peace will never be firmly established between Great Britain and America, until the latter receives an ample recognition of her rights, and a full satisfaction for the blood that has or may be shed. The inhabitants of this vast continent would give up all their sea-coast towns, retire into the interior country, and contentedly subsist on the bare necessities of life, rather than submit to the implicit subjugation of a British parliament. But don't apprehend they will suffer this distress like docile animals. No: depend they will protect their property to the last extremity; and although they have hitherto acted only on the defensive, believe me, unless there is an evident prospect of accommodation this winter, hostilities will commence on their part, by and with the assistance of a foreign power, and a spirit that will alarm all Europe. And then farewell to Great Britain!"

OCTOBER 5.

Yesterday there was a numerous meeting of the gentlemen, merchants, and traders of this city, at the King's Arms Tavern in Cornhill. At twelve o'clock Mr. Baker, who had been Chairman of a previous meeting, came forward, and informed the gentlemen present what had been done at that meeting, and the intention of calling them together; he was immediately requested to take the chair, and again addressed the company, begging that they would be deliberate in their resolves.

Mr. Sampson, an American merchant, rose, and stated the present unhappy situation of public affairs, and concluded with moving for an humble Address, Petition, and Remonstrance to his Majesty, relative to the unhappy dispute between Great-Britain and the American Colonies. Mr. Baker then produced an Address to his Majesty, intitled, "The humble Address and Petition of the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Traders of London," which he requested he might have leave to read. A motion was then made, seconded, and carried, that the said Petition should be read, and it was twice read accordingly; first by Mr. Baker, in his place, and afterwards by Mr. Wooldridge, merchant, at the lower end of the table.

Mr. Wooldridge having read the petition, moved, that said Petition should be approved by the meeting, which was carried unanimously; he then made a further motion, that the Petition so approved be signed by the company present, which was also carried. The Chairman then informed the meeting, that he had in his possession the Address fairly transcribed on vellum for sign-

ing; and having signed it himself, several of the merchants present followed his example. A motion was afterwards made, that a Committee of twelve merchants attend the signing, which was carried. Mr. Alderman Lee then moved, that the four members for London be requested to attend Mr. Baker, the Chairman of this meeting, on the delivery of the Address to his Majesty, which was also carried in the affirmative unanimously.

The general sense of the people can by no means be inferred from the number of addresses obtained by ministerial influence. Every magistrate in a place can ensure the interest of his butcher and baker; the butcher can prevail in the same manner on the grazier, and the baker on the mealman. Thus, though many hundreds may sign an address, it is always to be considered as the real work of two or three ministerial hirelings.

In the Liverpool Advertiser is the following short address to the Liverpool addressers "Our once extensive trade to Africa is at a stand: all the commerce with America at an end. Peace, harmony, and mutual confidence, must constitute the balm that can restore to health the body politic. Survey our dock; count there the gallant ships laid up, and useless. When will they be again refitted? what will become of the sailor, the tradesman, the poor labourer, during the approaching winter? answer me this, and then again address."

OCTOBER 7.

Quebec, Aug. 3. On Tuesday last a recruiting party began beating up here for volunteers, for Capt. William Dunbar's company of the Royal Emigrants, and we hear they have already enlisted fourteen.

Conditions to be given to such soldiers as will engage in the Royal Highland Emigrants:

"They are to engage during the present troubles in America only. Each soldier is to have 200 acres of land in any Province in North America he shall think proper, the King to pay the patent fees, Secretary's fees, and Surveyor General; besides 20 years free of quit-rent, each married man gets 50 acres for his wife, and 50 for each child, on the same terms.

"And as a gratuity, besides the above great terms, one guinea levy money.

ALLEN MACLEAN, Lt. Col. Commandant."

Quebec, Aug. 10. About three weeks ago Col. Guy Johnson, his Majesty's Superintendent of Indian Affairs, arrived at Montreal, accompanied with a considerable number of Chiefs and warriors of the six nations; after which he held a General Congress with the Chiefs and warriors of the Canada confederacy, to the amount of 1700, who,

who, in presence of his Excellency Gen. Carleton, unanimously resolved to support their engagements with his Majesty, and remove all intruders on the several communications.

OCTOBER 11.

On Friday last the following Petition from the Town of TAUNTON, signed by ONE HUNDRED and FIFTY-FOUR of the Inhabitants and principal Manufacturers, was presented to his Majesty, at St. James's, by Mr. Popham, one of their Representatives.

"To the King's Most Sacred Majesty.

"May it please your Majesty,

W E your Majesties dutiful and loyal subjects, Inhabitants, and principal Manufacturers of the Town of Taunton, in the County of Somerset, fully sensible of the blessings we enjoy under your Majesty's government, beg leave to approach your Majesty with our most humble address and supplications.

"We conceive that the act of navigation which has been recognized by our fellow-subjects in America, secures all the wealth of the colonies to this country.

"We are apprehensive that your Majesty's just prerogative may suffer some infringement by revenue laws being made in this kingdom for the colonies, which are not represented; because we conceive that your Majesty *alone* has the right of asking aids from the colonies in the same constitutional manner that your Majesty receives supplies from this *kingdom* and from *Ireland*; and because your Majesty's sole power to give the force of laws to the acts of the provinces, is one principal bond of union between them and the whole empire.

"As we trust that your Majesty has not any subjects more firmly attached to your Royal person and this constitution than ourselves, or more ready to risk their lives or fortunes in support of both, so we think it consistent with our duty to say, that the occasion of a victory on either side over any part of your Majesty's subjects, is always to be lamented as diminishing the number of your people, and consequently detrimental to your Majesty's dignity, to the manufactories of this town, and to the trade and navigation of this kingdom.

"And as we conceive that a happy reconciliation between Great Britain and the colonies will save this nation a great effusion of blood, and expence of treasure, we therefore most humbly implore your Majesty's gracious consideration for obtaining these valuable purposes,

"And as in duty bound shall ever pray."

Taunton, Sept. 26, 1775.

The following is a copy of Lord North's letter to his friends, soliciting their attendance in parliament.

S I R, *Downing street, 11th Sept. 1775.*

BEFORE you receive this letter, you will probably have seen his Majesty's Proclamation, fixing the meeting of Parliament for the dispatch of business on the 26th of next month. The situation of public affairs, which has made so early a meeting necessary, will bring on very important business at the beginning of the session; give me leave therefore to submit to you, that it is extremely desirable that the Members of the House of Commons should attend on the first day.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,

S I R,

Your most faithful, humble servant,

NORTH.

A Narrative of Facts and of the Proceedings respecting an Address from some of the inhabitants of Bristol.

A Great number of the citizens of Bristol, as well as many country Gentlemen, assembled at Guildhall, on Thursday the 28th of September, in consequence of a public, but anonymous advertisement, requiring their attendance in order to *address his Majesty on the present conjuncture of affairs between Great-Britain and America*. The Chairman, Charles Hotchkin, Esq; late Mayor, conducted himself in a most unprecedented and partial manner, by refusing a fair and candid discussion of the subject. In justification of the loyalty to his Majesty—the respect for all public constitutional meetings—the hearty desire to see an happy reconciliation between Great Britain and her Colonies—and the earnest endeavours to accomplish so desirable an event, of great numbers of Merchants, Traders, and Manufacturers, and others, who attended the said meeting, whose attachment to the illustrious House of Hanover *has never been suspected*; this account is published to the world of the proceedings of that day, and the part they intended to have acted.

In all questions to be determined at public meetings, it has been always understood, that the persons present have an undoubted right to determine who shall be Chairman;—that whenever a meeting of the citizens is called on any public occasion, the persons attending such meeting have an unquestionable right to canvass and discuss every measure which may be proposed;—that it is the business of the Chairman to attend impartially to the arguments advanced by the contending parties, to state the whole with candour, and then, either by a fair shew of hands, or by a division of numbers, to declare what is the determination of such meeting.

Impressed

Impressed with these ideas, many Gentlemen attended the meeting, to hear this important affair discussed; when to their astonishment, Mr. Hotchkin, the late Mayor, on the very last day of his mayoralty, and *not acting in his corporate capacity*, took upon himself the office of Chairman, and behaved in a most unbecoming, partial manner:—Without putting the question, Whether it was the resolution to address, an address was produced. The moment it was read, without asking the approbation of the meeting, he proceeded to sign his name. Many Gentlemen present attempted to declare their objections, but were by violent outrages rudely interrupted. Mr. Hotchkin's inattention to these outrages, was a tacit acknowledgment of his approbation. He took no pains to obtain silence, but, by the most barefaced partiality, convinced every unprejudiced mind that, having *failed in his attempt to procure an address from the Corporation*, he came there resolved to accomplish the purposes of his partizans, whether *right or wrong*, with a majority or *without*, and fully determined to put no one question.

After the address had been read, it was objected to, as not being founded on facts, and as leading to widen the breach between this country and the colonies. In support of these opinions, arguments were attempted to be offered with calmness, unmingled with passion or *party rage*. A dutiful and loyal petition was prepared to be read to them, agreeable to a resolution of a very respectable meeting of Merchants, Traders, &c. held the preceding day at the Guildhall, which had been unanimously agreed to, after some debate, and after an ample discussion, paragraph by paragraph; also several resolutions respecting the importance of the American trade. But the Chairman denied them the liberty of presenting the resolutions, or reading the petition, as well as prevented any objections being made, by an indecency never before experienced in any public meeting in this city.

In justification therefore of the character of those Gentlemen who were thus, as well as their friends and fellow citizens, injuriously treated, these facts are stated to the public at large, that the whole nation may be acquainted with the surreptitious manner in which an address has been obtained from the citizens of Bristol, falsely dignified with the title of an Address of the Mayor, Burgesses, &c. at Guildhall assembled; the Mayor *not being in his corporate capacity*, and the address being in a great measure supported by country Gentlemen, who are to be the bearers of it to his Majesty, and who have no trading connexion, nor are even residents in a city, the far greater part of whose trade is dependent on the colonies.

It was not agreed to, but *opposed*; and if a division or a shew of hands had been permitted, there is very little doubt but that the majority would have been against an address of the tenor and purport of that which has been thus partially and unjustifiably obtained, and which is evident from the refusal of the Chairman, and the Gentlemen about him, to have the question put.

If any person should be disposed to controvert any part of the above narrative, it will be attested by several Merchants and Gentlemen who were present.

The following petition was presented to his Majesty on Wednesday the 11th instant, from the city of Bristol by Mr. Burke, one of the representatives of that city.

“ *To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.*—

“ *The Humble PETITION of the MERCHANTS, TRADERS, MANUFACTURERS, and others, CITIZENS of BRISTOL.*

“ *May it please your Majesty,*

“ **W**H your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the Merchants, Traders, Manufacturers, and others, Citizens of Bristol, humbly beg leave to approach the Throne with the most respectful assurances of our unalterable attachment and affection to your Majesty's royal person and family, and of our unfeigned zeal for the support of your government, the glory of your reign, and the peace and prosperity of your once united and flourishing, but now, most unhappily distracted empire.

“ It is with an affliction not to be expressed, and with the most anxious apprehensions for ourselves and our posterity, that we behold the growing distractions in America threaten, unless prevented by the timely interposition of your Majesty's wisdom and goodness, nothing less than a lasting and ruinous civil war. We are apprehensive that if the present measures are adhered to, a total alienation of the affections of our fellow-subjects in the colonies will ensue; to which affection, much more than to a dread of any power, we have been hitherto indebted for the inestimable benefits, which we have derived from those establishments. We can foresee no good effects to the commerce or revenues of this kingdom, at a future period, from any victories which may be obtained by your Majesty's arms over desolated provinces and an exasperated people. From the consequences of a reverse of things, in the course of human events, not impossible, we chuse to avert our eyes. We apprehend that none can profit by the continuance of this war, and therefore we hope none can wish it, except those nations, who, envious of the diffusive liberty and

and consequent power and prosperity of your dominions, are the natural enemies of Great Britain.

"We owe a testimony of justice to your colonies, which is, that in the midst of the present distractions, we have received many unequivocal proofs, that our fellow-subjects in that part of the world are very far from having lost their ancient affection and regard to their mother-country, or departed from the principles of commercial honour and private justice. Notwithstanding the cessation of the powers of government throughout that vast continent, we have reason to think, judging by the imports into this city, and by our extensive correspondencies, that the commodities of American growth, enumerated by acts of Parliament, have been as regularly brought to Great Britain, as in the most quiet times. We assure your Majesty that the trade of this port, and the subsistence of a great part of your kingdom, have depended very much on the honourable and, in this instance, amicable behaviour of your American subjects. We have in this single city received within one year, from the first of September, 1774, more than one million bushels of wheat, to say nothing of the great quantity of other valuable commodities essential to our navigation and commerce. These circumstances we humbly beg leave, with the utmost deference, to submit to your Majesty's consideration, in order to shew that whenever your Royal clemency shall exert itself, in behalf of your colonies, the dispositions on their part to peace and reconciliation, are by no means so unfavourable, as many persons from passion or misinformation may possibly suggest.

No part of your Majesty's subjects can with more earnestly to preserve the constitutional superiority of the British legislature over all parts of your dominions, than the Citizens of Bristol. But they are convinced from clear reason and severe experience, that this superiority can hardly be preserved by mere force, nor without acquiring the confidence, and cultivating the affections of the great and numerous people who inhabit the British plantations. We humbly conceive that this authority would suffer no diminution in the least prejudicial to it, by healing concessions, by the relaxation of penal statutes, which have been found ineffectual for their purposes, and by relinquishing the pursuit of an object, the possible attainment of which, under any circumstances of fortune, may admit of the most serious doubts. On the contrary, we have reason, although things have been carried to unfortunate lengths of hostility on both sides, to hope the most salutary effects from a return under your Majesty's provident and sagacious direction, to the ancient, indulgent and happy usage of this kingdom, with regard to its colonies.

"We find ourselves under an indispensable necessity of making, with respectful plainness, this dutiful and most faithful representation of our sentiments to your Majesty, lest it might be supposed that by our silence we were consenting to the opinions and wishes for coercive proceedings, expressed in the late addresses to your Majesty. We assure your Majesty that we are men of peaceful dispositions, that we detest the thought of obtruding on your Majesty's wisdom and clemency, any sort of recommendation of force and rigour against any part of your people. That we who have long flourished by an amicable intercourse with the Colonies, should call for coercive measures, as the probable means of future commerce, would not only be arrogant and presumptuous, but unnatural and ungrateful. No experience has hitherto taught us the good effects of such measures, and it little becomes us to recommend violent and hazardous proceedings. We must always look back with satisfaction and gratitude to that period of your Majesty's reign, when a prudent concession restored tranquillity and commerce to all your Majesty's dominions. We trust that after having humbly intreated the exertion of your Majesty's wisdom for reconciling amicably the differences which unhappily subsist among your subjects, we have cleared ourselves to our own consciences, and acquitted ourselves in the eyes of Almighty God, of our Sovereign, and of our country, from any share whatsoever in producing the calamities, which the present proceedings, so inauspiciously begun, may yet bring upon this nation."

Thos. Farr, Mayor elect	Ben. Lacombe	John Waite
Henry Cruger	Wm Bagnall	Francis Rice
Jer. Ames, Alderm.	Robert Coleman	Wm Jones
Edw. Byrce, Sheriff elect	Wm Stevenson	John Rees
T. Deane, Alderm.	E. Harford	Joseph Buxem
John Noble, Sheriff elect	Francis Bull	Wm Vicars
Robert Gordon, late Mayor	George Bayly	Thomas Wall
Wm Weare	Richard Hayward	Richard Duff
John Bull	Jn. Cooke	Wm Weare, jun.
John Anderson	Charles Okey	James Perry
Thomas Pierce	Philip Sheriff	J. Mallard
Levi Ames	Joshua Browne	John Edy
A. Edgar	James Bayley, jun.	Job Watts
Isaac Pinguet	Wm Wilkins	Rd. Callwell
[The last eight are Common Councilmen.]	Wm Williams	Christopher Lilly
Wm Barnes, Aldm.	Richard Reocer	Wm James
Samuel Peach	Philip Parry	Wm Price
Thomas Hayes	Samuel Worth	Wm Rose
Joseph Harford	John Farrell	Joshua Springer
Samuel Brailsford	Peter Newland	James Ranton
Edward Neufville	James Lueton	Edward Tyler
John Turton	Jos. B. Franklin	Hjm. Williams
John Fisher Weare	James Morgan	James Ackland
	John Browne	Thomas Rees
	Sam. Thomas	Sam. Green
	Thomas Lewis	John Evans
	James Biggs	Abraham Pain
	James Morgan, jun.	Isaac Pain
	John Morgan	Walter Gardiner

Robert

Robert Andrew	John Wallis	James Maceraken	Charles Berry	Wm Bees	Thomas Jones
Richard Lidgjet	Edward Davis	Rd. Champion	Thomas Lisle	John Hopkins	John Jones
Wm Brock	Wm Saunders	Paul Farr	Wm King	James Joyner	David Jones
John Bateman	John Edy	Samuel Span	John Pegler	Wm Baker	Thomas Hodges
John Moore	Tim. Browne	E. Vanderhorst	Anth. Stocker	Wm Hall	Samuel Bafter
Wm Price	Vincent Pearce	Joseph Smith	James Vathorn	Dennis Reardon	David Lewis
John West	Alex. Amore	James Bazley	John Morgan	Samuel Jackson	Richard Skidmore
James West	Joseph Kelson	John Rawlins	John Jarrett	Joseph Yeamas	Joseph Bugets
T. Pennington, jun	Abm. Brown	Alex. Shadden	John Lury	Christ. Dowling	Richard Green
Simon Nash	Janies Peglar	H. Allen	Abm. Spurlock	Elijah Thomas	William Haynes
John Taggart	Edward Amos	Stephen Stringer	Joseph Howell	Richard Donell	John Beale
Peter Harbin	Richard Morfe	Richard Aldridge	Henry Tudor	John Evans	William Vaughan
John Enocell	Edward Lloyd	Stephen Klegley	John Winter	J. Ricketts	David Langdom
Charles Watts	John Betch	Thomas Moore	John James	Joseph Padfield	Thomas Pandry
Peter Bond	Wm Browne	Wm Goldworthy	Henry Sevier	John M'Danil	Thomas Wood
Wm Thomas	Wm Williams	Walf. Andras	Wm Bastable	John Barnes	John Harris
Wm Collins	Wm Inman	Joseph Mitchell	Israel Cary	Isaac Hawkias	William Dunn
James Gordon	John Watkins	John Parfitt	Wm Nicholas	John Jenkins	Samuel Falconbridge
John Trist, junior	John Cornick	John Hayes	Evan Rice	Wm Elliott Jacks	Jacob Riddle
Joshua Porter	H. Pritchard	Thomas Dobbs	Jonas Roberts	John Bellmaney	Hugh Witherly
John Perry	Wm Hall	Francis Power	Joseph Kimberly	Wm Winbell	John Wearn
Samuel Munchley	John Francis	John Townsend	Oliver Hayhurst	Henry Jever	Joseph Pinkoff
Wm Smith	Samuel Heath	Thomas Ceases	Jn. McCulloch, jun	John Fosee	Thomas Davis
Wm Powell	David Sayer	John Smith	John Wright, M.D.	Joseph Albury	John Tagg, jun.
George Lewis	Craddock Odford	Charles Warfield	Thomas Penington	Thomas Lloyd	John Riddle
Henry Weara	Richard Francis	Edward Forty	Abm. Biggs	Abm. Jones	William Carter
John Lloyd	Phil. Lawes	Benj. King	George Ewbank	Daniel Paul	Henry Payne
Thomas Mullett	Thomas Dockley	Joshua Tripp	John Sage	John Pearce	John Edwards
Rowland Williams	Robert Simpson	Thomas Lisle	Benj. Page	John Pople	Samuel Moody
Nath. Bartley	John Rich	Joseph Page	John Madox	George Williams	Roger Jones
Edward Lacon	Phil. Moore	Richard Lisle	John Chandler	James Wilshire	William Price
Jos. Philips	Nath. Hawkes	John Hope	Freeman Phelps	Thomas Cary	David Dunn
Richard Jones	Wm Jones	Henry Toll	Worth. Brice	Jonathan Hobbs	Samuel Cornick
Jonathan Jones	John Lee	Daniel Parry	Charles Fisher	James Taylor	Thomas Waters
Peter Thomas	Benj. Smith	Thomas Ludlow	James Parry	Edward Garlick	Thomas Hooper
Thomas Lawden	Matthew Heydon	John Banister	Jer. Jones	Samuel Page	Thomas Hugget
Samuel Marfion	John Burgueno	George Eveleigh	George Morgan	Isaac Selfe	T. Platts
Thomas Hawkins	Richard Hale	Frederick Yeamans	John Dearlove, jun.	Hugh Stratten	Moses Robbins
James Rogers	Wm Vaughan	Edward Maye	Henry Langton	Nehem. Champion	John Joseph
Joseph Waldo	Charles Granger	John King	Thomas Parr	E. Burges	Edward Hawkins
Lancelot Cawper	John Madder	Wm Neale	Thomas Roach	Richard Holbrook	Peter Panac
Wm Blake	Rd. Champion	Wm Challicon	Wm Marfill	Wm Gundry	Henry Hird
Ed. Harford, jun.	James Summers	Thomas Smith	Thomas Cockley	Wm Woodhouse	Samuel Smith
Mark Harford, jun.	John Taylor	John Stephens	Thomas Harper	John Stephens	Wm Price Sen.
J. S. Harford	John Davis	Samuel Sandys	James Bozzell	Henry Seldon	William Corick
James Harvey	Thomas Rogers	John Wilcox	John Symonds	John Moore	Thomas Rees
Wm Poor	Abm. James	Samuel Thomas	Wm New	Charles Shearer	William Jones
John Jones	Abm. Roach	Wm Llewlin	Joseph Hinton	Wm Brown	Thomas Roach
Timothy Tiler	Thomas Morgan	Jas. Ronquet, Clerk	Edward Gitions	Wm Combes	Jonas Seldon
James Rees	Richard Hope	Wm. G. ten	Joseph Beavin	Samuel Watford	John Short
John Archer	John Evans	Robert Gay	Jona. Long	John Nicholas	Jerry Bott
Gilb. Wain	Richard Thomas	Hon. Payne	Wm Maynard	Reuben Angle	Peter Crane
Charles Harris	Joseph Griffiths	John Huish	John Crocker	Daniel Mac Kay	John Lewis
Matt. Cowper	John Prothero	Thomas Tudor	Thomas Enell	Robert Bennett	Gabriel Brice
Ralph Campbell	Ed. Gollidge, sen.	Daniel Millbridge	George Greenwood	James Cloud	John Emblen
George May	Wm Gwyn	Thomas Hardin	Charles Moon	Joseph Thornton	David Townend
Richard Ath	Richard Ries	Francis Lloyd	Wm Lenington	Nathaniel Otter	Wm Smart
Edward Ath	Barth. Doyle	Benj. Croft	Wm Veddle	Richard Cartt	Robert Williams
Henry Newman	Richard Miles	James Baker	Wm Bridgman	Joseph Cox	Richard Pearce
Joseph Perry	John Williams	J. B. Hecker	Wm Taylor	Daniel Bishop	William Cook
John Pearfall	James Richards	Joseph Green	Isaac Williams, sen.	J. Hewlett	Richard Cook
Samuel Rich	George Gibbs	Benjamin Parker	Isaac Williams, jun.	George Champion	Joseph Shapland
Nath. Hodgkins	Ben. Gillam	Henry Kroger	Thomas Knight	Richard Sircorn	John Martin
Isaac Williams	Thomas Gillam	Stephen Phelps	Wm Lloyd	Charles Chambers	Samuel A. Lloyd
Thomas Symons	Peter Morris	N. Simpson	Thomas Williams	William Chambers	Wm Edwards
Jos. Norton	Thomas Howell	Richard Howell	Thomas Digges	William Fryer	John Edwin
Francis Patrick	Robert Langford	Jacob Rogers	Francis Jacques	William Nath	Wm Green
Wm Nath	H. McCracken	Alex. Ferguson	Henry Foneit	William Arvitt	Henry Fry
Robert Norton	James Shaw	John Parker	Jos. Beacham	Richard Burge	Charles Madoc
Richard Symes	Henry Jeffers	Clement Kelly	Joseph Chilton	James Sevier	Wm Pring
Thomas Wanwood	Daniel Rich	John Surman	John Hawkins	A. Harper	Thomas Jones

Benjamin

Benjamin Kease	William Baker	Michael Jones	Stephen James	William Clark	Emas. Grant
Daniel Daniel	Peter Phelan	Jacob Blanning	Walter Paine	John Cock	Tho. Stone
Samuel Daniel	Patrick Grimes	David Johns	Samuel Gardiner	Richard Spooner	Wm Day
James Holliday	Anthony Day	Wm Vintin	John Mitchell	Simon Davis	Nich. Long
Thomas James	Thomas Newlin	Guffey Evans	Walter Thomas	Thomas Stroud	Peter Stephens
John Morgan	Abm. Gough	Thomas Palmer	Richard Powell	Joshua Padfield	Joshua Padfield
Wm Matthews	Wm Dell	Chas. Vicer	Owen Keefe	John Padfield	Robert Munday
Benjamin Moody	Thomas Lines	Benj. Davies	Wm Roberts	Wm Canfer	Benj. Young
Reginald Powell	John White	Humphrey McRee	John Bils	Benj. Ruffel	Samuel Smith
Wm Price	James Rix	Richard Marshall	Wm Boxley	Samuel Barnett	Wm Jones
Wm Robbins	Joseph Broad	James Anderson	John Eyles	Wm Grigg	Stephen Ward
Caleb Moore	Alex. Jones	Thomas Andrews	Joseph Mead	Henry Poye	Peter Gay
Edw. Rexworthy	B. Lewis	Thomas Phillips	Wm Cairnes	B. Leigh	Wm Beal
John Parker	Thomas Woods	Isaac P. Cook	John Williams	Robert Davis	Charles Hanson
Wm Jones	Thomas Wiltshire	John Taylor	Joseph Bocoock	Thomas Webb	Thomas Davis
Samuel Frupp	Wm Edwards	John King	Stephen West	Benj. Gafcon	Thomas Kilbey
Thomas Ferris	James Lophlin	W. Bennet	John Eyles	John Pearson	Francis Riddle
Thomas Roberts	William Lewis	Richard Barron	John Earl	Richard Morgan	John Batteus
Charles Melton	Jacob Elliott	Thomas Dickeas	John Morgan	James Tukey	Wm Shogeland
Joseph Caines	John Hunter	Thomas Constance	Henry Huish	Joseph Parry	John Fuller
Joseph Bezer	Benj. Beffland	Matt. Hardwell	Thomas Yeats	Peter Johnson	Joseph James
Richard Jenkins	William Hartley	Thomas Ruffall	John Nowell	James Inkens	Master Driver
Wm Medlem	John Hinkles	Nich. Poole	James Hardman	John Waples	John Phillips
George Tovey	Wm Lewis, jun.	Ezekiel Evans	Edw. Young	Samuel Cocks	Wm Edmonds
John Moore	Wm Gollidge	John Margam	Richard Wolf	James Rivera	Richard James
T. R. Lyned	James Joffaam	John Wright	Lewis Castells	Wm Watts	John Glew
Edward Young	James Richardson	Wm Hobbs	John Eyles, jun.	Daniel Watton	Wm Feiler
Joseph Townsend	James Codrington	John Nobb	Stephen Threlton	Charles Edwards	Thomas Booth
Thomas Wright	Thomas Bateman	John Hobbel	Wm Morgan	James Church	Edward Gordon
John Herbert	Bar. Coombe, jun.	Thomas Hobbell	James Rogers, sen.	Wm Webb	James Byd
Wm Phillips	Joseph Combe, jun.	John Watkins	James Rogers, jun.	John Williams	Richard Moss
Thomas Rutter	James Lawton	Henry Bowden	Wm Rogers	John Faankham	John Edwards
Joseph Fry	Thomas Simmonds	John Patterson	Thomas Griffiths	Wm Jones	John Darlington
John Inkens	Edw. Inkies	Samuel Gibson	Charles Jarvis	John Morgan	Thomas Darling
Daniel Webb	Wm Blackburn	James Williams	Samuel Griffiths	Edw. Smith	Wm Gordon
Thomas Smith	Joseph Bellamy	John Boyd	Wm Tiler	Edw. Longdon	Hugh Evans
Samuel Hamilton	Samuel Brookman	Jos. Hulbert	Wm Walter	Sim. Box Jones	John Smith
John Milton	Henry Link	John Danvaert	Isaac Hubbard	Wm Baron	John Wood
Samuel Simmonds	Daniel Duffett	Samuel Sheddin	Charles Whittle	Llewellyn Thomas	Tho. Wood, jun.
Richard Pain	John Clark	Robert Sheddin	Wm Fry Lawrence	Robert Padfield	Charles Fether
John Smith	Thomas Thern	Gerald Fitzgerald	Richard Braden	Thomas Price	Henry Silk
Daniel Long	John Morgan	James Evans	Thomas Hart	George Watton	John D. Gardiner
S. Fry	John Manwaring	Thomas Salomon	Nath. Harrison	Abm. Brown	Wm Stocks
Thomas Blanch	Benj. Manwaring	Benj. Richards	James Thompson	James Curles	Charles Knight
Thomas Enfen	Isaac Reed	John Stephens	Wm Harrison	John Townend	Wm Veal
James Nevill	Martin Boyce	Robert Hale	David Francis	Joseph Curtis	Daniel Williams
Charles Coles	Robert Edwards	James Lewis	John Bawn	Wm Morgan	John Saunders
Joseph Bird	Inkin Thomas	George Morgan	Thomas Acock	James Chandlenc	Henry Thomas
Richard Jenkins	Daniel Raulford	Thomas Short	John Bullock	John Powell	Owen Davies
John Warkinson	S. Carter	Wm Badcock	Richard Daves	John Brownan	John Smith
Thomas Wood	Samuel Smith	Benedict Debar	Robert Ball	James Jonson	John Gray
John Gardener	Simon Sroog	Roulau Price	Wm Gayner	Tho. Williams	Thomas Johnson
James Grace	Edw. Thomas	Thomas Drake	Thomas Parsons	Chas. Hewke	John Millard
David Lewis	John Mayes	Rd. Middlemore	Henry Wright	Edward Wright	Edm. Price
C. Browne	Francis Collins	George Wilcox	Edw. Owen	Thomas Dorman	Bekj. Murphy
Wm Freeman, jun.	Benj. Brookman	James Maffey	Levi Tompkins	John Pate	Stephen Woodhouse
Solomon Leonard	Francis Wall	John Jent	Jack Tompkins	Tho. Taylor	Leonard Andrews
Wm Thomas	James Cribb	Edward Hughes	Gorge Webb	Dan. Mearn	George Beavin
Wm Smith	Edward Baylis	John Langman	Henry Hill	Robert Cooper	Henry Whatts
Thomas Shaw	John Tillidge	Thomas James	Thomas Macon	John Cherry	Jonathan Andrews
John Sangar	Benj. Rude	James Daly	Henry Gaincy	Benj. Marling	Patrick Harding
John Kjeddelle	Joseph Gurney	John Pearce	Richard Griffiths	John Pearson	Tho. Davies
Edw. Chamberlaine	James Roberts	Wm Williams	Thomas Evans	Joseph Weaver	Gab. Smith Bradley
Wm Smith	Fr. Collins, jun.	Davy James	Samuel Rogers	Nath. Parsons	John Bradley
John Dunham	John Hunt	Chris. Stevenson	Wm Mainiton	Samuel Jones	Henry Tomkins
John Daniell	Wm Thorn	George Day	David Powell	Rich. King	Sam. Warren
Wm Williams	John Lorrimer	John Mines	George Canven	Cha. Baldwin	Stephen Rymen
William Davies	John Justice	George Young	Thomas Lee	James Brown	Agnist Watts
William Walker	Edward Daniel	Aaron Hunt	Walter Hayward	John Thorne	John Mayne
Thomas Noble	Daniel Vine	James Thomas	John King	Caleb Evans	Robert Daniel
Robert Lovell	Edw Phillips	Hugh Moore		Wm Meadows	Jer. Grant

George

orge Emerson
m Stephens
lin Wray Long
ter Day
muel Andrews
orge Story
e. Jones
thomas Webb
m Worritt
nd. Long
ho. Smith
alter Larve
ntes Jones
ames George
lbin Wheeler
m Grant

Franch Owen
Isaac Burge
Mich. Edkins
Samuel Smith
Wm Brooke
Morgan Aubrey
Gabriel Stringer
Stephen Penny
Tho. Adam
John James
Tho. Baxter
Wm Griffith
Ch. Tho. Powell
Peter Davis
Wm Powell
Thomas Wood

Tho. Halberd
Wm Smith
Edward Payne
And. Williams
Sam. Price
Daniel Walters
Ed. Cray
James Williams
Samuel Pain
Peter Gardes
John Smith
Alex. Parry
John Clarke
Sam. Williams
George Jones
Edmund Barke

must be its fate when deprived of our American commerce.

It fills our minds with additional grief to see the blood and treasure of your Majesty's subjects wasted in effecting a fatal separation between the different parts of your Majesty's empire, by a war, uncertain in the event, destructive in its consequences, and the object contended for lost in the contest.

The experience we have had of your Majesty's paternal regard for the welfare and privileges of all your people, and the opinion we entertain of the justice of the British Parliament, forbid us to believe, that laws, so repugnant to the policy of former times, would have received their sanction, had the real circumstances and sentiments of the colonies been thoroughly understood, or the true principles of their connection with the mother country been duly weighed: we are therefore necessarily constrained to impute blame to those, by whom your Majesty and the Parliament have been designedly misled, or partially informed of those matters, on a full knowledge of which alone, determinations of such importance should have been founded.

We beg leave further to represent to your Majesty, that in questions of high national concern, affecting the dearest interests of a state, speculation and experiment are seldom to be justified: that want of foresight is want of judgment; and perseverance in measures which repeated experience hath condemned, ceases to be error.

We might appeal to the history of all countries to shew, that force hath never been employed with success, to change the opinions or convince the minds of freemen; and from the annals of our own in particular, we learn, that the free and voluntary gifts of the subject have ever exceeded the exactions of the sword.

Restraining, prohibitory, and penal laws have failed to re-establish the public tranquillity; and the present state of this unfortunate dispute affords reason to believe, that as it commenced without policy, it must be prosecuted by means which the natural and constitutional strength of Great Britain cannot supply.

In your Majesty's justice we confide for a fair construction of an apprehension we have conceived, that your Majesty hath been advised to take foreign troops into British pay; and to raise and discipline Baptists both in Ireland and Canada, for the purpose of enforcing submission to laws, which your Majesty's Protestant subjects in America conceive to be destructive of their liberties, and against which they have repeatedly petitioned in vain.

Anxious to vindicate the national honour, we would willingly discredit reports, of slaves incited to insurrection, and barbarous nations encourage

The following Address, Memorial, and Petition of the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Traders of London, unanimously agreed to at a General Meeting, called by public advertisement, was presented to his Majesty on Wednesday the 11th instant, by William Baker, Esq; Chairman, accompanied by John Sawbridge and George Hayley, Esqrs two of the Representatives of this City (Mr. Oliver having been absent from town, and Mr. Bull confined by illness.)

To the KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY.
The humble Address, Memorial, and Petition of the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Traders of London.

May it please your Majesty,

WE your Majesty most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Traders of London, beg leave to approach your Majesty with unfeigned assurance of affection and attachment to your Majesty's person and government, and to represent with great humility our sentiments on the present alarming state of public affairs.

By the operation of divers Acts of the British Parliament, we behold with deep affliction, that happy communion of interests and good offices which had so long subsisted between this country and America suspended, and an intercourse, (which, augmenting, as it grew, the strength and dignity of your Majesty's dominions, hath enabled your Majesty to defeat the natural rivals of your greatness in every quarter of the world) threatened with irretrievable ruin.

We should humbly represent to your Majesty, if they had not been already represented, the deadly wounds which the commerce of this country must feel from these unfortunate measures; that it has not yet more deeply felt them, is owing to temporary and accidental causes which cannot long continue.

But we beg your Majesty to cast an eye on the general property of this land, and to reflect what

to take arms against our American brethren, if they had not prevailed without refutation, and filled the minds of your Majesty's faithful subjects with indignation and horror.

If to these circumstances of peril and distress our fears could suggest any addition, we might justly expect it from the resentment of those powerful enemies, who have ever shown a readiness to take advantage of our internal commotions, and will joyfully embrace the occasion of avenging that disgrace they sustained during the late glorious war, from the united arms of Great Britain and America—and we should indeed be reduced to despair, but that we are encouraged to look up to your Majesty, the common Father of all your people, as the happy instrument in the hands of divine Providence, which bringeth good out of evil: for restoring to this distracted empire the blessings of mutual confidence, liberty, and peace.

For the speedy effecting of which, we most humbly beseech your Majesty to cause hostilities to cease in your Majesty's Colonies in America, and to adopt such mode of reconciling this unhappy controversy, as may best promote the interest of commerce, and the welfare of all your people.

William Baker	William Newman	James Barkley	George Green	William Ellison	Benjamin Massey
William Lee	Samuel Deles	Robert Willis	Silvester Grove	Govett Cassin	Olive Banks
Sainbury Sibley	John Stretwell	James Goodier	Nathaniel Basset	Matthew Towgood	Nicholas Sabire
William Vaughan	John Pollard	William Pickett	William Hubbard	Christ. Henderson	Fraysley and Man-
Samuel Patric	William Parry	Samuel Goodby	Edward Polhill	Ridgway & Rolleston	ings
John Bewke	James Seafon	Edward Bridges	Thomas Vardon	William Saxby	Edward Jefferys
John Lodge	James Ansell	Joseph Stevenson	Benjamin Hammet	John Smith	John French
John Norton	Samuel Baker	Thomas Bradley	Richard Stanmer	Wm. Grove & Co.	David Godfrey
Tho. Worledge	Hugh James	Peregrine Phillips	M. t. Mesthote	William Hill	John Blakely
Edward Dilly	John Ravel Trye	Thomas Rogers	James Sharpe	Thomas Wilton	Goodson Vines
William Belch	Charles House	James Blower	John Rogers	Samuel Towers	Sam. Turner, jun.
B. Stevenson	John Jacob	Griffith Williams	Samuel Heartley	Charles Childs	Richard Grafton
Wm. Townsend	Richard Baker	R. chard Griffiths	Thomas Melkin	John Perronaeu	George Warren
Ph. Shuter	Thomas Becton	Richard Templar	Joseph Parker	Richard Jones	Hudson & Worth-
Wm. Mallett	James Gautier	Thomas Smith	John Wanley	Josiah Doranford	ington
Sam. Sharwood	Thomas Preston	William Plomer	Benj. Choice Sowdon	George Dyson	Joseph Jennings
Edw. Trelawny	Jo. Wm. Galabin	Ed. Farmer Taylor	Richard Morfon	Wm. Wilbraham	Edward Tutet
Joseph Hill	Benjamin Cox	G. Bodley	Michael Pearson	Thomas Joel	James Allen
James Mangnall	James West	Charles Graves	John Newman	Smith, Harris, and	J. Finch, jun.
John Barnes	Mat. Gale	Samuel Thorpe	John Wilkie	Hatfield	J. Bird
Quinton & Clark	Ro. Bromley, Clerk	Withers, Birch, and	Tho. & Rich. Hill	Croft & Lambley	William Phillips
Wm. Barber	Richard Cumming	Rivers	George Daniel	Stephen Tyers	William Hunt
Sam. Lawrence	John Ratray	Sam. Baughan and	Samuel Briggs	William Kirkby	Robert Loggin
Thomas Todd	Wm. Thornthwaite	son	William Compton	St. John Jones	John Killy
John Hoppe	Joseph Flight	Wm. Daveshill	Charles Phillips	Jarvis Chambers	John Fox
Wm. Sim, son	Robt. Saddington	Richard Goodall	Nathaniel Forster	Hammond Grose	Wheatley & Ridgale
Robert Ellison	William Brewer	Benjamin Farmer	Robert Crafton	Moses Sleet	J. Dunsage
J. Warrin, Phipps	John Williams	Christopher Court	Berker Fen	George Rutt	Geo. Jackson & son
Wm. Northage	Joseph Woods	Thomas Eden	Michael Harris	George Crompton	Vincent Frehearn
John Baker	Edward Cotton	Tho. Davidson	Tisdale Webb	Wm. Maxwell	Henry Butler, sen.
John Keas	Carey, Moorey, and	Timothy Curtis	John Bradney	James Pearson	Martha French
John Washford	Welch	Samuel Toulmin	James Wilkins	Alston, Hodgson and	Langstep, Molling &
Thomas Barrow	Atkinson Bush	W. & R. Mollison	Benjamin Stead	Co.	Rasch
Rich. Neave & son	Wm. Copeland	Henry Spencer	Jos. & Cha. Boydell	Robert Hodgson	James Farlong
Stanhurst Hanson	Joseph Heylin	Daniel Warkinson	Tho. Bremfield	William Anderson	Samuel Gordon
Thomas Housh	William Baker	Nathaniel Child	Barth. Pomroy	Edward Austin	West and Hobson
Wm. Holland	Solomon Barber	P. Sanfom	James Turner	Tho. Richardson	Joseph Holmes
Henry Carter	Samuel Sparrow	William Colhouse	Thomas Ruckon	Edmund Green	James Tew
Richard Gravatt	Wm. Harford & Co.	Thomas Smith	John Finch	Robert Hall	Richard Walker
			Joseph Nicholson	Thomas Rogers	Joseph Jenkinson
			Charles Dale	George Keath	Fisher & Luigey
			Wm. Whitchurch	William Addis	William Bonham
			Tho. Harrisons	Jacob Nertsell	William Walker
			Sam. & Wm. Sykes	Jere. Percy	William Curtis
			John Jackson	James Raffell	Charles Bartrum
			James Davison	John Runnington	John Taverna
			James Poyas	John Sloman	William Hunter
			John Boylston	Richard Kilton	John Vowell
			Sifield Swanston	Richard Green	Haydock Hill
			John Parker	Strattons & Rodbard	Dennis and Wood-
			James Chapple	Robt. Worledge	ward
			Amos Hayton	Wm. Langhton	John Reynolds
			William Pathley	T. Rhodes	Stephen Beck
			J. Whitley	George Bagge	John Holme
			Joseph Wife	Geo. Clumpton	Henry Dekar
			Anthony Kempe	Benjamin Hanlon	Peregrine Hog
			Wm. Domville	John Hill, M. D.	J. Crompton
			William Jellicoe	Geo. Gaskin, Clerk	Samuel Clarke
			Dowling, Brett, &	Wallace, Davidson,	Henry Markall
			Hardingham	and Johnston	William Bond
			R. Harris Cooper	Joseph Wilson	Richard Clarke
			William Florit	Tho. Boddington	T. Dennis
			James Gurry	James Williams	Thomas Rud, jun.
			John Baker	Henry Janfen	Thomas Murphy
			John Manship	Thomas Harland	Thomas Bourke
			William Markes	Michael Lovell	James Freeman
			William Conock	Thomas Goff	Robert Gifford
			William Hawes	Edward Thorne	Robert Prettyman
			Joseph Lomas	Montague James	Richard & Morris
			John Wilfon	George Fryer	S. T. Janfen
			John Towers	Tho. Hartley & Co.	George Dyer
					Thomas

Thomas Peacock	John Bowles	S. Wadd	Theo. Williams	James Ivory	William Palmer
James Vafon, jun.	Thomas Hunter	Ja. Barkerwill	Jacob Le Telliard	Thomas Bord	John Popplewell
Joseph Paice	Edw. Grant Tuck-	Robert Turner	William Hinby	Robert Staples	John Clempson
John Boydell	well	Humphrey Turner	Agacis & Wallis	Ever. Staples	Lancelot Brewster
Edmund Cork	Tho. Weston & son	James Warren	Charles Barton	Jof. Barnes	James Neale
John Biddle	John Burnett	Easton Thorpe	Richard Wilson	W. Cathro	John Evans
John Anderson	Daniel Zuchoff	H. Thorowgood	Jof. Baughan	Henry Keene	James Banvit
John Fuller	John Blackwood	John Browne	John Peter Hardy	John Bristow	N. Lucas
John Hawkins	Thomas Cox	William Williams	Thomas Slater	Tho. Harden	Geo. F. Nerton
John Cooper	William Hall	E. Pierce	Sam. Barnes	Sam. Marguerum	Jeha Davis
John Scott	Thomas Wilkinson	S. Parsons	Thomas Hadson	John Oxford	Richard Ellis
James Andrews	William Straphan	Robert Stead	Richard Davis	John Shaw	John Meant
James Carter	Abraham Dupuis	Edward Houfe	William Newton	Nath. Sargeant	John King
Benjamin Barnett	David Lewis	Peter Bellamy	William Fleming	Ja. Walker & son	John Goodwin
John Satchell	M. Thomas	John Clarke	Tho. Furness	William Fisher	John Payne
William Scullard	Charles Maynard	John Jennings	Era. Lawrence	Jof. Steward	Jof. Saul
Israel Lewis	John Green	Sam. Lawford	Story & Alderdan	Jof. Proffor	Stephen Lowdell
Thomas Knight	George Griffin	Stephen Unvin	J. Horsford	Rich. Mathews	Isaac Jemmett
Wm. Richardson	William Lee	John Wright	William Payne	Lifcomb Price	Geo. Lowdell
Robert Holden	Nathaniel Hillier	Jere. Rydout	Robert Storke	Cha. Aldridge and	William Box
Robert Emerton	Thomas Preston	Samuel Chatham	Jof. Barber	Henry Gufen	Of. Olsey
Francis Smith	Clement Taylor	J. Salte	Wm. Cowley	Ben. Tomkins	Thomas Ludlam
John Lewis	John Field	Edward Gregory	Eliaz. Chater	John Weston	James Spence
William Warren	Humphrey Ridout	John Piper	Wm. Brough	Jof. Sparrow	James Osborne
Tho. Whywall	Thomas Smith	Robert Rayment	James Wawen	Benj. Smith	John Briscoe
Richard Willis	Hagger Allis	Henry George	Tho. Buxton	Samuel Goodman	William Inge
John Brown	Benjamin Rosewell	Christ. Spicott	Wm. Duperey	William Jackson	William Bruton
J. Masfen	Joseph Brown	Edw. Jackson	Isaac Nicholson	Hawkins & Sayer	John Water
Joseph Grove,	John Nunn	John Cobb	Thomas Severs	Jof. Smith	Arthur Lee
Jo. Agill Goding	Joseph Lewis	Tho. Roberts, jun.	Jof. Jefferys	Rich. Brewer	William Read
William Scott	Mich. Peter Tilon	Charles Mitchell	Tho. Mifnard	Rich. Rugg	John Vowell, jun.
James Gray	Dennis Debert	Edward Neale	James Ore	Ed. Gibbs	James Whitkin
Samuel Hoare, jun.	Thomas Thorp	John Bracewell	Rich. Snagg	John Warren	Thomas Browne
Wm. Haffell Gibbs	J. Rooke	James Waghorn	James Johnson	Wm. Shrub	William Cox
Henry Falconer	Goodin Ellison	William Corrook	B. Davenport	John Allen	Lionel Bradstreet
Jere. Garbitt	Thomas Sansum	David Jones	Tho. Beale	James Searle	Tho. Mittington
Godfrey Springall,	John Walter	F. Bouchet	Christ. Towers	Ed. Aldridge	Tho. Delafield
jun.	James Elderton	Joseph Harrop	John Sawbridge	Ch. Yocall	Tho. Brian
Thomas North	Kettle & Mandeville	James Palmer	Bar. John Cheale	Sam. Randall	Alex. Robe
Thomas Swanson	Ja. Wallis Scrutt	Luke Hogard	Math. Dupont	Sam. Thomaifman	Wm. Bethell
Samuel Waterman	John Dowley	Wm. Jacobson	John Bennett	Wm. Backley	John Sampson
William Gpddall	John Dering	Wm. Andrews	Ra. Mulcafter	Charles Dilly	Thomas Breavey
Thomas Pepper	Harris & Readhead	Wm. Rowe	Sam. Phipps	J. W. Benfon	T. Garner
William Coates	Rt. Bradshaw & son	Leonard Lowden	Robert Hughes	Jn. Dan, Dryer	Jof. Lewis
Thomas Barke	Gadden & Johnson	Abraham Thorne	Porter Rydout	William Galdner	John Corbould
Benjamin Smith	Luke Kendall	John Harley	S. Dendy	Benj. Burnley	T. Browne
Gilbert & Wilkinson	Edward Parish	Wm. Blizard	Roder Wilkinfon	David Davies	John Hyndman, &
Benjamin Wells	Owen Weston	W. Birks	Thomas Hird	Richard Eaton	Co.
Wm. Dunsford	H. Howfe	Harris and Prescott	Stephen Purdeau	Rice Price	Wm. Hunter
John Seaber	Robert Dyke	Alex. Forbes	Sam. Hanning	Thomas Arnott	Paul Archer
Benjamin Curtis	Christopher Kick	Henry Sanders	William Archer	Harris Roberts	Wm. Stope
H. P. Nicholls	John North	Geo. Waddington	John Henlock	Barth. Adams	Wm. Smith
Joseph Spurrrell	James Hunt	Wm. Clifford & Co.	Tho. Carrington	William Norman	Wm. Searke
Robert Atkinson	George Cooper	John Broadhead	James Scott	Robert Watkins	John Dawson
Robert Gregory	Charles Smith	Tho. Kaelles Gof-	Priest Shrub	Rich. Kemp	Benj. Barber
Thomas Coafe	Robert Percy	nell	John Lomax	John Barlow	Jof. Richardson
Thomas Wright	Stavely and Turner	Tho. Uffington	William Stag	Thomas Tredway	Jn. Francis Black
James Waller	Thomas Baker	Tho. Leigh	Edward Yeates	Geo. Jeffrey, jun.	Tho. Wetherell
J. Tappenda & Co.	Robert Tawney	N. Thomas	George Gimber	John Taylor	John Child
William Floyd	Charles Somers	William Wright	Dan. Di La Court	John Foster	John Bernard
Wm. Lutwyche	William Finch	Samuel Thorne	Norman, Horlar &	Henry Bucklee	J. Peacock
Rob. Maitland, jun.	Jof. Hatt & Turner	Henry Rutt	Norman	Samuel Rodbard	James Scott
William Collier	Tho. Whitehorne	Stephen Bowen	Wm. Baker	George Smith	Thomas Strahan
Richard Collins	John Spicer	Joseph Cockfield	Phil. Roker	J. Gordon	Stephen Ponder
John Irish	Joseph Stonard	Wm. Wright	John Wenham	Rt. Jamieson	Robert Bullock &
Grace & Kennedy	John Howell	Rich. Simkifs	A. Edmonds and	John Johnson	son
John Collier	Wm. Towes	Thomas Moore	Harper	John Chailings	John Underwood
Joseph Flight	Mark Stephenson	Math. Hillback	H. Burgefs	Ruf. Walter	James Pritt
Samuel Peacock	John Wilkes	Thomas Jones	John Barber	James Figgins	Matthew Warr
Thomas Holloway	James Hare	Jonas Osborne	Charles Ravenhill	William Denham	Samuel Lane
John Smith	Josiah Smith	Stephen Vaficure	Edw. Foffett	John Harrison	Wm. Ellyett

Don. Cunningham	Richard James	John Haddon	John Hamilton	John Reynolds	Sam. Sorell
F. Garratt	Thomas Farmer	Edmund Allen	Wm. Cotterell	Eben. Evans	Sam. Cockran
Jos. Garvey	James Ford	Nicholas Leigh	Stephen Mehnard	Tho. Langford	John Hinde
Wm. Slater	William Jarvis	Wm. Hodder	Thomas Turner	Rd. Wilson & son	Nath. Hardcastle
James White	John Crompton	Tho. Warboys	Wm. Turner	Josiah Kiffon	Sam. Enderby
Hugh Johnston	Josiah Jollands	Samuel Norton	Heaten Wilkes	Peter Balldree	George Langton
Wm. Cragg	James Rutherford	Samuel Jackson	Foster Bland	Wm. Watts	Keith Wray
James Potts	Brooking Soady	Tho. Plumer Byde	Edward Read	Michael White	George Whitehead
Wm. Sewell	Dan. Wigmore	Tho. Whittell	John Trevanion	Tho. Oliver	Benj. Blackley
George Peacock	Jos. Jewson	Francis Tracey	William Jones	John Ellis	Tim. Fox
James Collins	John Dunkin, sen.	P. Morgan	Tho. Atkinson and Co.	Jonathan Wathen	Jordan Hooke
Richard Weld	Harrison Thwaites	James Sheard	Robert Turner	Richard Weston	Richard Shaw
George Mackenzie	Thomas Bowlby	Wm. Roberts	Lever Legg	Samuel Hoare	Sam. Moody
Macaulay	Sam. Hoolé	John Alles	Welfred Bell	John Harman	Lever Legg, jun.
John Miller	Thomas Wright	Samuel Austen	Cawthorn and Watson	Sam. Athawes	Charles Cammeyer
Cooper, Garratt, & Taddy	Josiah Bowden	John Trelawny	Nat. Newnham, jun.	Christ. Strohoff	Pryer & Harford
Jos. Davis	Sam. Saloway	Tho. Ashton	Samuel Eastwick	Wm. Clarke	James Dyer
Samuel Plummer	Josiah Crook	Robert Ketting	John Horton	Tho. Smith	Thomas Dutton
Henry Grace	Thomas Fownau	Wm. Johnson	Tho. Sharrar	Stephen Sandwell	Eng. Hake & Co.
Tobias Maynard	Rich. Durnford	Benj. Porter	John Hubbard	Tho. Stason	James Moxham
Wm. West	James Croome	Charles Greenwood	Jeremiah Harman	Wm. Bim	Saul Parsons
Wm. Shrigley	John Wood	Henry Banner	Joseph Barlow	Benjamin Dell	Wm. Hartley
Thomas Hopkins	Josiah Nicholls	Robert French	Benj. Bovill	Richard Scott	Peter Delaport
Alex. Sutton	Alexander Sheafe	John Perry	Tho. Morley	Nich. Dews	George Gardner
John Richard	Burkutt	Rich. Alexander	Edward Ray	John Harford	George Elderton
John Bellett	Atkins and Wyatt	George Logan	R. Bush	Joseph Windfor	Richard Norfolk
Thomas Shepherd	Tho. Sherwood	Joel Pointett	John Austin	Charles Leadbetter	Tho. Hutchinson
Joseph Welch	John Underwood	Thomas Plumer	Francis Philpott	Oman Turpin	John Maddocks
Sam. Corp	John Boldero	Wm. Woodnorth	Lewes Shepheard	Edward Bryant	Edward Smith
James Ashford	Jn. Lewis Paulhan	Tho. Richardson	Ph. Joling	Daniel Nedriff	Wm. Oxford
Edw. Winwood	Wm. Arnold	John Meane	Mat. Robertson	Wm. Tutin	John Thomson
M. Osborne	Thomas Festled	John Wager	Tho. Seamark	Silver & Swycroft	Stephen Sayre
David Davies	Joshua Crickett	Robert Richardson	James Laiham	Tho. Probyn	F. Faxon
Eben. Maitland	Enor Whitely	Tho. Greaft	Robert Corrock	Charles Ogilvie	Jos. Harrifon
Nicholas Woolfe	John Button	John Jerman	Tho. Dealtry	Robert Rofs	Charles Heath
Nath. Lister	Wm. Clark	Wm. Board	H. Huggen	John Thorowgood	George Russell
R. Haring Brookh	John Deighton	Rt. Macky	James Birch	James Bryant	Nich. Phipps
Thomas Tikon	Tho. Gardner	Wm. Meadows	John Clark	John Stevenfon	Edward Upton
George Kemp	Wm. Greaves	St. Luffington	Stephen Gates	Tho. Entwisle	John Burges
Matthew Gibbs	John Rawlins	Tho. Pickford	David Clarke	John Davis	Andrews and Emmott
George Grenfell	Daniel Harrop	Wm. Cowland	John Stringer	John Keene	Thomas Lamb
Nath. Cartwright	John Williams	Jos. Phillips	John Collinson	John Sherman	Wm. Foreman
John James	Francis Miller	Tho. Powell	Wm. Merrick	Benj. Dicker	John Bowley
George Whistun	John Wren	Rob. Withers & Co.	Richard Peyton	James King	Joseph Hefford
Peter Sydebotham	Mary Parker & son	John Jarrett	Edward Tomlin	Tho. Miller	David Richardson
John Wood	Mat. Dove, jun.	John Moore	Mark Jefferson	Bateman Saddington	Richard Anderfon
James Buchanan	John Scott	Edward Minefic	John Aston	Sam. Hooper	George Bowley
John Crisp	John Place	Jos. Lumley	Francis Gough	Har. Elderton	Wm. Payne
Robert Gosling	Ronold M ^r Alleton	Wm. Thorpe	C. Wagner	John Landin	Fenwick Bulmer
Thomas Hankins	Tho. Hodgson	James Adams	Richard Welles	Wm. Guidott	Nath. Bewley
John Chadcock	And. Hurley, sen.	Richard Wheeler	Tho. Peake	Darvell Geary	Edward Worley
Henry Winstanley	Tho. Newnham	John Lock		Thomas Vincent	George Hayley
Wm. Marshall	Isaac Gathfield	Joseph Hickmah			
Wm. Bentley	Joseph Knowles	James Sharwood			
James Friend	Fr. Clarke & Co.	Bernard Price			
Thomas Lewis	Wm. Bailey	Jon. Mathews			
Rich. James, jun.	Tho. Copping	Lamler & Walker			
Thomas Weales	Antie & Worstead	Brafs Crosby			
Geo. Spotwood	John Willis	Henry Sterry			
Joseph Martin	R. Humphreys	Jos. Browning			
Joseph James	Job Heath	Thomas Girkias			
Geo. Blackley	John Butcher	J. Patchings			
Brigg Shrimpton, jun.	Wm. Hopkins	Wm. Stevens, jun.			
Jos. Wright	Nath. Rogers	Jos. Woodin			
John Roeth	George Blunk	Thomas Sayer			
Rich. Clarke	Simon Wooding	Wm. Young			
S. Rogers	Sam. Shenkon	Benj. Hawes			
Wm. Robley	Richard Dell	John Walker, jun.			
Phil. Gros	John Bushnell	John Stemans			
	John Clarke	Tho. Ainley			

OCTOBER 12.

New-York, Aug. 28, 1775. Our Provincial Congress having resolved that the cannon should be removed from the battery, a number of the citizens collected for that purpose last Wednesday evening; and part of the provincial artillery, under the command of Capt. John Lamb, were posted on the battery, to prevent the landing of any party from the Asia man of war, to annoy them while at work. When they marched down, which was about eleven o'clock, they observed one of the above ship's barges lying at some distance from the shore, where she continued up-wards

ward of an hour; when she got under sail, and fired a musket at the men that were posted on the battery. This was immediately returned by a smart fire of musketry from the artillery, and a few of the independent light-infantry belonging to Colonel Luther's battalion, that were likewise posted there for the above purpose.—Soon after this the Asia fired three cannon, when our drums beat to arms, which alarmed the inhabitants; when they had assembled she began a heavy and smart fire, of nine, eighteen, and twenty-four pounders, and some grape-shot; seconded by a discharge of musketry from the marines; but without doing any other mischief than damaging the upper part of several houses near the fort and Whitehall, and wounding three men. Notwithstanding the fire from the Asia, the citizens effected their purpose, and carried off twenty-one pieces of cannon, being all that were mounted on carriages.—Since this disturbance the women and children have been continually moving out of town, with their most valuable effects.

Extract of a letter from New-York, Aug. 28.

“ Thursday night we expected a repetition of Wednesday night's scene; women, children, and goods were removed. All quiet at night. Friday more expectations and more removals. The Governor returned from the country, and went in person and took in writing a particular account of the damage done; our Congress offered him a guard, but he said he had such confidence in the affections of his fellow-citizens, that he thought any further security unnecessary, and declined the offer. He called the council that afternoon. Saturday, people continued to remove. The Governor desired a conference with our Congress, Committee, and Military Officers; it was granted he made a speech to them, told them it made his heart bleed to meet on the road so many people moving from the city with their effects; that they had all the power of the city in their hands, begged they would use it prudently; that violent measures would only widen the breach, and cause the destruction of the city; we had got the cannon in our own power, and desired we would move them no farther; that if troops should come from Boston, we would hear of it time enough to remove them, but declared upon his honour he knew of none coming, &c. &c.

“ Notwithstanding the cannonading, we got off 21 good 18 pounders, with carriages, empty cartridges, rammers, sponges, &c. The Captain of the man of war behaved like a —, in attacking the town in the dead of the night, when it was unprepared for defence; however, the people collected on the battery, and behaved well; we killed, according to Vandepur's own account,

one of his men in the barge; he killed none of ours, only wounded three; one lost the calf of his leg, the other two were slightly wounded, notwithstanding grape-shot, swivel-shot, 18 and 24 pounders were fired. I am told people are moving their goods this morning.”

Accounts from Cambridge mention, that the Captains Percival and Sabine of the marines, Captain Le Moine of the royal artillery, and a number of privates of Gen. Gage's army, in all about 90, were lately killed by the rifle-men, &c. from the provincial lines.

Castle William, near Boston, has been by General Gage's orders entirely dismantled, the stores and ammunition removed, and the fort itself entirely destroyed.

Providence, (in Rhode-Island) Aug. 12. By the best intelligence it may be depended upon, that the Indian nations for a thousand miles westward, are very staunch friends to the colonies, there being but one tribe inclined to join Gov. Carleton, of which however there is no danger, as the others are able to drive that tribe and all the force Carleton can raise.

Watertown, Aug. 24. Yesterday se'night arrived at the camp at Cambridge, Swathan the chief, with four other Indians of the St. Francois tribe, conducted thither by Mr. Reuben Colburn, who has been honourably recompenced for his trouble. The above Indians came hither to offer their service in the cause of American liberty, have been kindly received, and are now entered the service. Swathan says he will bring one half of his tribe, and has engaged four or five other tribes, if they should be wanted. He says, the Indians of Canada in general, and also the French, are greatly in our favour, and determined not to act against us.

New-London, Aug. 11. We hear from Westmoreland, in the western part of this colony, that last Thursday se'night about fifty Indians of the Six Nations came to that place, and encamped at a small distance from the settlement; the next day they came in and delivered a message, which was to this purpose:—That they were sorry to hear of the difference which subsisted between Great-Britain and the colonies.—That they should not take up the hatchet on either side.—That they meant to be at peace with the English as long as the stream ran down the Susquehanna river.—That should differences in future arise between us and them, they would try every gentle and healing measure to obtain redress of the grievance.—That as Col. Guy Johnson had left his habitation, and they were destitute of a superintendent, they desired Col. Butler to take upon him that trust; and that the place for holding their future Congress might be Westmoreland.

PHILA.

PHILADELPHIA, August 30.

The Address to the Soldiers, which has been printed at Cambridge, has the following indorsement.

PROSPECT-HILL.

- I. Seven doll. a month.
- II. Fresh provisions, and in plenty.
- III. Health.
- IV. Freedom, ease, affluence, and a good farm.

BUNKER'S-HILL.

- I. Three-pence a day.
- II. Rotten salt pork.
- III. The scurvy.
- IV. Slavery, beggary, and want.

Extract of a letter from Cambridge, Aug. 5.

"Since I wrote to you last, our troops have had several skirmishes with the enemy, in all of which we have had the better of them. Three hundred men from our army, under the command of Major Tupper, were sent to Light-house Island, on information being given that the King's troops were rebuilding it; the enemy perceiving our people coming, prepared to receive them; our troops were ordered not to fire until they landed, which they did, and went boldly up to the enemy, killed ten or twelve on the spot, among whom was the commanding officer, and took the remainder, about thirty-five in number, demolished the enemy's works, and were preparing to embark, but the tide leaving them, they were obliged to tarry till its return; mean time a large number of boats from the men of war came up in order to reinforce the enemy on the island, and a smart firing from both parties commenced; our troops however got safe back with their prisoners, with the loss of one man killed, and two or three wounded.

"The resolve for raising 800 rifle-men, for the service of the United Colonies, was passed about the 10th of June last. The orders were not dispatched before that day, and most of the express had to ride three or four hundred miles to the persons who were ordered to raise them; the men, to the amount of 1430, instead of the 800, were raised, completely armed, (most of them with their own rifles) and accounted for the field with such expedition as to join the army at Cambridge, one company on the 25th day of July, and eight more on the 5th and 7th instant, all of which had marched from four to seven hundred miles. All this was performed in less than two months, without a farthing of money being advanced by the continental treasury."

Worcester, Aug. 16. A correspondent at Gloucester, Cape Ann, has sent us the following authentic and particular account of the engagement there, viz.

Gloucester, Aug. 13.

"On the 9th instant the Falcon sloop of war,

Capt. Linzee, here in sight, and seemed to be in quest of two schooners from the West-Indies bound to Salem, one of which he soon brought to; the other taking advantage of a fair wind, put into our harbour; but Linzee having made a prize of the first, pursued the second into the harbour, and brought the first with him. He anchored and sent two barges with 15 men in each, armed with muskets and swivels, these were attended with a whale boat, in which was the Lieutenant and six privates; their orders were to seize the loaded schooner, and bring her under the Falcon's bow. The militia and other inhabitants were alarmed at this daring attempt, and prepared for a vigorous opposition: The bargemen, under the command of the Lieutenant, boarded the schooner at the cabin windows, which provoked a smart fire from our people on the shore, by which three of the enemy were killed, and the Lieutenant wounded in the thigh, who thereupon returned to the man of war. Upon this Linzee sent the other schooner and a small cutter he had to attend him well armed, with orders to fire upon the dam'd rebels wherever they could see them, and that he would in the mean time cannonade the town; he immediately fired a broadside upon the thickest settlements, and stood himself with a diabolical pleasure to see what havoc his cannon might make. "Now, said he, my boys, we will aim at the dam'd Presbyterian church—Will, my brave fellows, one shot more, and the House of God will fall before you." While he was thus venting his rage, and setting himself as it were against Heaven, the Almighty was on our side, not a ball struck or wounded an individual person, although they went through our houses in almost every direction which were filled with women and children: under God, our little party at the water-side performed wonders, for they soon made themselves masters of both the schooners, the cutter, the two barges, the boat, and every man in them, and all that pertained to them. In the action, which lasted several hours, we lost but one man, two others wounded, one of whom is since dead, the other very slightly wounded. We took of the man of war's men thirty-five, several were wounded, and one since dead; twenty four were sent to head-quarters, the remainder being impressed from this and the neighbouring towns, were permitted to return to their friends. Next day Capt. Linzee warped off but with half his men, never a prize, boat nor tender, except a small skiff the wounded Lieutenant returned in."

New-York, Sept. 4. By a gentleman from Albany, we are informed that when he left that place, 700 Indians of the Mohawk and Onondaga nations had arrived there, and declared themselves to be in our interest in the present contest:

Contest : They say they are connected by marriage and otherwise with the Canadian Indians, and do not despair of bringing them over to our side, notwithstanding the unwearied endeavours of Governor Carleton to the contrary.

Capt. Jenkins, who left Quebec the 21st of July, informs us, that the Canadians seem to be well pleased with the proceedings of the colonies, and he likewise understood they had received letters from the Congress which were very agreeable to them. Ship bread was five dollars per cwt. wheat 6s. sterling per bushel. Six or seven transports were loaded with provisions for Boston; the inhabitants were very uneasy, being apprehensive of a scarcity. Wheat bread 3d. sterling per pound. The garrison in a poor state of defence, as there were not more than 25 Regulars in it. Governor Carleton had taken the greatest part of the cannon from the forts to mount on the floating batteries at St. John's. By the best information, he has not above five or 600 men with him; and that he had committed three or 400 Canadians to gaol for refusing to take up arms against the colonies: the only vessel of war there was the Gaspee brig. A transport sailed with him loaded with provisions for General Gage, about 500 tons burthen.

New-York, Sept. 7. We hear from Providence, that on Tuesday the 22d ult. his Majesty's ships the Rose, Swan, and Glasgow, attempted to go to Providence, and got within eight miles of the town, when two of them ran on ashore, and the other came to an anchor. Soon after arrived a brig and a sloop, inward bound from the West-Indies, these were immediately chased by the men of war's barges, and three cutters, till they run ashore at Warwick, where they were boarded by the men of war's men, in sight of a great number of people who had assembled themselves on the shore. There were in harbour two armed schooners fitted by the town of Providence for the protection of their trade, and were going to convoy a small fleet down the river. A smart engagement then began, and lasted three hours and a half, during which, an incessant fire was kept up between the two schooners and the Brig and sloop, which the people on board often attempted to get off, but as often were driven from the Windlasses. But at last they cut the brig's cable and carried her off, with the Captain on board, who refused to quit her; the sloop we retook and brought her into the harbour, though fired upon by the men of war as we passed them. We had not a man killed or wounded, which is surprising. It is supposed many of the enemy are killed.

New London, Sept. 1. Wednesday morning a tender chased two small sloops into Stonington

Harbour, who had a number of people on board bound to Block Island, and they had but just time to get on shore before the tender came in; and after making a tack they came close along side of Capt. Denison's wharf, and discharged a full broadside into the stores and houses, &c. and sailing out again, in a little time returned with the Rose man of war and another tender; and as soon as the Rose could get her broadside to bear on the town, she began a very fire, also the tenders, who were under sail, and continued firing the whole day, with very little intermission; during the time a flag was sent off from the shore, desiring Captain Wallace, commander of the Rose, to let them know what he meant by firing on the town? His answer was, that he did it in his own defence. We have two men killed, and the houses, stores, &c. very much shattered. Yesterday morning they sailed out and anchored at the North side of the West end of Fisher's Island, where they remain at this publication. There were five or six people killed on board the tenders, by the inhabitants who assembled and were under arms the whole day. They have carried off a schooner loaded with molasses, belonging to Patuxet, in Providence, from the West Indies, and the two small sloops that landed the people.

Extract of a letter from Bermuda, Aug. 25.

Upwards of 100 barrels of gunpowder have been taken out of our magazine, supposed by a sloop from Philadelphia, and a schooner from South Carolina: It was very easily accomplished, from the magazine being situated far distant from town, and no dwelling house near it.

A list of the flat bottomed boats belonging to Philadelphia, with the weight of metal each carries.

Washington, Capt. Dougherty,	32lb.
Ranger	24lb.
Effingham, A. Moore,	24lb.
Franklin, Biddle,	18lb.
Bull Dog, Alexander,	18lb.
Experiment.	18lb.

The Jenny, Lambton; from Konigsburgh for Bristol, was on the coast of Wales, and part of the cargo was saved.

OCTOBER 13.

From the NEW YORK MERCURY, &c.

Cambridge, Aug. 27. The Continental Congress have taken the management of Indian affairs out of the hands of the Crown officers, and divided the Indian tribes into three departments: The first taking in the Six Nations, and all to the Northward of them; the second, all the tribes from the Six Nations to the South of the Colony of Virginia; and the third, all the Indians to the Southward of the South line of Virginia. They have

have appointed Commissioners for each of these departments, with proper presents, talks, and belts of wampum, and the usual and necessary articles of trade for the several nations. The Commissioners for the first and second departments have already set out for the places of their destination; and we are well assured, that such measures have been taken, and such satisfactory and authentic accounts received by the Congress, that all apprehensions of danger from our fellow-subjects in Canada, and the Indians, are entirely removed.

Baltimore, Maryland, Aug. 29. By Capt. James Wood, who was deputed by our Assembly to invite the tribes of Ohio Indians to a treaty, to be held at Fort Pitt on the 10th of next month, and who returned last night we learn, that he had visited the Delawares, Shawanese, Senecas, Wiandots, and Tawaas. That the commanding Officer at Detroit, and Deputy Agent for Indian Affairs, and Monsieur Baby a Frenchman, had sent belts and strings of wampum to seventeen nations, including those above mentioned; informing them, that unless they all united, the Virginians would take their country from them; that they proposed to attack them two different ways, one by the Ohio, the other by the lakes; that the Virginians would invite them to a treaty, but that they ought by no means to go, as they (the Virginians) were a people not to be depended on. That many other artifices had been used to incite these Savages to attack our frontiers; particularly the Virginians were represented to them as a distinct people, and that their attacking them would not be resented by the other Colonies.

Capt. Wood had this account first from the Delawares, who appeared friendly, and gave him the belt and string which had been sent them. All the other tribes confirm this account, and promised to attend the treaty. The Shawanese assured him, whatever they had received from Fort Detroit, they had buried in the ground never more to rise; but that the foolish Tawixtawes and Peets had accepted the belts.

Chenawaw, one of the hostages who escaped from Williamsburg some time ago, arrived at the Shawany town the day before Capt. Wood. He had informed the Indians, that all the people of Virginia were preparing for war, and determined to attack the Indians, except the Governor, whom the people had obliged to go on board a man of war. That the hostages had discovered they were to be made slaves, and sent to some other country, which he assigned as the reason for his escape. But on Capt. Wood's explaining the matter to the Indians, they appeared entirely satisfied,

Philadelphia, Aug. 30. There is advice from

Canada, that Governor Carleton having in vain endeavoured by fair means to engage the Canadians in the service against the colonies, he attempted to compel them by force, on which there was an insurrection of 3000 men to oppose that force; and that they did not disperse till they received assurances that no compulsion should be used. It is said they are determined to observe a strict neutrality.

A gentleman from Connecticut has exhibited several samples of saltpetre, of excellent quality, lately made in that colony, where, as well as in the other colonies, a number of works are erecting for making that useful article, and it is not doubted but there will soon be a sufficient quantity procured to supply the whole continent for making as much gunpowder as will be wanted.

Rhode Island, Aug. 15. We have advices from Boston that may be depended on, that the port of Boston is again opened, on the same footing as the other New England colonies; that the Custom House is removed there, &c. what this means we cannot yet discover.

Yesterday an express came from Bristol with an account of the safe arrival of the *Albion*, Hogg, from New York, which was sent express from thence the 11th of September, and is the last ship that will come from that place, the port of New York being shut up the day she came out.

The Provincial Congress of New Jersey have passed a resolve, that all men capable of bearing arms, who departed from the city of New York, into that province in times of distress, shall be compelled to return forthwith; and the several committees are enjoined to see the said resolve carried into execution.

OCTOBER 14.

From the NEW-YORK GAZETTE.

Newbern, (North-Carolina) in Committee, Aug. 5. From the late conduct of Gov. Martin, at Fort Johnston, and intelligence since received by this committee, it appears he intends erecting the King's standard, and commencing hostilities against the people of this province;

It is therefore resolved, that no person or persons whatsoever have any correspondence with him, either by personal communication or letter, on pain of being deemed enemies to the liberties of America, and dealt with accordingly. And that no person or persons presume to remove him or themselves to Core Sound, or any other part of the province, where the Governor resides, without leave of this committee, as he or they will not be suffered to return here.

C. COGBELL, Chairman.

New-Y.

New-York, Aug. 29, in Provincial Congress. Whereas the Commander of his Majesty's ship *Asia*, under pretence of protecting the King's property, did in the dead of the night of the 23d instant, most unwarrantably fire on the South part of this defenceless city, whereby three of his Majesty's subjects were wounded, the property of several destroyed, and the lives of many exposed to the most imminent danger. And whereas many of the inhabitants, under apprehensions that the like hostile conduct may be in future pursued by the Commander of the said ship, have been induced to move their wives, children, property out of this city; this Congress have thought proper to permit, and they do hereby permit (agreeable to the former directions of this Congress) that Abraham Lott, Esq, Contractor for his Majesty's navy do in future supply his Majesty's ships stationed here with all necessaries, as well fresh as salt, for the use of the said ships; that such supplies be by him sent to the Governor's Island, that they may be taken from thence on board the said ships; and the inhabitants of this city and colony are hereby enjoined from using any attempts to prevent the said supplies from being furnished by the said Abraham Lott, or his agent; or from obtaining satisfaction for the injury they have received, as this Congress duly impressed with a sense thereof, are determined to pursue every prudent and proper measure for preventing the like insults in future, and for obtaining satisfaction and redress. A true copy from the minutes.

ROBERT BENSON, Secretary.

Philadelphia, August 30. In Congress, Tuesday, August 1. Whereas at a former Congress it was resolved, that if certain acts of Parliament in the Continental Association enumerated and complained of, should not be repealed on or before the 10th day of September, 1775, the inhabitants of these colonies would not directly or indirectly export any merchandize or commodity whatsoever to Great Britain, Ireland, or the West-Indies; and as some doubts have arisen with respect to the true spirit and construction of the said resolve, to the end that such doubts may be removed;

Resolved, That under the prohibition, in the said association contained, to export to or import from the islands of Great Britain and Ireland, this Congress intends to comprize all exportation, and importation from, the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Sark, Alderney, and Man, and every European island and settlement within the British dominions; and that, under the denomination of West-Indies, this Congress means to comprehend all the West-India islands, British and foreign, to whatever state, power or Prince belonging, or by

whomsoever governed; and also the Summer Islands, Bahama islands, Berbicia, and Surinam on the Main, and every island and settlement within the latitude of the southern line of Georgia and the equator.

A true copy from the minutes.

CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary.

Portsmouth, August 15. Committee Hall, Portsmouth, Aug. 13, 1775. The committee of safety finding it inconsistent with the peace and good order of this town, that any further communication should be kept up between the ship Scarborough and the town;

Therefore voted, That henceforward no boats pass or repass from the said ship, or the town of Newcastle, without a permit from this committee, or the select men or committee of Newcastle.

By order of the committee,

H. WENTWORTH, Chairman.

A letter from the Provincial Camp at Cambridge, dated September 8, mentions their having received intelligence, that Governor Carleton had marched with a body of men for Montreal, and that in consequence, Gen. Washington had drafted off 2000 men, and sent them, by way of Kennebeck, in order to join. Col. Schuyler, who is on his way from New-York with 5000 more.

OCTOBER 16.

Part of a GENUINE Letter from a Gentleman in Town to his Friend in the Country, dated October 10, 1775.

"The line of the Speech for opening the approaching session of parliament, has been long since settled. It is to declare the unalterable resolution of the King to persevere in this American war, to the last extremity, to ask for money, &c. &c. The land-tax is to be four shillings in the pound; and it never will be less. The debts of the civil list are to be paid. Seven hundred thousand pounds are to be granted for that purpose, and two hundred thousand pounds per ann. to be added to the civil list, in order to make it a permanent yearly income of ONE MILLION, clear of all deduction. The King desires it. Lord North was to have done it when he had his ribband. That was understood to be the bargain; but his Lordship having got the ribband, shuffled about the civil list. However, his Lordship is obliged to do it now, or the Bedfords will supersede him. The Bedford faction, and the Buckingham-House faction, are the violent parties against America. If these blood-thirsty men were removed, peace would be restored. There is to be a large vote of credit to carry on the American war: Thus the country gentlemen (for ex-

K k 2

clusive of the placemen, they have been, and are still expected to be, the support of the Ministry in the House of Commons) are to burden this country with a great certain expence, for the promise only of getting a casual revenue in America. The Addresses set on foot by the Bedford and Buckingham-House factions, from Jacobite towns, venal traders, hungry contractors, and ignorant Justices, to flatter the King, and keep them in office, do not contain the voice of the nation, but may be very proper to accelerate the ruin of the kingdom. When America sees these Addresses, her opinion of Great-Britain will be decided. She will never more consider this nation as her friend. The present Ministers, and their Master, have done that, which the united force of France and Spain could never have accomplished. The empire is dismembered. Great-Britain is not half herself. *Her Colonies are lost for ever! A diminished trade; an encreased taxation. What can it end in? Nothing but destruction. I will foretell, that in eighteen months it will be all peace and tranquillity in America. This war of insanity will, on our side, miscarry in every part; and we shall be in more than confusion here: I pray God, we may not be obliged to be in arms at home. Men, who are not wilfully blind, see clearly the evils into which this accursed war is precipitating us."*

OCTOBER 17.

From the NEW YORK GAZETTE.

Williamsburg, Virginia, Aug. 12. In Convention, on Tuesday last: A letter from the Hon. Matthew Tilghman, President of the Convention of the province of Maryland, in answer to a letter from the President of this convention, enclosing a resolution passed the 25th of July last, by which it was resolved, that no wheat, flour, or other grain or provisions of any kind, be exported from this colony, to any part of the world, from and after the 5th day of August, until the convention or assembly, or the honourable the Continental Congress should order otherwise, being read, and it appearing that the convention of Maryland will not come into such a measure, and as the good purposes intended to be answered by the said resolution cannot be effected without a general agreement of the neighbouring provinces, resolved therefore, that the said resolution of this convention be repealed and rescinded.

PEYTON RANDOLPH, President.

Mr. Edmond Randolph, of this city, is appointed by the General Congress to be Muster Master General of the Continental army, with 200l. per annum, and is gone to the Provincial camp near Boston.

By Capt. Crombie, of the Sally, arrived yesterday from Virginia, we have received the following advices:

terday from Virginia, we have received the following advices:

Norfolk, Virginia, Sept. 6, 1775. On Saturday last between twelve and one P. M. came on one of the most severe gales of wind that ever happened within the memory of man, and continued with unabated violence for eight hours. It drove ashore the Mercury man of war, and a great many other vessels, some of which bulged, and others can never be got off. The tide rose to a very uncommon height, and made great destruction in the warehouses and among the wharfs; it is more particularly felt at this time as many vessels had taken on board part of their cargo, and the remainder was afloat, which would have been ready for sea before the 10th of this month; the loss in this harbour amounts to several thousand pounds. All our accounts from the coast are truly deplorable; out of some whole crews there only survive a few melancholy tale-bearers of their irreparable misfortunes. We expect daily further accounts of the destructive rage of this dreadful hurricane, which has not spared the promising hopes of this year, but broke, levelled, and almost destroyed the ensuing crop of Indian corn.

Norfolk, Virginia, Borough Committee Chamber, Sept. 4. Present, Mr. Chairman, and 22 Members. Ordered, that notice be given in the public papers, to the merchants and others within the jurisdiction of the committee, that agreeable to the fourth article of the association, there can be no exportation of any merchandize or commodity whatsoever from hence to Great Britain, Ireland, or the West Indies, after the ninth day of this instant, September.

WILLIAM DAVIS, Secretary.

A letter from Portsmouth, dated October 14, "We find by the ship arrived from Halifax, that the inhabitants of Nova Scotia are as dissatisfied at the proceedings of the Ministry against the colonies as any of the Americans; and every one, from 16 to 50, are learning the use of arms, and are determined to defend their rights and liberties, or perish in the attempt. To carry on a war with every colony, we ought to have double the number of men of war we now have, unless we leave our own coasts unguarded."

A letter from a gentleman in Georgia, dated Aug. 21, says, "This province, instead of being under the government of a Governor, Council, and Assembly, is now ruled by a Provincial Congress, a Council of Safety, and parochial Committee."

The following is a copy of a letter from Mr. Burke to Mr. Hayea, the Chairman of the meeting of Merchants, &c. at Bristol.

"Sir, I delay'd my acknowledgement of your commands, until I should be able to inform you, that

that I had obeyed them. I had this day the honour of presenting your Petition to the King. It was graciously received. At the same time Mr. Baker presented a Petition from the Merchants of London, which had the same reception.

"It gave me as much pleasure, as in the present state of things, I am capable of feeling, to be honoured with such commands from so numerous and respectable a body of my constituents. I do not yet abandon all hopes, that truth and reason, frequently and firmly urged, will have their effect; and that the healing endeavours of good and moderate men will prevail over the hasty violence of those deluded people, who, though unable to assist either with counsels or arms, are to forward to give their inconsiderate voices, for the continuance of a bloody, and expensive civil war, which neither they, nor those whom they urge to such a desperate course are able to foresee any end of. It is indeed a war against the interest of England, and in favour of her inveterate enemies.

"I have no doubt, but that you will persevere in sentiments so becoming all virtuous and sober

citizens. By degrees the example of your temper, forbearance, and moderation operating with the unhappy effects of the present measures, which begin to be daily more and more conspicuous, will abate the irregular ardour of some fiery spirits, and render our city at least unanimous in its wishes for the tranquility of the whole empire.

"I beg my best compliments to the gentlemen of the committee; and do me the favour to believe me, with great esteem and regard, your most obedient, and humble servant,

Westminster, Oct. 11, EDMUND BURKE."

OCTOBER 16.

Extract of a letter from Middletown, Connecticut, Aug. 23.

"By express last night to Hartford from Crown Point, we hear that all the Indians have left Johnston, except 30, and that it is expected our men are passed St. John's by this time, where all the regulars are posted; that they intended to be with them before they could get their vessels ready. I am in expectation we shall have Governor Carlton at Hartford soon."

I N D E X.

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